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CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. VII, PART 3

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INSCRIPTIONS
OF
THE CHANDĒLLAS, KACH-CHHAPAGHĀTAS, ETC.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. VII

(IN THREE PARTS)

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PARAMĀRAS, CHANDĒLLAS, KACHCHHAPAGHĀTAS AND TWO MINOR DYNASTIES

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CONTENTS

E. 6852

PART 3

List of Plates (ix)
Addenda Et Corrigenda (xiii)

No.	Plate	EDITION AND TEXTS	Page
		Inscriptions of the Chandēllas of Jējākabhukti	
97	XCIII	Khajurāhō Stone Inscription [of Harshadēva ?] : (Fragmentary)	335
98	XCIV	Khajurāhō Stone Inscription of Yaśōvarman : (Vikrama) Year 1011	337
99	XCV-A	Khajurāhō Jaina Temple Inscription of the Time of Dhaṅgadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1011 ...	347
100	XCV-B	Nanyaurā Copper-Plate Inscription of Dhaṅgadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1055	349
101-06	XCVI-XCIX	Six Dudāhī Stone Inscriptions of Dēvalabdhi : (Undated) ...	353
107	C-A	Nanyaurā Copper-Plate Inscription of Dēvavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1107	356
108	C-B	Charkhārī Copper-Plate Inscription of Dēvavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1108	360
109	CI	Darbat Śāntinātha Image Inscription of the Time of Kīrttivarman : (Vikrama) Year 1132 ...	365
110	CII	Kālañjar Stone Inscription of the Time of Kīrttivarman : (Vikrama) Year 1147	367
111	CIII	Dēogaḍh Rock Inscription of the Time of Kīrttivarman : (Vikrama) Year 1154	371
112	CIV	Ajayagaḍh Rock Inscription of the Time of Kīrttivarman : (Undated)	373
113	CV	Fragmentary Mahōbā Inscription ending with the Name of Kīrttivarman : (Date Lost ?)	376
114	CVI	Khajurāhō Stone Inscription of Dhaṅgadēva of the Year 1059 ; Renewed by Jayavarmadēva in the Year 1173 :	381
115	CVII	Kālañjar Pillar Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1186	390
116	CVIII-A	Kālañjar Pillar Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1187	391
117	CVIII-B	Kālañjar Rock Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1188	392
118	CIX	Augāsī Copper-Plate Inscription of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1190	395
119	CX	Bhārat Kalā Bhavan Plate Inscription of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1192	399
120	CXI-A	Kālañjar Rock Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1192	405
121	CXI-B	Ajayagaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1208	406
122	(No Plate)	Horniman Museum Image Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1208	409
123	CXI-C	Mahōbā Image Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1211	410
124	CXII	Khajurāhō Stone Image Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1215 ...	411
125	(No Plate)	Mau Stone Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Fragmentary)	412
126	CXIII	Sēmrā Copper-Plate Grant of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1223	418

CONTENTS

No.	Plate		Page
127	CXIV	Mahōbā Stone Inscription of the Time of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1224	435
128	CXV	Ajayagaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1227	436
129	CXVI	Ichchhāvar Copper-Plate Inscription of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1228	438
130	CXVII	Mahōbā Copper-Plate Inscription of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1230	443
131	CXVIII	Pachhār Copper-Plate Inscription of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1233	446
132	CXIX	Charkhārī Copper-Plate Inscription of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1236	451
133	CXX	Ahār Statue Inscription of the Time of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1237	455
134	CXXI	Bhārat Kalā Bhavan Copper-Plate Inscription of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1239	458
135	CXXII	Kālañjar Rock Inscription of the Time of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1240	461
136	CXXIII	Fragmentary Mahōbā Stone Inscription of the Time of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1240 ...	462
137	CXXIV	Ajayagaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Paramardin : (Vikrama) Year 1243 ...	468
138	CXXV	Bhārat Kalā Bhavan Plate of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1247	469
139	CXXVI	Baṭēśvara Stone Inscription of the Time of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1252 ...	473
140	CXXVII	Kālañjar Stone inscription of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1258	478
141	CXXVIII	Garrā Copper-Plate Inscription of Trailōkyavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1261	483
142	CXXIX	Sāgar Copper-Plate Inscription of Trailōkyavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1264	487
143	CXXX	Dhurētī Copper-Plate Inscription of the Time of Trailōkyamalla : (Kalachuri) Year 963 ...	490
144	CXXXI	Charkhārī Copper-Plate Inscription of Vīravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1311	495
145	CXXXII	Ajayagaḍh Rock Inscription of the Time of Vīravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1317	498
146	CXXXIII	Ajayagaḍh Rock Inscription of the Time of Vīravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1325	503
147	CXXXIV	Ajayagaḍh Rock Inscription of the Time of Vīravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1337 ...	504
148	CXXXV	Kālañjar Stone Inscription of Vīravarman : (Fragmentary)	507
149	CXXXVI	Ajayagaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Bhōjavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1345	510
150	CXXXVII	Ajayagaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Bhōjavarman : (Undated)	515
151	CXXXVIII	Charkhārī Copper-Plate Inscription of Hammīravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1346	521
152	CXXXIX	Bamhnī Satī Stone Inscription : (Vikrama) Year 1365	525
153	CXXXX	Ajayagaḍh Satī Stone Inscription of the Time of Hammīravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1368 ...	527
154	CXXXXI	Ḍubkuṇḍ Stone Inscription of the Time of Vikramasiṁha : (Vikrama) Year 1145 ...	528
155	CXXXXII	Gwālior Stone Inscription of Mahīpāla : (Vikrama) Year 1150 ...	535

CONTENTS

No.	Plate		Page
156	CXXXXIII	Gwālior Stone Inscription of the Time of Mahīpāla : (Vikrama) Year 1161	548
157	CXXXXIV	Narwar Copper-Plate Inscription of Vīrasiṁhadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1177	552
		An Inscription of the Dynasty of Vijayapāla	
158	CXXXXV	Iṅgnōdā Stone Inscription of Vijayapāladēva : (Vikrama) Year 1190 ...	556
		Inscriptions of the Yajvapālas of Narwar	
159	CXXXXVI	Bhīmpur Stone Inscription of the Time of Āsalladēva : (Vikrama) Year 1319 ...	561
160	CXXXXVII	A Yajvapāla Stone Inscription from Narwar : (Undated and Incomplete)	568
161	CXXXXVIII	Baḍōdī Stone Inscription of the Time of Gōpāladēva : (Vikrama) Year 1336	572
162-74	CXXXXIX	Baṅglā Stone Pillar Inscriptions of the Time of Gōpāladēva : (Vikrama) Year 1337	577
175	CL	Narwar Stone Inscription of the Time of Gōpāladēva : (Vikrama) Year 1339	586
176	CLI	Surwāyā Stone Inscription of the Time of Gōpāladēva : (Vikrama) Year 1341	591
177	CLII	Sēsai Pillar Inscription of the Time of Gōpāladēva : (Vikrama) Year 1341	594
178	CLIII	Surwāyā Stone Inscription of the Time of Gaṇapati : (Vikrama) Year 1350	596
179	CLIV	Narwar Stone Inscription of the Time of Gaṇapatidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1355 ...	600
		Supplementary-Inscriptions	
180	CLV	Halāyudha-Stōtra in the Amarēśvara Temple at Māndhātā : (Vikrama) Year 1120	604
181	CLVI	Udaipur Stone Inscription of the Time of Udayāditya : (Undated)	611
182	CLVII	Ḍabhōka Stone Inscription of the Time of Naravarman : (Undated)	613
183	CLVIII	Hoshaṅgābād Stone Inscription of Mahākumāra Hariśchandra : (Vikrama) Year 1243 ...	613
184	CLIX	A Fragmentary Stone Inscription From Ujjain : (Date Lost ?) ...	615
185	CLX	A Fragmentary Inscription From Māṇḍu : B (Date Probably Lost)	617
185	CLXI	A Fragmentary Stone Inscription From Māṇḍu : A (Date Lost ?) ...	618
186	CLXII	Udaipur Stone Inscription of Jayasiṁha IV : (Vikrama) Year 1366	622
187	CLXIII	Girvaḍ Stone Inscription : (Vikrama) Year 1181	623
188	CLXIV	A Paramāra Stone Inscription From Chītrī : (Vikrama) Year 1314	626
189	CLXV	Varmān Stone Inscription of the Time of Vikramasiṁha : (Vikrama) Year 1356	627
190	CLXVI	Dhubēlā Museum Stone Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1203 ...	629
191	CLXVII	Ajayagaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Trailōkyavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1269	630

CONTENTS

No.	Plate		Page
192	CLXVIII	Ajayagaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Vīravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1335	631
193	CLXIX	Ajayagaḍh Rock Inscription (of the Time of Bhōjavarman) : (Vikrama) Year 1344 ...	633
194	CLXX	Pannā Stone Pedestal Inscription : (Vikrama) Year 1366	634
195	CLXXI	Ajayagaḍh Rock Inscription (of the Time of Bhōjavarman) : (Vikrama) Year 134 x	636
196	CLXXII	Rāsin Stone Inscription of the Time of Paramardin : (Vikrama) Year 1466	637
197	CLXXIII	Makāval Stone Inscription of the Time of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 1276	638
198	CLXXIV	Rājpur Copper-Plate Charter of the Paramāra Raṇadhavala : (Vikrama) Years 1148 and 1127	640
199	CLXXV	Eulogy of Sun-God From Udaipur : (Incomplete and Undated)	646
200	CLXXVI	Sāwargāon Stone Inscription of the Time of Jagaddēva : (Undated)	648
201	CLXXVII	Kundēśvara Copper-Plate Inscription of the Time of Vidyādharadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1060	651
202	CLXXVIII	Rāmvan Museum Copper-Plate Inscription of Trailōkyavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1283 ..	657
203	CLXXIX	Budhērā Pillar Inscription of the Time of Gaṇapati : (Vikrama) Year 1351 ; Śaka Year 1216 ...	662

LIST OF PLATES

PART 3

Plate

Inscriptions of the Chandēllas of Jējākabhukti

XCII	Khajurāhō Stone Inscription [of Harshadēva ?] : (Fragmentary)	Facing page 336
XCIV	Khajurāhō Stone Inscription of Yaśōvarman : (Vikrama) Year 1011	342
XCV-A	Khajurāhō Jaina Temple Inscription of the Time of Dhaṅgadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1011 ...	348
XCV-B	Nanyaurā Copper-Plate Inscription of Dhaṅgadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1055	348
XCVI-XCIX	Six Dudāhī Stone Inscriptions of Dēvalabdhi : (Undated)	Between pages 354 & 355
C-A	Nanyaurā Copper-Plate Inscription of Dēvavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1107	Facing page 360
C-B	Charkhārī Copper-Plate Inscription of Dēvavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1108	360
CI	Darbat Śāntinātha Image Inscription of the Time of Kīrttivarman : (Vikrama) Year 1132	—
CII	Kālañjar Stone Inscription of the Time of Kīrttivarman : (Vikrama) Year 1147	Facing page 370
CIII	Dēogaḍh Rock Inscription of the Time of Kīrttivarman : (Vikrama) Year 1154	372
CIV	Ajayagaḍh Rock Inscription of the Time of Kīrttivarman : (Undated)	372
CV	Fragmentary Mahōbā Inscription ending with the Name of Kīrttivarman : (Date Lost ?)	380
CVI	Khajurāhō Stone Inscription of Dhaṅgadēva of the Year 1059 : Renewed by Jayavarmadēva in the Year 1173 :	386
CVII	Kālañjar Pillar Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1186	391
CVIII-A	Kālañjar Pillar Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1187	392
CVIII-B	Kālañjar Rock Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1188	392
CIX	Augāsī Copper-Plate Inscription of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1190	398
CX	Bhārat Kalā Bhavan Plate Inscription of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1192	398
CXI-A	Kālañjar Rock Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1192 ...	404
CXI-B	Ajayagaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1208 ...	408
(No Plate)	Horniman Museum Image Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1223	—
CXI-C	Mahōbā Image Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1211	Facing page 411

LIST OF PLATES

Plate		
CXII	Khajurāhō Stone Image Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1215 ...	Facing page 411
(No Plate)	Mau Stone Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Fragmentary)	—
CXIII	Sēmrā Copper-Plate Grant of Paramardidēva: (Vikrama) Year 1223	Between pages 428 & 429
CXIV	Mahōbā Stone Inscription of the Time of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1224 .	Facing page 436
CXV	Ajayagaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1227	436
CXVI	Ichchhāvar Copper-Plate Inscription of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1228	441
CXVII	Mahōbā Copper-Plate Inscription of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1230	446
CXVIII	Pachhār Copper-Plate Inscription of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1233	450
CXIX	Charkhārī Copper-Plate Inscription of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1236	—
CXX	Ahār Statue Inscription of the Time of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1237	Facing page 457
CXXI	Bhārat Kalā Bhavan Copper-Plate Inscription of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1239	460
CXXII	Kālañjar Rock Inscription of the Time of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1240	462
CXXIII	Fragmentary Mahōbā Stone Inscription of the Time of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1240	467
CXXIV	Ajayagaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Paramardin : (Vikrama) Year 1243	467
CXXV	Bhārat Kalā Bhavan Plate of Paramardidēva: (Vikrama) Year 1247	472
CXXVI	Baṭēśvara Stone Inscription of the Time of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1252	478
CXXVII	Kālañjar Stone Inscription of Paramardidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1258	478
CXXVIII	Garrā Copper-Plate Inscription of Trailōkyavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1261	485
CXXIX	Sāgar Copper-Plate Inscription of Trailōkyavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1264	490
CXXX	Dhurētī Copper-Plate Inscription of the Time of Trailōkyamalla : (Kalachuri) Year 963	Facing pages 490-91
CXXXI	Charkhārī Copper-Plate Inscription of Vīravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1311 ...	—
CXXXII	Ajayagaḍh Rock Inscription of the Time of Vīravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1317 ...	Facing page 501
CXXXIII	Ajayagaḍh Rock Inscription of the Time of Vīravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1325 ...	503
CXXXIV	Ajayagaḍh Rock Inscription of the Time of Vīravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1337	503
CXXXV	Kālañjar Stone Inscription of Vīravarman : (Fragmentary)	509
CXXXVI	Ajayagaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Bhōjavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1345	513
CXXXVII	Ajayagaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Bhōjavarman : (Undated) ...	520
CXXXVIII	Charkhārī Copper-Plate Inscription of Hammīravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1346	524

LIST OF PLATES

Plate		
CXXXIX	Bamhnī Satī Stone Inscription : (Vikrama) Year 1365 ...	Facing page 524
CXXXX	Ajayagadh Satī Stone Inscription of the Time of Hammīravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1368 ...	—
CXXXXI	Dubkuṇḍ Stone Inscription of the Time of Vikramasiṁha : (Vikrama) Year 1145	Facing page 532
CXXXXII	Gwālior Stone Inscription of Mahīpāla : (Vikrama) Year 1150 ...	542
CXXXXIII	Gwālior Stone Inscription of the Time of Mahīpāla : (Vikrama) Year 1161	551
CXXXXIV	Narwar Copper-Plate Inscription of Vīrasiṁhadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1177	—
	An Inscription of the Dynasty of Vijayapāla	
CXXXXV	Iṅgnōdā Stone Inscription of Vijayapāladēva : (Vikrama) Year 1190	Facing page 560
	Inscriptions of the Yajvapālas of Narwar	
CXXXXVI	Bhīmpur Stone Inscription of the Time of Āsalladēva : (Vikrama) Year 1319	566
CXXXXVII	Narwar Stone Inscription of the Time of Āsalladēva : (Fragmentary, Undated)	571
CXXXXVIII	Baḍōdī Stone Inscription of the Time of Gōpāladēva : (Vikrama) Year 1336	576
CXXXXIX	Baṅglā Stone Pillar Inscriptions of the Time of Gōpāladēva : (Vikrama) Year 1337	Between pages 580 & 581 „ 582 & 583
CL	Narwar Stone Inscription of the Time of Gōpāladēva : (Vikrama) Year 1339	Facing page 589
CLI	Surwāyā Stone Inscription of the Time of Gōpāladēva : (Vikrama) Year 1341	594
CLII	Sēsai Pillar Inscription of the Time of Gōpāladēva : (Vikrama) Year 1341	595
CLIII	Surwāyā Stone Inscription of the Time of Gaṇapati : (Vikrama) Year 1350	598
CLIV	Narwar Stone Inscription of the Time of Gaṇapatidēva : (Vikrama) Year 1355	603
	Supplementary-Inscriptions	
CLV	Halāyudha-Stōtra in the Amarēśvara Temple at Māndhātā : (Vikrama) Year 1120	608
CLVI	Udaipur Stone Inscription of the Time of Udayāditya : (Undated) ...	612
CLVII	Ḍabhōka Stone Inscription of the Time of Naravarman : (Undated) ...	613
CLVIII	Hoshaṅgābād Stone Inscription of Mahākumāra Hariśchandra : (Vikrama) Year 1243	615
CLIX	A Fragmentary Stone Inscription From Ujjain : (Date Lost ?) ...	616
CLX	A Fragmentary Inscription From Māṇḍu : B (Date Probably Lost) ...	618
CLXI	A Fragmentary Stone Inscription From Māṇḍu : A (Date Lost ?)	—
CLXII	Udaipur Stone Inscription of Jayasiṁha IV : (Vikrama) Year 1366	Facing page 628

LIST OF PLATES

Plate		
CLXIII	Girvaḍ Stone Inscription : (Vikrama) Year 1181	Facing page 623
CLXIV	A Paramāra Stone Inscription From Chītrī : (Vikrama) Year 1314 ...	626
CLXV	Varmān Stone Inscription of the Time of Vikramasiṁha : (Vikrama) Year 1356	626
CLXVI	Dhubēlā Museum Stone Inscription of the Time of Madanavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1203	—
CLXVII	Ajayagaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Trailōkyavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1269 ...	—
CLXVIII	Ajayagaḍh Stone Inscription of the Time of Vīravarman : (Vikrama) Year 1335	Facing page 632
CLXIX	Ajayagaḍh Rock Inscription (of the Time of Bhōjavarman) : (Vikrama) Year 1344	632
CLXX	Pannā Stone Pedestal Inscription : (Vikrama) Year 1366	635
CLXXI	Ajayagaḍh Rock Inscription (of the Time of Bhōjavarman) : (Vikrama) Year 134 ×	637
CLXXII	Rāsin Stone Inscription of the Time of Paramardin : (Vikrama) Year 1466	638
CLXXIII	Makāval Stone Inscription of the Time of Dhārāvarsha : (Vikrama) Year 1276	639
CLXXIV	Rājpur Copper-Plate Charter of the Paramāra Raṇadhavala : (Vikrama) Years 1148 and 1127 ...	Between pages 644 & 645
CLXXV	Eulogy of Sun-God From Udaipur : (Incompleted and Undated) ...	Facing page 648
CLXXVI	Sāwargāon Stone Inscription of the Time of Jagaddēva : (Undated) ...	—
CLXXVII	Kundēśvara Copper-Plate Inscription of the Time of Vidyādharadēva : (Vikrama) Year 1060	Facing page 655
CLXXVIII	Rāmvan Museum Copper-Plate Inscription of Trailōkyavarman : (Vikrama) Year 1283	—
CLXXIX	Budhērā Pillar Inscription of the Time of Gaṇapati : (Vikrama) Year 1351 : Śaka Year 1216	—

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CHANDĒLLAS OF JĒJĀKABHUKTI

No. 97 ; Plate XCIII

KHAJURĀHŌ STONE INSCRIPTION [OF HARSHADĒVA ?]

(Fragmentary)

The stone bearing this inscription appears to have been found near the temple of Vāmana at the village of **Khajurāhō**[1] in the Chhatarpur District of the Vindhya Division of Madhya Pradesh. Alexander Cunningham, who discovered it in 1883-84, noticed the inscription in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports,* Vol. XXI (1883-1885), p. 65, with a small-scale lithograph (Plate xvi-B); and the record was subsequently edited by F. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I (1892), pp. 121 ff., without a facsimile and with a transcript of the text prepared by him from an impression supplied to him by Dr. Burgess, the editor of the *Journal.* From Kielhorn's writings we know that the stone existed in "the mausoleum near the temple" till the time when he wrote. The present situation of it, however, is unknown; and, as a fresh impression of it is not now forthcoming, I edit the inscription from the lithograph published by Cunningham.

It is only a fragment of an apparently very large inscription, and contains thirteen imperfect lines.[2] Its shape is irregular, roughly appearing as triangular. The total height of it, as stated by Kielhorn, is equal to 40·64 cms., and the length, beginning with 17·78 cms. in the first line, gradually increases to 38·10 cms. in l. 8, and decreases again to 15·24 cms. in l. 13. The size of the letters is 2·22 cms. and the photograph shows the writing fairly well preserved.

The inscription is very neatly engraved in the Nāgarī alphabet, showing a close resemblance to that of the inscription of Yaśōvarman, edited immediately after this. With reference to the formation of the individual letters, we notice that the vowel *ā*, which occurs only once in *āstāṁ,* l. 9, is engraved so as to resemble *mrā*; the letter *k* in *kshiti-,* l. 10, loses its loop as a superscript; *ch, dh* and *v* are often almost alike throughout, *e.g.,* in *chatur-vvidhaṁ,* l. 4; *bh* is formed as *h;* cf. *prabhā-,* l. 4; and finally, the slightly different forms of the dental *s* can be seen in *-asmāt* and *sakala,* respectively, in ll. 2, where it appears as a combination of the palatal and the dental sibilants, and also in l. 5. The palaeography shows that the inscription is of about the same time as of Yaśōvarman referred to below, or slightly earlier than that.

The **language** is Sanskrit ; and the fragment now available is all in verse. The **orthography** does not call for any special remark except that (1) the consonant that precedes and follows *r* is, as a rule, doubled, *e.g.,* in *pāttra-,* l. 2, and *kīrtti,* occurring three times in ll. 5, 6 and 11, respectively ; and (2) the medial dipthongs are shown by *pṛishṭha-mātrās.*

Neither the **object** nor the **date** of the inscription is to be found in the existing fragment ; but from the way of writing, it appears to be a *praśasti* of a **Chandēlla** king who had Khajurāhō included in his kingdom, as we know from the names occurring therein.

To note briefly the contents of the inscription, we find the word *namaḥ* in the first line thereof, showing that the verse containing this word must have been devoted to pay obeisance to some deity ; and ll. 2-4 where words like *kalpa, viśva* and *bhūta-vikāra* occur, tend to show that they contained an account of the creation of the universe, as we find in the following two of the records of the house.[3] The next line mentions **Jējjāka** and **Vijjāka,** two rulers as born from a king (*tasmāt*) whose name is lost, but taking these two names denoting respectively the well-known ancestors of the house of the Chandēlla rulers and the first of them as giving his own name to Jējākabhukti, which is now known as Bundelkhand, we may take the lost name as of

[1] This place with its antiquities is described by Cunningham in his *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. II, p. 412; Vol. X, p. 16, and Vol. XXI, p. 55. In the last of these Vols. it is stated that the fragment may have belonged to the temple of Vāmana, from which it was found not far off (p. 65).

[2] For the sake of convenience, the lines of the extant portion are numbered here from one.

[3] See Nos. 98 and 114, below.

Vākpati who was their father. The name of **Rāhila,** the son of Vijayaśakti is again lost in ll. 6-7, which describe him as "vanquishing the haughty enemies by the prowess of his arms." Rāhila's son was **Harshadēva,** whose name appears in l. 7 ; and the description of him in ll. 8-9, which obviously refers to his fame and valour as conquering the earth up to the ocean, is all conventional.

The next line, which preserves only a foot of a verse which is otherwise completely lost, informs us that "he (a ruler whose name is not preserved) again (*punar* =) placed Kshitipāladēva on the throne". The latter of these rulers has of course been unanimously taken to be the imperial Pratīhāra monarch, Mahīpāla,[1] and as for the former, Kielhorn has shown good grounds to identify him with the Chandēlla king Harshadēva and not his son Yaśōvarman, as was conjectured by Hoernle.[2] R. S. Tripathi has also given cogent reasons for taking this ruler to be Harshadēva.[3] Thus the incident appears to have an obvious reference to the long-drawn hostility between the two great powers of the North and the South India, *viz.,* the Pratīhāras and the Rāshṭrakūṭas, culminating in the sensational achievement of Indra III (914-927 A.C.) in capturing Kanauj,[4] some time between 915 and 918 A.C., and the subsequent recovery of the throne by Mahīpāla, soon after the retreat of the enemical forces whose main interest was in the south.[5]

On the other hand, however, there is a set of scholars who urge that the incident when Harsha rendered help to Mahīpāla has a reference not to the latter's restoration after the field was left by the Rāshṭrakūṭas but to his very accession by defeating his rival and half-brother, Bhōja II, who, after the death of his father, Mahēndrapāla, succeeded in obtaining the throne with the help of the Kalachuri king Kōkalla I.[6] R. S. Tripathi, who belongs to this set, goes so far as to suggest that the word *"punaḥ"* of the verse under reference should be taken not to mean "again" but in the sense of "introducing further details about the achievements of the Chandēlla ruler."[7] But this suggestion, though ingenious, is not corroborated by any other source, and there is no positive evidence to establish that there was actually a war between the two brothers.

Whatever may have been the fact, it is doubtless that the help rendered by the Chandēlla king to his Imperial overlord speaks highly of a valorous feat which increased the prestige of the latter's house.

What remains of the inscription makes it fairly clear that it was a very important record throwing light on the Chandēlla ruling house, and its loss is indeed greatly felt.

No **geographical name** occurs in the portion now available.

TEXT[8]

1 [न्मज्ज्यार्च्चि]षे नमः[9] । जगत्स[र्ग]-
2 यं पात्वे किमस्मात्परं[10] एवं ॰ यो व-

[1] The words *kshiti* and *mahī* are synonymous. Cunningham was disposed to regard Kshitipāladēva as a son of Harshadēva and thus an elder brother of Yaśōvarman, but as pointed out by Kielhorn, there is nothing in support of this view in the fragment. His conjecture, however, that Harshadēva first defeated and subsequently re-instated Kshitipāla in the government of his dominions (*op. cit.,* p. 122) is baseless.

[2] See *J. R. A. S.,* 1904, p. 654.

[3] *H. K.,* p. 257, *n.* 1. Some hold this view doubtful, for which, see *C. I. I.,* Vol. IV, p. lxxv.

[4] *A. I. K.,* p. 13; *R. T. T.,* p. 102.

[5] *A. I. K.,* pp. 35 f.

[6] See *R. T. T.,* p. 101; *H. K.,* pp. 255 ff; R. D. Banerji, *Haihayas of Tripuri, etc.,* p. 4. This theory is based on the mention of the dubious name Bhōja, without any details, in a Kalachuri grant (*C. I. I.,* Vol. IV, No. 48, v. 7). According to Tripathi and others, he was Bhōja II of the Pratīhāra dynasty. But if we take him to have been the first ruler of the name, the whole theory falls flat on the ground.

[7] See *n.* 3, above.

[8] From plate XVI-B in Cunningham's *A. S. I. R.,* Vol. XXI.

[9] Metre: *Anushṭubh.* Kielhorn read the last of the bracketed *aksharas* as च्चि, but the plate does not show the consonant of the letter as doubled.

[10] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.* For the sake of the metre, the letter *raṁ* has to be read as separate from the following one.

KHAJURĀHO STONE INSCRIPTION OF HARSHADĒVA (FRAGMENTARY)

From Facsimile

3 [1]मप्रमेयमखिलं न [वा] कल्पादौ विश्व[म]-
4 धाः प्रथितप्रभावान् । चतुर्व्विधं भूतविकारहीनं[2]
5 [3]सकलभुवनख्यातकीर्त्तिप्र[भावः] पृथ्वीना[थ]-
6 [ख]म् ।। [4]तस्माज्जेज्जाकविज्जाकावभूतां कीर्त्तिभूषणौ । [सु]-
7 [5][भु]जविजितानेकदृप्तारिवृंदः । तस्मात्श्रीहर्षदेवः[6] सकल-
8 [च?][7] कांतिसंवलितं(तम्) । भीतेन्द्रनिहितधनुरिव शुशुभे पादांवु(बु)जद्वित[य]-
9 [प]रः[8]। त्यक्त्वा स्थानमिवायातः पुनर्म्मथनशंकितः ।। आस्तां[9] किं व(ब)हु-
10 : पुनर्येन श्रीक्षितिपालदेवनृपतिः सिंहासने स्था[पितः][10]
11 [11]त्सादि[ता]रातिशक्तिकीर्त्तिविभूषणः ।। प्रस-
12 [दूर]स्थैरन्तिकस्थैश्च[12] ।। सातपत्रनृ[प]-
13 [जत्व] ज – – [द्धितं][13]

No. 98 ; Plate XCIV

KHAJURĀHŌ STONE INSCRIPTION OF YAŚŌVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1011

THE stone which bears this inscription is said to have been discovered, some time after 1843, amongst the ruins at the base of a temple known as the temple of Lakshmaṇajī at **Khajurāhō**[14] in the Chhatarpur District of the Vindhya region of Madhya Pradesh, and is now built into the wall inside the entrance porch of the temple. The inscription was briefly noticed by General Alexander Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. II, (1862-1865), pp. 425 f.[15] and again in *ibid.*, Vol. XXI (1883-1885), pp. 65 and 84, where a small photograph of it was also published on Plate xvii-B. The record was first edited by F.

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1 Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.* Kielhorn read the first letter in this line as न, but the vertical stroke that distinguishes it from म is clear. It may also be noted that the last letter in this line is totally lost and has been adopted from Kielhorn's reading.

2 Metre: *Upajāti.* Kielhorn's reading of the last two *aksharas* is जातं, but on the plate the first is a clear *ha* with the *mātrā* very distinct.

3 Metre: *Sragdharā,* or *Mandākrāntā,* the last caesura of both of which is identical in syllables.

4 Metre: *Anushṭubh.* Kielhorn read the first letter of the line as श्व but the initial loop of the letter in only ornamental.

5 Metre: *Sragdharā,* or *Mandākrāntā.*

6 Read तस्माच्छ्रीहर्ष— Metre: *Sragdharā.*

7 Metre: *Āryā* or its variant, *i.e.*, *Gīti* or *Upagīti.*

8 Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

9 Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita.*

10 Metre, as above. The last two *aksharas* in this line are as suggested by Kielhorn.

11 Metre: *Anushṭubh.*

12 Metre: *Āryā* or its variant.

13 Metre: *Rathōddhatā* or *Svāgatā,* both of which are distinguished only from the interchange of the *mātrās* of the 9th and the 10th *aksharas* in each of its feet.

14 Kujrow of the *Indian Atlas,* sheet No. 70. Situated at N. Lat. 24° 51′ and E. Long 80°, this place is 43 kms. east of Chhatarpur and 55 kms. south of Mahōbā, and is now connected with a metalled road with each of these places. The antiquities of this place are described by Cunningham in his *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, pp. 412 ff., *ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 16 ff. and again in *ibid.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 55 ff.

15 Cunningham found the slab placed 'sloping against the wall' of the temple, and he also remarked that it was not seen by Burt in 1838, but was obtained in course of repairs carried on to this temple by the Chhatarpur Rājā some time after 1843. In Burt's time the temple was known as of Chaturbhuj.

Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. I (1888-1892), pp. 122 ff., with text in the Nāgarī, from impressions supplied to him by Burgess, with a translation (pp. 130 ff.) and a photolithograph facing p. 216; and some of its historical importance was later on discussed by scholars from time to time.[1] It is edited here from an excellent inked impression which I owe to the kindness of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India.[2]

As stated above, the record is engraved on a large slab. The inscribed surface measures 1·72 metres broad by 0·74 metres high and consists of twenty-eight lines of writing. The stone has suffered considerably about the middle of lines 17-21, and in the latter half of the last lines and some others *aksharas* here and there have been damaged or rendered illegible by the effects of weather; moreover, a few of the *aksharas* which were wholly or partially visible in Kielhorn's time have now been completely broken away. However, in most of the cases the missing *aksharas* can be supplied by conjecture, in view of the context and occasionally from the lithograph published in the *Epigraphia Indica,* referred to above, from which too I have compared my reading of the text. The letters are well formed and carefully engraved. Their size varies from 1·9 to 2·2 cms.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet. To make some general observations, we find that the top-strokes are occasionally angular, *e.g.*, of *dānava,* l. 1, the vertical strokes of the letters generally end in a curve and the *daṇḍas* are often marked as the modern Nāgarī *ra.* The initial *a* and the consonants *t, n, v* and *s* show transitional forms; see, *e.g.*, *a* in *ākalpa-,* l. 3, and *āsthāna-,* l. 23; *t* in *-avatu* and *vikrānta-,* both in l. 1; *n* in *dānava,* l. 1, and *-ajani,* l. 3, and *s* in *yasya-* and *sānu-,* both in l. 8. The initial *i,* which appears in ll. 4 and 26, is formed of two dots horizontally placed and subscribed by a loop ending in a tail; and the initial *ē, e.g.*, in *ēk=aiv-,* l. 20, has its left curve joined to the right vertical, which has a tail below. The loop of *k* as the first member of a conjunct consonant or in letters like *ku* and *kṛi* gives place to a stroke or is joined to the vertical not directly but by a stroke; cf., *e.g., kshaya-, kṛita* and *krīḍa-,* all in l. 6, *kula-* in l. 12, and *chakrē* and *kṛitī,* both in l. 26. The letter *ṅ* has not developed the dot, *e.g.*, in *saṅga,* l. 2; the lingual *ṇ* is laid flat when a subscript; see *vitīrṇṇa-,* l. 2; the rare *jh* appears twice, in *nirjjhara* and *jhātkāra,* both in l. 8; and *ph* in *phala-* in l. 6. *Dh* is in a transitional stage, showing its left limb resembling *v* in most cases, but occasionally this limb appears developed and is very rarely horned, though this horn is not joined to the lower part or the vertical; cf. respectively, *dhāttri, dhīr-* and *-mvudha-,* all in l. 3. *R* which has assumed the modern form as in *tārā-,* l. 2, is sometimes engraved in a slightly varying way, *e.g.*, in *kirāta, ramya* and *vāri,* all in l. 8. The subscript form of this letter is denoted by a serif attached to the lowest extremity of the vertical, as in *prasava-,* l. 3. This form is occasionally indistinguishable from the curved end of the verticals which appear throughout the inscription, as stated above, or from the stroke for the medial short *u,* which sometimes shows this form; see, *e.g., -asura-, vara-* and *ttrīn,* all in l. 1.

In spite of the carefulness devoted to the record by the mason in its technical execution, we observe that in some cases it is difficult to distinguish between *t* and *v,* as in *tanu-,* l. 1, between *p* and *y* as in *pātu* and *paya-,* both in l. 2, and between *bh* and *h,* as in *-bhṛiti* and *bhīma* in ll. 2 and 10, respectively. As for the *mātrās,* a peculiar example of the medial *ā* is to be seen crescent-shaped in *kaṭāksha-chchhaṭā-* in l. 2, and a rare instance of the medial *ō* is in *trilōka-,* l. 1, where the *pṛishṭha-mātrā* assumes the form of a dot attached to the left of the top-stroke of *l.* The secondary short *u* appears both in its ordinary form as in *avatu,* l. 1, and as a serif as of the subscript *r,* as in *bhuvana-* in the same line. And finally, the formation of the last *akshara trē* is noteworthy.

The **language** is Sanskrit, generally correct; and with the exception of a short sentence paying obeisance to Vāsudēva in the beginning and the date and some other particulars in the last line, the record is all metrically composed. The style is ornate and the composition abounds in figures of speech like *anuprāsa, upamā, rūpaka, vyatirēka* and the rare *parisaṅkhyā* (v. 25). The language is fluent; but one of the verses (No. 4) does not admit of proper construction, as shown in a note appended to the text. The total number of verses is forty-nine; they are not numbered.

As regards **orthography** we notice that (1) the sign for *v* is everywhere employed to denote *b*; see *vrahma,* l. 2; (2) the dental sibilant is occasionally written for the palatal as in *Kasmīra,* l. 13, while the reverse is also found *e.g.*, in *Kailāśa* in l. 24; but such cases are very few; (3) the

[1] For example, in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXV, p. 213 and in *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 189 ff.
[2] His No. B-246 (1959-60).

class-consonant following *r* is sometimes doubled and sometimes not; examples of the first are afforded by *nirmmala,* and *kīrtti-,* both in l. 20, and of the second, by *nirmāṇa,* l. 4 and *karmāṇi,* l. 9. In the word *varga* occurring twice in the record, the *akshara g* is doubled in l. 25 but not in l. 7. *T* before *r* is also often doubled, *e.g., tattra,* l. 6[1]; (4) the *visarga* after *vaksha-* in l. 2 is dropped in accordance with *vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36, and besides this we have four other cases of this type, in ll. 4, 6, 19 and 20; but in two examples, *viz.,* in *-prāptiḥ=kshayāya,* l. 6, and *dharmmaḥ=pra-,* l. 28, the *visarga* is wrongly dropped; (5) one of the two similar consonants forming a conjunct is dropped by syncopation in some instances like *ujvala,* in ll. 3, 5 and 11, *satva,* l. 11, *asṛikshīva* and *prōdyajvālā,* both in l. 16, and *rāgā=drishṭi,* in l. 24; (6) the *anusvāra* is often used for the nasals *n* and *m* and the final *m* is also incorrectly changed to it at the end of a stich; on the other hand, it wrongly takes the place of a nasal in words like *vanśa,* l. 5, and *samvatsara* and *samvat,* both in l. 28; (7) the dental *n* stands for the lingual in *nishanna,* l. 8, and a superfluous *v* is inserted after *m* in words like *namvrī-,* l. 14 and *namvra,* l. 26; and finally, (8) the vowel *ṛi* is used for *ri* in *tṛidiva,* l. 24.

The inscription belongs to the reign of **Dhaṅgadēva** of the **Chandrātrēya** (Chandēlla) **family.** It is a *praśasti,* a laudatory account, as stated twice in its vv. 47 and 48, and was composed by the poet **Mādhava,** whose father was Dēdda, a grammarian whose fame as a poet was celebrated in tales by wise men with repute (vv. 46-47). That this fame was well deserved is indicated by the style of composition. The inscription was written on stone, 'in pleasing letters', by the *karaṇika* **Jaddha,** the Gauḍa, who was a son of Jayaguṇa (?), the writer of the legal documents (*karaṇika*). The name of the engraver who was an artisan (*rūpakāra*) is lost in l. 28.

The immediate **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of the enemy of the Daityas, *i.e.,* Vishṇu, by the illustrious **Yaśōvarman** (also called **Lakshavarman** in vv. 37 and 39) of the Chandrātrēya ruling house and setting up in the same an image of the god under the name Vaikuṇṭha (vv. 42-43). The record is dated, in l. 28, in words as well as in numerical figures, in the year **1011,** without any specification of the month, fortnight, *tithi* or week-day; and the year which is evidently to be referred to the Vikrama era, is equivalent to **954 A.C.,** taking it as expired of the Chaitrādi year.

The inscription may be divided into two parts. The first part, which traces the genealogy of the ruling house, ends with verse 41; and the second part, which speaks of the temple and the image and also gives some other particulars, comprises the remaining portion.

After three *maṅgala-ślōkas* in praise of Vishṇu respectively under the names of the boar and man-lion incarnations, Vaikuṇṭha and Lakshmī's husband, the record introduces the name of **Yaśōvarman,** referring to his personal qualities and valour (v. 4)[2]. In the following five verses that are devoted to describe the origin of the world and springing of the early sages of holy conduct, Marīchi and others from the mind of Brahmā, it tells us that Atri, one of them, begat the sage Chandrātrēya and from him proceeded the family known after him. In that family was born the illustrious prince **Nannuka,** 'a touch-stone to test the worth of the gold of the regal order', whose fame spread far and wide and who conquered hosts of enemies (vv. 10-11). Nannuka's son was **Vākpati,** whose fame was sung by Kirāta women in the Vindhya mountain (vv. 12-13). He had two sons, **Jayaśakti** and **Vijayaśakti** (vv. 14-15). The latter's son was **Rāhila** who destroyed his adversaries (vv. 16-17), and his son again was **Harsha,** who was endowed with the excellencies like heroism, vigour and self-confidence. Harsha's wife was **Kañchukā,** who sprang from the **Chāhamāna** tribe, and she bore to him a son, named Yaśōvarman, (vv. 18-22).

Of all these names, those of Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti are the same as Jējjāka and Vijjāka of the preceding inscription which also mentions the name of Harshadēva. It must however be stated here that much of the description in the present inscription is entirely conventional and altogether devoid of any historical interest. Yaśōvarman is further eulogised in as many as nineteen verses (23-41), most of which too are equally poetic and only mean to say that he was a great warrior destroying his antagonists, possessed wide fame which spread in all quarters and

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1 In all such cases I find that the oblique strokes are three and therefore I have read this *akshara* as *ttr* and not *tr,* as read by Kielhorn.

2 For an analogous instance of describing the reigning king in the beginning of a record, see *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXXVI, p. 224, and *n.* 1.

that he equalled Karṇa in munificence, Yudhishṭhira in truthfulness and Arjuna in heroism. Verse 30 states that 'in his victorious march his armies reached up to the Himālayas'. The only historically important verses of this portion are 23, 28 and 31, the first of which mentions the exploits of this ruler, stating that he was "a sword to (cut down) the Gauḍas as if they were pleasure-creepers, equalled the forces of the Khasas and carried off the treasures of the Kōsalas; before him perished the Kāśmīrī warriors; he weakened the Mithilas, (and) was, as it were, a god of death to the Mālavas, who brought distress on the shameful Chēdis and was to the Kurus what a storm is to trees, (and) a scorching fire to the Gūrjaras".

Nothing is known about Yaśōvarman's expedition against Gauḍa of Bengal, his contemporaries then ruling over the region were the Pāla kings Rājyapāla (*c.* 908-40) and the latter's successor Gōpāla II (*c.* 940-60 A.C.). Both of them were admittedly weak rulers and the Chandēlla king may have taken an opportunity to invade their dominions, probably to make them still weaker and not with the objective of any territorial gain. It also seems possible that in course of this expedition Yaśōvarman may also have come into conflict with the people of Mithilā, *i.e.*, North Bihār. We may also note here that the separate mention of Mithilā in this verse clearly indicates that this kingdom was a separate political unit and not under the Pālas, as held by some scholars.[1] So far as Mālava is concerned, Yaśōvarman's contemporary on the throne was Sīyaka *alias* Harshadēva, who was then busy extending his conquests particularly in the north, as we have seen while editing his Harsōlā grants of V.S. 1005 or 949 A.C.; and it is reasonable to presume that his further extension of the territories in that direction may have been frustrated by the menacing potentiality of Yaśōvarman who was equally keen to extend his conquests towards the south and southwest, as we also learn from verse 45 of the present record, which reports that his son Dhaṅgadēva had under him some region around Bhilsā. As we shall presently see, Yaśōvarman snatched the fort of Kālañjara from the Rāshṭrakūṭas, on behalf of the contemporary Pratīhāra king; and in view of this, he may be taken to be naturally hostile to the Paramāra king who was deeply attached to the Rāshṭrakūṭa power.

Yaśōvarman's kingdom was conterminous with that of the Kalachuris on its south and the struggle of this ambitious prince with them too was inevitable. His contemporary on the Kalachuri throne was Yuvarājadēva I (915-945 A.C.), who appears to have suffered a defeat at his hands, as the present inscription informs us. That Yaśōvarman had a more-than-usual grudge against the Kalachuris is indicated by the repeated mention of his victory over them. Verse 28 of the present inscription also tells us that "the fearless Yaśōvarman vanquished a Chēdi prince with his countless forces, who was being protected by a furious multitude of invincible bowmen riding elephants in rut presenting a scene of a lofty mountain of collyrium and who had planted his lotus-foot on rows of diadem of famous kings".[2]

The adjective *sāvadya,* meaning shameful, applied to the Chēdis in the aforementioned verse of the inscription has been taken to explain that the Chandēllas had some special reason for being provoked against the royal house of the Kalachuris. We know that these kings were attached to the Rāshṭrakūṭas who were southerners and were carrying on constant raids in North India; and besides this, Dr. S. K. Mitra has also drawn our attention to the series of political marriages between the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Kalachuris, particularly pointing out cases in each of which the bride came from the Kalachuri family; and this was sufficient to provoke the Chandēllas whose interests were linked up with the politics of North India.[3]

The verse under reference also mentions Yaśōvarman's invasion of the Kōsalas. Kōsala here obviously appears to designate Dakshiṇa Kōsala, *i.e.*, the region of the upper Mahānadī

[1] see *E. R. K.*, pp. 48-49. On p. 51 of *ibid.* Dr. S. K. Mitra suggests that this show of allegiance in official documents was nothing but a mere formality; but it is rather strange that this show of allegiance and the open declaration of his hostility should find place in the same record.

[2] Dr. V. V. Mirashi has shown that since the Kalachuri prince was a senior contemporary of Yaśōvarman, and moreover that he courted the defeat after vanquishing a number of kings, the struggle between the two has to be dated towards the close of his reign. And this is exactly the time of Yaśōvarman's military expedition. For Mirashi's view, see *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. lxxxiv, which is followed here. But according to R. S. Tripathi, the Chēdi ruler was Kōkalla I, and according to S. K. Mitra, he was most probably Bālaharsha, the elder brother of Yuvarājadēva. For the respective views, see *H. K.*, p. 256, and *E. R. K.*, p. 42.

[3] See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 189 ff. Kṛishṇa II, his son Jagattuṅga and the latter's son Indra III had all their wives from the Kalachuri family.

valley where the Sōmavaṁśīs were ruling; and Yaśōvarman's contemporary ruler Śivagupta (*c.* 950 A.C.) carried on congenial relations with the Kalachuris after his defeat by the Kalachuri king Lakshmaṇarāja II (945-970 A.C.). And this may have enraged Yaśōvarman to invade this region. It must be admitted, however, that there is no evidence in support of this view.

The statement of the *praśasti* crediting Yaśōvarman to be 'a scorching fire to the Gūrjaras' would naturally suggest his enemies to have been the imperial Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj, as is generally held:[1] but this statement would be nothing less than directly challenging the over-lordship of his master Vināyakapāla whose name is mentioned below in the same record with all due honour. I am therefore inclined to agree with Dr. D. C. Sircar who takes these Gurjaras of the present inscription to be identical with the Pratīhāra dynasty represented by Harirāja who was then ruling over the Jhānsī-Gunā area and who too, like Yaśōvarman and some others, originally owed his allegiance to the imperial Gurjara-Pratīhāra power. Editing the Bhārat-Kalā-Bhavan copper-plate inscription of Harirāja, Dr. Sircar has suggested that it is this house of the Gūrjaras which is alluded to in the expression occurring in our inscription and that Harirāja claims for himself the title of *Adhirāja* in l. 2 and *Mahārājādhirāja* in l. 6 of the record goes to indicate that he openly declared independence when the imperial power was hard pressed by the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[2]

With reference to the other countries and people which are alluded to in the verse under reference, it appears to be practically impossible that Yaśōvarman actually invaded Kashmir and the kingdom of the Kurus or Khasas which were far distant from his region.[3] Equally conventional is another statement which is made in v. 30 of the record that he led his conquests up to the Himālayas in the north. The expression *dig-jaya* used in this verse and again in verse 39 below only reminds us of the description of conquests of kings of the ancient times. Verse 36 tells us that this king was also known as Lakshavarman.

Verse 31 of the record under study states that Yaśōvarman easily conquered the Kālañjara mountain, the dwelling place of Śiva. The name of the enemy from whom he captured this mountain is not mentioned; and *prima facie* this enemy of the Chandēlla king would appear to be either the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Krishṇa III (939-967 A.C.), whose predecessor Indra III may have occupied it in one of his northern campaigns, or the imperial Pratīhāra ruler. The first of these suggestions is obviously untenable, since we do not find the name of any Rāshṭrakūṭa ruler in the long list of Yaśōvarman's adversaries as given in v. 23 of the record. Similarly the second view also cannot be upheld in view of the fact that not only Yaśōvarman but his son Dhaṅga also acknowledged the suzerainty of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Vināyakapāla in this very record. Bringing to our notice all these difficulties. Dr. D. C. Sircar, while editing the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan grant of Harirāja Pratīhāra of V.S. 1040, suggested that the Chandēlla ruler seems to have captured the fort from any of the ancestors of the Pratīhāra ruler Harirāja, who, as a feudatory of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj and perhaps as belonging to the imperial family, was holding the Jhānsī-Gunā area under him, with Kālañjar included in it.[4] We have no hesitation in accept-

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[1] See *E. R. K.*, p. 51.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 309 ff.

[3] The *Mārk. Purāṇa* (p. 346, *n.*) places the Khasas in Nepal, whereas according to some, they were masters of the Lohara country on the borders of the Kāshmir State (*E. R. K.*, p. 50). Dr. R. C. Majumdar observed that the appropriate sense of the expression *tulita-khasa-balaḥ* of the verse under reference is that Yaśōvarman treated these people with contempt, and Kielhorn's translation thereof as 'equalled in strength' does not therefore appear to be correct. In support of this view the scholar drew attention to some uses of the participle '*tulita*' in some Sanskrit texts (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXV, p. 213). Pointing out. however, that the sense taken by Majumdar would be hardly applicable in v. 52 of an inscription of Dhaṅga re-issued by Jayavarman (No. 114. below), we may also quote here a verse from Halāyudha's *Kavi-rahasya*, describing its hero the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇarāja:

तोलयत्यतुलं शक्त्या यो भारं भुवनेश्वरः।
कस्तं तुलयति स्थाम्ना राष्ट्रकूटकुलोद्भवम् ॥

(Cited in *E. H. D.*, p. 133, *n*).

Instances may be multiplied by the well-known expressions like *tulit-ārjuna-śrīḥ* (*C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 282, v. 10); and two of the instances mentioned above clearly show that Kielhorn's translation of the expression used in the present inscription is absolutely correct and also that all the instances enumerated by Dr. Majumdar denote only the secondary sense.

[4] *Ep. ind.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 310 ff.

ing Sircar's suggestion, but the difficulty of how and from whom Harirāja obtained the fort remains unexplained, besides the fact that it is doubtful whether a feudatory ruler in the Jhānsī-Gunā region could have extended his sway in the east so far as Kālañjar which is not less than 150 miles (about 240 kms.) from Chandērī, which is said to have been his capital, after crossing two big rivers (the Dhasan and the ken) and the region around khajurāhō which was then held by the Chandēllas.

The second part of the inscription which commences with verse 42, says that Yaśōvarman erected the lofty and splendid shrine of Vishṇu (enemies of the Daityas), which is described in the usual poetic style. In the next verse we are told how this ruler obtained the image which he set up in the temple, *viz.*, that originally the lord of Bhōṭa obtained it from Kailāsa, from him, Sāhi, the king of Kīra, from him, Hērambapāla, and finally, Yaśōvarman received it from Dēvapāla, the lord of horses and the son of Herambapāla.[1]

The next three verses introduce Yaśōvarman's son Dhaṅga, describing him as a source of joy to his subjects. This king, who was endowed with valour and fame, as we are further told, ruled the earth, 'as far as Kālañjara and as far as Bhāsvat situated on the banks of the river Kālindī, and from there to the frontiers of the Chēdi country and even as far as the marvellous mountain called Gōpa. Dhaṅga is also described here as a brave, intelligent and righteous ruler causing the belief that 'the Kali age had, out of season, come to an end'.

Then we have the mention of the poet and the writer (vv. 46-48) ; and the next verse expresses the hope that the king may protect the earth, may the laws of the three Vēdas prosper and may the cows and the twice-born (*dvijas*) obtain happiness. This account is followed by the particulars of the date and the name of the engraver, as seen above ; and the inscription comes to an end with the name of Vināyakapāladēva who had annihilated the enemies,[2] and finally, with a salutation to the glorious Vāsudēva and the Sun.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the present inscription, **Kālañjara** (vv. 31 and 45) is the well-known fort of that name in the Bāndā District of Uttar Pradesh and situated about 145 Kms. west-southwest of Allahabad. **Mālavanadī**, on the bank of which **Bhāsvat,** *i.e.*, Bhilsā (now known as Vidishā) is situated (v. 45), is the river Bētwā ; and **Gōpa-giri** (v. 45) is of course Gwālior, the Chief city of the district of that name in Madhya Pradesh. The other places mentioned in the record in v. 45 have already been identified above.

TEXT[3]

[*Metres :* Verses 1, 5-6 and 24 *Śikhariṇī;* vv. 2-4, 7-8, 10-11, 17, 19, 25, 28, 30, 32, 35, 38-40, and 44-45 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita;* vv. 9 and 29 *Mandākrāntā;* vv. 12 and 15 *Upajāti ;* vv. 13, -18, 22, 33, 37, 41 and 46-47 *Vasantatilakā;* vv. 14, 48 and 54 *Āryā;* vv. 16, 21, 34 and 49 *Anushṭubh;* vv. 20, 23, 26-27, 31, 36, and 42-43 *Sragdharā*].

1 ओं[4] नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ दधानामेकां यः किरिपुरुषसिं[होभय]जुषं त[दा]कारोच्छेद्यां तनुमसुर-
मुख्यानजवरात् । जघान त्रीनुग्रान्ज(ञ्ज)गति कपिलादीनवतु वः स वैकुण्ठः कण्ठध्वनिचकित-
निःशेषभुवनः ॥[१॥*] पायासुर्व्वं(र्ब्बं)लिवन्च(ञ्च)नव्यतिकरे देवस्य विक्रान्तयः सद्यो विस्मितदेव-
दानवनुतास्तिस्त्रस्त्रिलोकीं

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[1] Hērambapāla *alias* Vināyakapāla mentioned below in l. 28 was the Imperial Pratīhāra ruler of Kanauj, for whose grant of 931 A.C., see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 138. By some scholars he is presumed to be identical with Mahīpāla *alias* Kshitipāla, as shown in detail in *A. I. K.*, p. 34, while others are of the view that he was quite a distinct person. See *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. lxxiv, *n.* 2. Also see *H. K.*, pp. 273-74. and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVII, p. 232.

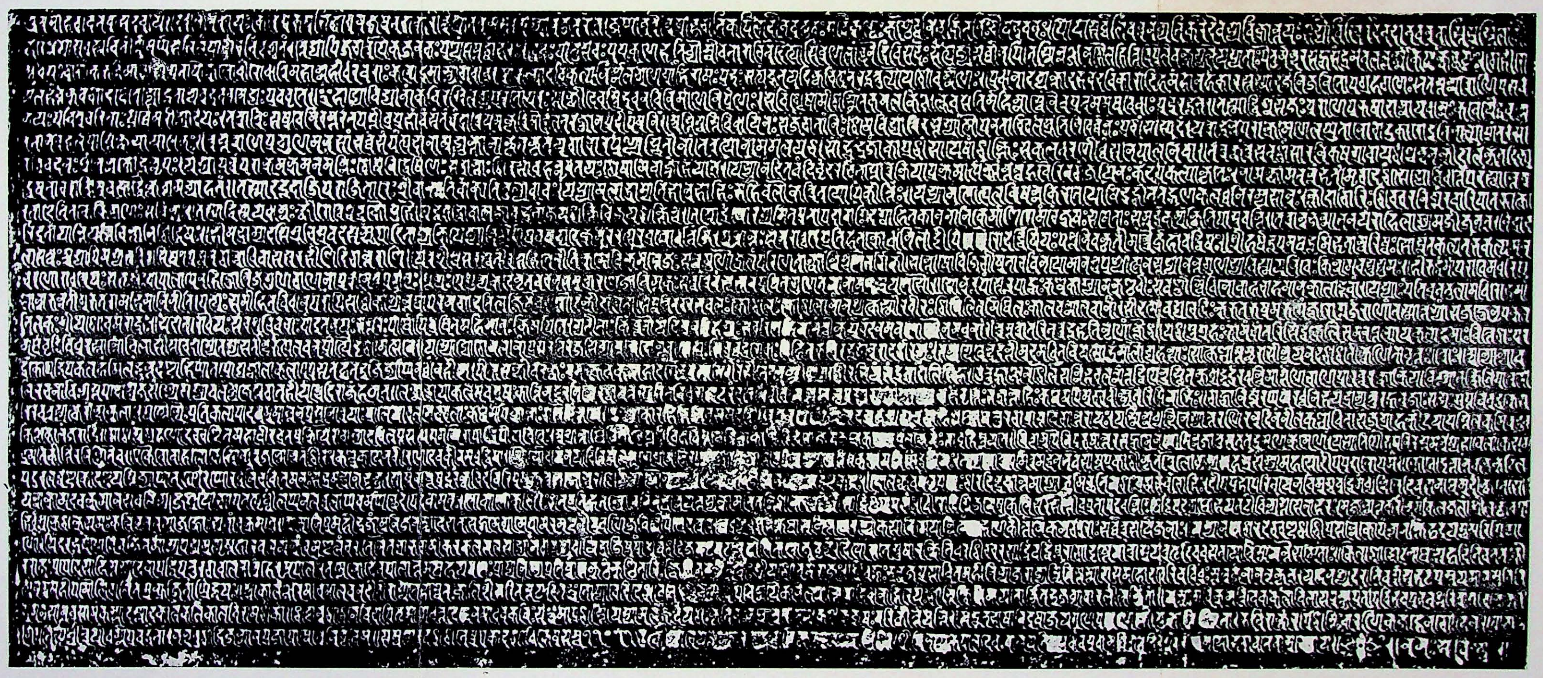
[2] See the prededing *n.*

[3] From an impression supplied by the Chief Epigraphist (His No. B-246/1959-60).

[4] Denoted by a symbol.

Madras-600 005
Govt. Oriental Manus

KHAJURĀHO STONE INSCRIPTION OF YAŚŌVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1011



From Facsimile

2 हरेः। यासु व्र(व्र)ह्मवितीर्ण्णमर्घसलिलं पादारविन्दच्युतं धत्तेद्यापि जगत्र[1]येकजनकः पुण्यं स मूर्द्ध्ना
हरः ॥[२॥*] देवः पातु स वः पयःकणभृति व्योम्नीव ताराचिते दैत्यासिव्रतलांच्छने[2] दिविसदः
संत्यज्य सर्व्वानपि। तस्मिन्नञ्जनशैलभित्तिविपुले वक्ष[3]स्थले यस्य ताः पेतुर्मन्दरसङ्गसंभ्रमवलल्लक्ष्मी-
कटाक्षच्छटाः ॥[३॥*] गंभीरो-

3 म्वु(म्बु)धयः शशांकरुचिमान्भास्व[त्प्र]तापोज्व(ज्ज्व)लो धीरो धात्रि महान्महीधरवराः कल्पद्रुमा-
स्त्यागवान्। आकल्पादविकल्पनिर्म्मलगुणग्रामाभिरामः[4] प्रभुः सत्यं व्र(ब्र)त यदि क्वचित्पुनर-
भूत्तुल्यो यशोवर्म्मणः [॥४॥*] प्रधानादव्यक्तादभवदविकारादिह महानहंकारस्तस्मादजनि जनितोपग्रह
गणः। ततस्तन्मात्राणि प्रसव-

4 मलभन्त[5] क्र[म*]वशादथैतेभ्यो भूतान्यनु भुवनमेभ्यः प्रववृते [॥५॥*] इहाद्यो विद्यानां कविरखिल-
कल्पव्युपरतौ[6] परः साक्षी देवस्त्रिभुवनविनिर्माणनिपुणः। स विश्वेषामीश[7] स्मितकमलकि[ञ्ज]ल्क-
वसतिर्महिम्ना स्वेनैव प्रथममथ वेधाः प्रभुरभूत् [॥६॥*] तस्माद्विश्वसृजः पुराणपुरुषादाम्नायधाम्नः
कवेर्य्येभूवन्मु-

5 नयः पवित्रचरिताः पूर्व्वे मरीच्यादयः[8]। तत्रात्रिः सुषुवे निरन्तरतपस्तीव्रप्रभावं सुतं चंद्रात्रेय-
मकृत्रिमोज्व(ज्ज्व)[ल]तरज्ञानप्रदीपं मुनिं(निम्) [॥७॥*] अस्ति स्वस्तिविधायिनः स जगतां निःशेष-
विद्या[वि]दस्तस्यात्मोपनताखिल[श्रु]तिनिधेर्व्वन्शः[9]। प्रशंसास्पदं(दम्)। यत्राभून्न पराक्रमेण लघुता
नो चाटुकारोद्धतिर्नाल्पाप्यंतरसा-

6 रता न च फलप्राप्ति[ः*][10] क्षयायात्मनः ॥[८॥*] त्र(त्र)स्तत्त्राणप्रगुणमनसां सर्व्वसंपत्पदानामुद्युक्तानां
कृतकृतयुगाचारपुण्यस्थितीनां(नाम्)। तत्रत्यानाममलयशसां भूभुजां का प्रशंसा येषां शक्तिः सकल-
धरणीध्वंसने पालने वा ॥[९॥*] तत्र क्षत्रसुवर्णसारनिकषग्रावा यशश्चन्दनक्रीडालंकृतदिक्पु-
7 रन्ध्रिवदनः श्रीनन्नुकोभून्नृपः। यस्यापूर्व्वपराक्रमक्रमनमन्निःशेषविद्वेषिणः संभ्रान्ता शिरसावहन्नृपतयः
शेषामिवाज्ञां भयात् [॥१०॥*] यस्यानंदितवंदिवृंदरचितस्तोत्रक्रियाप्रक्रमात्संक्रान्तम्व(म्ब)हुवैरिवर्गजयिनः
कंदर्पकल्पाकृतेः। 'नाम क्षामतनूभृतां मृगदृशां सद्यो विधत्ते पदं स्वान्तेषु

8 द्विषतां च राशिषु व(व)लाद् वैक्लव्यमव्याहतं(तम्) [॥११॥*] तस्मादभूदाजिपराजितारेः श्रीवाक्पति-
र्वाक्पतितुल्यवाचः। यस्यामला भ्राम्यति भानुभाभिः सहैव लोकत्रितयेपि कीर्त्तिः [॥[१२॥*]
यस्यामलोत्प(प)लनिषन्न(ण्ण)किरातयोषिदुद्गीततद्गुणकलध्वनिरम्यसानुः। क्रीडागिरिः शिखरनिर्झर-
वारिपातझात्का-

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[1] And not *tra* as read by Kielhorn. The middle cursive stroke is clear though smaller. In all the instances below, where the stroke is clear, I have taken the *akshara* as *ttr*.

[2] As already suggested by Kielhorn, read लाञ्छने. Probably the preceding word is intended to be ताराञ्चिते.

[3] The *visarga* is dropped in accordance with the *vārttika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36.

[4] The *akshara* मा, which was originally omitted, is written above the line. Kielhorn also observed that the first half of this verse does not admit of a proper construction but he has not proposed any emendation, which I propose as गंभीरोम्वुधिवच्छशाङ्क........धीरो धातृसमो महीधरमहान्स्त्यागेन कल्पद्रुमः. Kielhorn translates the first pause of the second quarter of this verse as 'firm like the Creator'; but I think that what is intended here is *dhātrī*, the Earth, as often found in Sanskrit literature. For similarity of construction in the last foot of this verse, see *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV. p. 413, v. 22.

[5] Originally लभन्त, with the sign of *anusvāra* later on scratched off. The idea in this verse is taken from the *Sāṁkhya* system of Philosophy.

[6] The two *aksharas* कल्प were at first omitted and subsequently written above the line.

[7] See *n*. 3, above.

[8] The other sages created by Brahman are named in the *Mk. P.*, Canto L. One of them was Atri who begot the Moon.

[9] Read वंशः. The *daṇḍa* that follows is superfluous.

[10] For dropping the *visarga*, see *n*. 3, above.

9 रताण्डवितकेकिगणः स विन्ध्यः [॥१३॥*] तस्माद्विस्मयधाम्नः क्षीरो(रा)ब्धे(ब्धे)श्चन्द्रकौस्तुभौ यद्वत्। द्वावात्मजावभूतां जयशक्तिर्विजयशक्तिश्च [॥१४॥*] तयोर्द्व[यो]रप्यमितप्रतापदावाग्निदग्धाहित-काननानि। कर्माणि रोमांचजुषः समेताः समूर्द्धकम्पं *][1] स्तुवन्ति ॥[१५॥*] तत्रानुजन्मा तनयं राहिलाख्यमजीजनत्। निद्राद-

10 रिद्रतां यान्ति यम्विचिन्त्य[2] निशि द्विषः [॥१६॥*] भीमभ्राम्यदसि[स्रु]चि स्रवदसृक्संपादिताज्यक्रिये ज्यानिर्ग्घोषव[षट्]पदे क्रमचरत्संरव्ध(ब्ध)[यो]धर्त्वि[जि][3]। अश्रान्तः समराध्वरे प्रतिहतक्रोधानिलो-द्दीपि[ते] [वै]रोदर्च्चिषि यः पशूनिव कृती मन्त्रैर्जुहाव द्विषः ॥[१७॥*] श्रीहर्षभूपमथ भूमिभृता-म्वरिष्ठः[4] सोसूत कल्पतरुकल्पमन-

11 ल्पसत्व(त्त्व)ः [।*] अद्यापि यस्य सुविकाशियशः[5]प्रसूनगन्धाधिवाससुरभीणि दिगन्तराणि ॥[१८॥*] यत्र श्रीश्च सरस्वती च सहिते नीतिक्रमो विक्रमस्तेजः सत्व(त्त्व)गुणोज्व(ज्ज्व)लं परिणता क्षान्तिश्च नै[स]र्गिकी। सन्तोषो विजिगीषुता च विनयो मानश्च पुण्यात्मनस्तस्यानन्तगुणस्य विस्मयनिधेः किन्नाम वस्तु स्तुमः [॥१९॥*] भीरुर्द्धर्मापराधे मधुरिपु-

12 चरणाराधने यः सतृष्णः पापालापेनभिज्ञो निजगुणगणनाप्रक्रमेष्वप्रगल्भः। शून्यः पे(पै)शुन्यवादेनृत-वचनसमुच्चारणे जातिमूकः सर्व्वत्रैवं स्वभावप्रथितगुणतया नाम [कः स्तू]यतेसौ[6] ॥[२०॥*] सोनुरूपां सुरूपाङ्गः कञ्छुकाख्यामकुण्ठधीः [।*] सवर्ण्णाम्विधिनोवाह[7] चाहमानकुलोद्भवां(वाम्) ॥[२१॥*] यस्याः पतिव्रततुलामधिरोढुमी-

13 शा नारुन्धती गुरुतरामभिमानिनीति। पत्युः समीहितविधानपरापि साध्वी कार्श्यं तथा परमगादति-लज्जितेव [॥२२॥*] गौडक्रीडालतासिस्तुलितखसव(ब)लः कोशलः कोशलानां नश्यत्कस्मी(श्मी)रवीरः शि[थि]लितमिथिलः[8] कालवन्मालवानां(नाम्)। सीद[त्सा]वद्यचेदिः कुरुतरुषु मरुत्संज्वरो गूर्जराणां तस्मात्तस्यां स जज्ञे नृपकुल-

14 तिलकः श्रीयशोवर्मराजः ॥[२३॥*] स दाता राधेयः स च शुचिवचा; पांडुतनयः स शूरः पार्थोपि प्रथितमहिमानः किमपि ते। व्यतीताः किं व्र(ब्रू)मो यदि पुन[रि]ह स्युः स्वचरिते [ह्रि]या नम्री(म्री)कुर्युर्वदनमवलो[क्यै]नमधुना ॥[२४॥*] त्र(त्र)स्तत्रा(त्रा)तरि तत्र भूभृति नृणां क्लेशाय शस्त्रग्रहः कामं दातरि सिद्धकेलिसुमनस्तल्पाय कल्पद्रुमाः [।*] वित्तेशः पर-

15 म(मा)र्थवृद्धिविधुरस्वान्तो विलासी स चेदास्ये तस्य सतीन्दुरुत्पलवनप्रीत्यै दृशामुत्सवे ॥[२५॥*] यस्यो-द्योगे व(ब)लानां प्र[स]रति रजसि व्याप्त[भे]दो[न्तराले] स्वःसिन्धुर्व्व(र्ब्ब)द्धरोधाः पिहितरुचिरभूद् भानु-रादर्शरम्यः। स[म्य]ग्देवेन्द्रदन्ती मुदमधित वियत्साभ्रमालोच्य हन्साः[9] सोत्कण्ठास्तस्थुरासीन्नयन-दशशती कूणिता वृत्त(त्र)शत्रोः[10] ॥[२६॥*] अन्योन्याव(ब)-

[1] See *n*. 3 on the preceding page.

[2] Read यं विचिन्त्य.

[3] The *akshara* in the brackets has now peeled off but it is clear in the Plate in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I.

[4] Read -तां वरिष्ठः, as already suggesed by Kielhorn.

[5] The sign of *visarga* was inserted afterwards. This *akshara* is a combination of both the palatal and the dental sibilant.

[6] Both the bracketed letters are now lost and the reading here is from the context.

[7] Read सवर्ण्णां वि-.

[8] The bracketed *akshara* is now lost, as some others also, below, which are not put in brackets when they can be made out from the context.

[9] Read हंसाः. The reading of the preceding *akshara* is certain but it appears to have been intended for क्य.

[10] Kielhorn translated this expression as 'a thousand eyes of averted enemies became closed'. To me, however, with the correction of *tta* to *tra*, it appears to mean that the thousand eyes of *Vṛittra-śatru*, *i.e.* Indra, became closed (for fear of another enemy though he had slayed the demon Vṛittra, as mentioned in the *Ṛig-Vēda*). Similarly, the seventeenth *akshara* in the first quarter of this verse is as written here, and not *bhē*, as taken by Kielhorn. The traces show it to have been *rō*, and *rōdōntarālē* means the space between the earth and the sky, which is quite appropriate. Kielhorn omits this expression in his translation.

16 द्धकोपद्विपकलहमिलद्दन्तदण्डाभिघातप्रोद्यज्वा(ज्ज्वा)लाकलापप्रसृतहुतभुजि ज्याघनध्वानभीमे। पीतासृ-
क्षी(क्क्षी)वरक्षःप्रमदक[लकल][1]ह्लादरौ[द्रप्रहासे] धीरं भी[तेव लक्ष्मीः समरशि]रसि यं सं[भ्रमा]-
दालि[लिङ्ग] ॥[२७॥*] उत्तुङ्गाञ्जनशैलसन्निभचलन्मत्तद्विपेन्द्रस्थितक्रु ध्यद्दुर्द्धरधन्विमार्ग्गणगणप्रारव्ध-
(ब्ध)रक्षाक्रियं(यम्)। विख्यातक्षितिपालमौ-

17 लिरचनाविन्यस्तपादाम्बु(म्बु)जं संख्येसंख्यव(ब)लं व्यजेष्ट गतभीर्यश्चेदिराजं हठात् ॥[२८॥*] लक्ष्म-
च्छायाकलुषवपुषः कान्तिमद् दू[र]मि[न्दो]र[न्या ?]यत्त[स्फुरि]तविधुरा[त्सु]न्दरं चारवि[न्दात्]। य-
[स्याः ?] – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – –[2] संभ्रान्ताभिः कथमपि मुखं
वीक्ष्य वैरिप्रियाभिः ॥[२९॥*]गङ्गानिर्झरघर्घरध्वनिभयभ्राम्य[त्तु]रङ्गव्रजाः[3] सद्यः सुप्तविवु(बु)द्धकेस-

18 रिरवत्रस्यत्करीन्द्राकुलाः। यत्सैन्यैः प्रतिकल्पपादपमुमालूनप्रसूनोच्चयाः प्रालेयाचलमेखलाः कथमपि [क्रा]-
न्ताः श[नैर्द्दिग्जये] ॥[३०॥*]उच्च [प्रा]कारभि[त्ति]स्थित[स]मद[शिखिक्रूर ?]– –[निना ?]द– –[श्य]
– ⏑ – –[4]श्लथ[रथ]तुरगप्राप्तवेगान्तरायः। ·यस्मिन्मध्यन्दिने स्यात्तरणिरनुदिनं नीलकण्ठाधिवासं
जग्राह क्रीडया यस्तिलकमिव भुवः

19 किञ्च कालंजराद्रिं(द्रिम्) ॥[३१॥*]आशस्त्रग्रहणादखण्डितमहावीरव्रतप्रक्रियैरावान्या(बाल्या)दविलुप्तसत्यसम-
[यै]रापाणिपीडाविधेः। अश्रान्तार्थिवि[तीर्ण्ण]पूर्ण्णविभवैस्त[थेप्सिता]कांक्षि[भिर्दूरोत्कर्षकथाकृतोच्च ?]-[5]
पुलकैर्यः साधुभि[:*] स्तूयते ॥[३२॥*] [नि]न्दामुपै[मि] पुरुषान्तरसङ्गमेन [शान्ति]र्न्न जातु सततभ्रमण-
क्रमेण। यस्यातिपौरुषनिरस्तमनुष्यभावे लोके समं[6]-

20 [द्रगति] कीर्त्तिरनिन्दितैव ॥[३३॥*] एकैवोवाह लोकेस्मिन्पुत्रजन्मोन्नतं शिरः। कञ्छुका येन धीरेण
देवकीव मधुद्विषा ॥[३४॥*] शौर्योदार्यनयादिनिर्म्म[लगु]णग्रामाभि[रामं यशो यस्या ?]शेष[विशुद्ध]-
ना[थति]लक[ङ्का]य[न्ति सि]द्ध[स्त्रि]यः। [तस्य स्तोत्रम]मित्रमर्द्दन[र]वे[:*][7] स्पष्टप्रकाशीकृतत्रै-
लोक्यस्य सहस्रसंख्यमहसो दीपप्रदानोपमं(मम्) ॥[३५॥*] क्रोधोद्वृत्तान्तकभ्रूकुटिल-

21 पटुरल(ण)च्चण्डकोदण्डयष्टिज्याघातस्फारघोरध्वनिचकितमनःसंभ्रमभ्रान्तदृक्षु। स्पष्टं नष्टेषु दूरं क्वचिदपि
रिपुषु क्षत्रते[जो]म्वु(म्बु)राशेर्य[त्सौजन्यं] व्यरंसी[द्भुवन ?]विजयि[नश्चण्डदोर्द्द(ण्डकण्डू]ः[8] ॥[३६॥*]
[यो] लक्षव[र्म]नृप[तेः] शरदिन्दुकान्तमाख्यातुमिच्छति यशःप्रस[रं]वचोभिः। दीपप्रभापरिचयेन
विमुग्धवु(बु)द्धिर्मध्यन्दिने दिवसनाथमुदीक्षतेसौ ॥[३७*॥]

22 यन्नाक्रामदवक्रमानसव(ब)लिव्याजप्रयोगापतत्पृथ्वीलंघनलव्ध(ब्ध)लाघवमघच्छेदी पदं वामनः। लोका-
लोकशिरःशतप्रतिहतज्योतिर्विवस्वान्न यत्तस्य क्रामति तन्निशाकर[महः]श्रीस्प[र्द्धिशुभ्रं य]शः ॥[३८॥*]-

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1 As also remarked by Kielhorn, the first of the *aksharas* looks like *ha* in the impression; and the impression before me shows some of the following *aksharas* more damaged than in the lithograph accompanying his article; this lithograph too I have consulted in my transcript of this verse.

2 All these *aksharas* are so damaged as to give no certain reading. Kielhorn read the last four as [चार्हवृत्तेः], but they do not give any intelligible sense.

3 In place of the bracketed letter some other *akshara* was originally engraved.

4 Here I suggest the reading क्रूरकेकानिनादप्रभ्रश्यद्वल्गुवल्गा-.

5 The *aksharas* from *thē* to *cha* are broken and the reading is uncertain; it is adopted from Kielhorn, but the sense is not clear. And what is more is that *ta* appears to have been followed by a conjunct consonant which is necessary to stress it metrically. For dropping the *visarga* here, see *n.* above.

6 I fail to see the alteration of this *akshara to* मु, as suggested by Kielhorn, though I agree with him in taking the following two *aksharas* looking similar to भ्रम or द्रग. The reading of all the three letters appears to be मं भ्रम-.

7 For dropping the *visarga*, see *n.* above, on l. 2.

8 The *aksharas* of the fourth quarter of this verse have all peeled off and the reading is as of Kielhorn.

9 The reading of the *aksharas mahaḥ* is from the traces left. Kielhorn read them as *mahā* with some hesitation; but coupled with *Śrī* they do not give a good sense. The reading I have adopted is in the sense of 'the splendour of the moon-shine'. The verse, which is an example of the figure of speech known as *vyatirēka,* means to say that the bright fame of the king proceeds to that region (*i.e.,* the vault of heaven) which was reached neither by the stride of Vāmana, the dwarf incarnation of Vishṇu, nor even by the Sun. The first of these allusions refers to Vāmana extending his steps so as to measure the earth and the sky, and the second to the mythical mountain that encircles the earth and beyond which is a region of complete darkness where the Sun's rays do not reach.

[धी]रो दिग्विजयेषु केलिसरसीन्तीव्रप्रतापं दधन्निश्शेषद्विपदव्यथोभयतटीविन्यस्तसेनाभरः ।
मज्जन्मत्तकरीन्द्रपंकिलजलां श्रीलक्षवर्मा-

23 भिधश्चक्रे शक्रसमः कलिन्दतनयां जह्नोः सुतां च क्रमात् ॥[३९॥*] आस्थानेषु महीभुजां मुनिजन-
स्थाने सतां सङ्गमे ग्रामे पामरमण्डलीषु वणिजां [वीथी]पथे चत्वरे । [अ]ध्वन्यध्व[गसं]कथासु
[निलये]र[ण्यौ]कसां विस्मयान्नित्यं [त]द्गुणकीर्त्तनैकमुखराः सर्वत्र सर्व्वे जनाः ॥[४०॥*] यस्या-
न[ने] शरदखण्डशशिप्रसन्ने कोपं व्यनक्ति हृदयस्थमरिप्रिया-

24 णां(णाम्) । सिंदूरभूषणविवर्जितमास्यपद्ममुत्कृष्टहारवलयं कुचमण्डलं च ॥[४१॥*] तेनैतच्चारु चामीकर[1]-
कलसलसद्व्योम धाम [व्य]धायि भ्राजिष्णु प्रांशुवंशध्वजपट[पटलां]दोलितां[भोज]वृन्दं(न्दम्) । दैत्या-
[रा]तेस्तुषारक्षितिधरशिखरस्पर्द्धि वर्द्धिष्णुरागाद्द(द् दृ)ष्टे यात्रासु यत्र तृ(त्रि)दिववसतयो विस्मयन्ते
समेताः ॥[४२॥*] कैलाशा(सा)द्भोटनाथः सुहृदिति च ततः की-

25 रराजः प्रपेदे साहिस्तस्मादवाप द्विपतुरगव(ब)लेनानु हेरम्व(म्ब)पालः । तत्सूनोर्देवपालात्तमथहय[पतेः]
प्राप्य निन्ये प्रतिष्ठां वैकुण्ठं कुण्ठितारिः क्षि[तिधरति]लकः श्रीयशोवर्मराजः ॥[४३॥*] श्रीधङ्गः स्व[भु]-
जप्रसाधितमहीनिर्व्याजराज्यस्थितिस्तस्मादास महोदधेरिव विधुः सूनुर्जनानन्दकृत् । युद्धे नश्यदराति-
वर्ग्गसुभटप्रस्तूयमानस्तुतिर्नि-

26 त्यं नम्र(म्र)महीपमौलिगलितस्रक्पूजितांघ्रिद्वयः[2] ॥[४४॥*] आकालञ्जरमा च मालवनदीतीरस्थिते[3]
भास्वतः कालिन्दीसरितस्तटादित इतोप्याचेदिदेशाव[धेः।] [आतस्मादपि ?] विस्मयैकनिल[या]द् गोपाभि-
धानाद् गिरेर्यः शास्ति क्षि[ति]मायतोर्जितभुजव्यापारलीलार्जितां(ताम्) ॥[४५॥*] यस्त्यागविक्रमविवेक-
कलाविलासप्रज्ञाप्रतापविभवप्रभवश्चरित्रात् । चक्रे कृती

27 [सु]मनसां मनसामकस्मादस्मादकालकलिकालविरामशंकां(काम्) ॥[४६॥*] शव्दा(ब्दा)नुशाश(स)नविदा
पितृमान्व्यधत्त दे[द्दे]न[4] माधवकविः स [इ]मां प्रशस्ति(स्तिम्) । यस्यामलं [कवि]यशः कृतिन
कथासु रोमाञ्चकञ्चुक[जुषः] परिकीर्त्तयन्ति ॥[४७॥*] संस्कृतभाषाविदुषा जय[गु]ण[पुत्रे]ण[5] कौतुका-
[ल्लिखि]ता । रुचिराक्षरा प्रशस्तिः करणिकजद्धेन गौडेन ॥ [४८॥*] पा[या]द्भू-[6]

28 मिपतिः पृथ्वीं त्रयीधर्म्म[:*][7] प्रवर्द्धतां(ताम्) । नन्दन्तु गोद्विजन्मान[:*] प्रजा प्राप्नोतु
निर्वृतिम् ॥[४९॥*] सम्व(संव)त्सरदशशतेषु एकादशाधिकेषु सम्व(संव)त् १०११[।*] उत्कीर्ण्णा चेयं
रू[पका]र . . . .[8] । श्री [विनायक]पालदेवे[9] पालयति [वसु]धां व[सु]धा[न ?]. . . .[10]
निर्द्दग्धवैरिणि [।*] नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥[11] ॥ नमः सवित्रे ॥

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[1] Here the pause falls wrongly by breaking the word *chāmīkara* in the separate *pādas*.
[2] The curve of *k* is attached to the right of the vertical of *pa*.
[3] Read -स्थितात्, as also suggested by Kielhorn.
[4] The two *aksharas* which constitute a name have now completed peeled off and their reading is from the lithograph in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, where they are slightly better preserved.
[5] The traces now left indicate that the bracketed *akshara* of the name was either *ga* or *gu*. Kielhorn takes it to be the latter.
[6] In the lithograph accompanying Kielhorn's article the consonant of the bracketed letter is *t*, whereas in the impression before me it is *t altered* to *y*.
[7] For dropping this *visarga* and the one that follows, see *n.* on l. 2, above.
[8] Nine or ten *aksharas* are lost here. Kielhorn took them to be from ten to twelve.
[9] Originally व:
[10] Probably the word *vasudhā* is repeated here and what is intended is *-matiśaya*. Kielhorn read : वसुधा[ध?]- ग[ता]-.
[11] Here is a floral design between two upright strokes on either side. It is omitted in the transcript.

No. 99 ; Plate XCV-A

KHAJURĀHŌ JAINA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHAṄGADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1011

THIS inscription, which is engraved on the left jamb of the entrance of the temple of Jina Nātha at **Khajurāhō**[1] in the Chhatarpur District of Madhya Pradesh, was found by Alexander Cunningham in course of his archaeological tour in Vindhya Pradesh, in 1862-1865. It was very briefly noticed by him in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. II, p. 433, and was edited by Rajendralal Mitra, in 1863, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 273 ff., where he published his reading of the text, in Nāgarī, accompanied by an abridged translation, but without an illustration. Cunningham again referred to it in his Vol. XXI of *ibid.* (for 1883-84), p. 67, with a photo-lithographic illustration (Pl. xvi-J) ; and remarked on its date, as to be seen below. It was re-edited by F. Kielhorn, in 1888, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I (1888), pp. 135 ff., with his own transcript, prepared from an impression taken by Burgess and a translation thereof ; but this article is not accompanied by an illustration. The inscription is edited here from an inked impression which was kindly made over to me by the Chief Epigraphist.[2]

The inscription consists of eleven lines, the last of which is about half of the others in length. The **writing** covers a space about 21·5 cms. broad by 20 cms. high, and is in an excellent state of preservation. The **size** of letters varies from 1 to 1·8 cms. The **characters** are Nāgarī and the letters are all clearly legible. The forms of the initial *a*, and of *k, d, dh* and *s* are fully developed ; the loop of *ch* is triangular and clearly distinct from that of *v* ; the initial *i* and the consonant *ṇ* are endowed with the top-stroke ; *r* is uniformally represented by a vertical stroke with a horizontal bar attached to its middle on the left ; and the medial vowel marks too exhibit later traits in their formation. All these peculiarities tend to show that the inscription was engraved some time in the 12-13th century A.C.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit ; and excepting two stanzas, one at the beginning and the other at the end, the entire composition is in prose. There are in it a number of mistakes violating rules of grammar, which are all corrected in the text or foot-notes appended to it. The **orthography** does not call for remarks excepting (1) the use of *v* to denote *b* also ; (2) the occurrence of *s* in all the instances where *ś* is required ; (3) the doubling of a consonant following *r* ; (4) the use of an *anusvāra* for a nasal ; and (5) *kh* engraved as *sh* in *Vaiśākha*, l. 10. The sign of *visarga* is often wrongly omitted.

The **purpose** of the inscription is to record the presentation of the following gardens by **Pāhilla** (spelt in it as Pāhila), to the temple of Jinanātha, which, though not explicitly mentioned in it, can easily be imagined from the existence of the image in the temple: — (1) Pāhilla-*vāṭikā*,[3] (2) Chandra-*vāṭikā*, (3) Laghuchandra-*Vāṭikā*, (4) Śaṅkara-*vāṭikā*, (5) Pañchāïtala-*vāṭikā*, (6) Āmra-*vāṭikā* and (7) Dhaṅga-*vāḍī*, *i.e.*, Dhaṅga-*vāṭikā*, (ll. 5-7). The names of all these seven gardens are consecutively numbered in the record and are mentioned just after the first stanza, which is full of grammatical errors, as to be seen below, and which introduces Pāhilla as possessing good disposition,[4] endowed with qualities of tranquility and self-control, compassionate, pleasing good people and held in honour by **king Dhaṅga**. Following the list of donations the inscription embodies a request to the effect that the reigning house, whichever may be in power (in this region) after Pāhilla's family comes to an end ; may guard (continue) the gifts (ll. 8-10).

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[1] For the description of the temple, see *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 433.

[2] His No. C-1949 of 1963-64.

[3] The spellings of names have all been corrected here. It will also be seen that the plots of gardens presented in favour of the temple are seven and not six, as stated by Rajendralal Mitra in *J.B.A.S.*, XXXII, p. 273.

[4] Following the reading *suśīla*, as corrected in the text.

And giving the name of the *Mahārāja-guru* Vāsavachandra[1] and recording the month and date at the end, the inscription comes to a close.

To study the names of the gardens mentioned here, it is tentative to suggest that the first of these is obviously named after the donor himself, *i.e.*, Pāhilla; Nos. 2 and 3, after the Chandrātrēya, *i.e.*, Chandēlla house, and No. 7, after the name of king Dhaṅga. I am, however, unable to explain the origin of the fifth of these gardens, *viz. Pañchāïtala-vāṭikā*. It may be that what was really intended is *Pañchāmla-taru-vāṭikā* and the third and the fifth letters of this name are wrongly engraved as some others in the inscription. If so, the five sour fruits (*amlataru*), as enumerated in the following verse of the *Śabda-chandrikā*,[2] are really meant:

> *Kōla-dāḍima-vṛikshāmlair = amla-vētasa-saṁyutaiḥ* /
> *Chaturāmlaṁ cha pañchāmlaṁ mātuliṅga-samanvitam* //

However, it is only a suggestion.

The record is dated, at the end, on **Monday, the seventh tithi of the bright half of Vaiśākha** in the year which, due to the mason's error, can be read either as **1011** or **1111,** the second figure being compounded of zero and one. Noticing this error, Cunningham preferred to take the latter of these years as true, in view of his calculation of the *tithi* falling on Monday, the 18th April, 1054 A.C.[3] But his calculation of the date has shown to be wrong by Kielhorn, according to whom the said *tithi* in reality fell on Sunday, a day before. Besides Kielhorn's observation, we have also to note that the record was put up in the reign of Dhaṅga who was on the throne in the latter half of the tenth and not of the eleventh century A.C., unless we presume the existence of a successor of his who bore the same name. While editing the inscription, Kielhorn has also shown that taking the figure 1011 to denote the Southern Vikrama year 1011, *expired,* the corresponding day works out to be **2nd April, 955 A.C.,** which was a Monday, as actually mentioned, and thus the date works out satisfactorily for the year.[4] But as the characters of the inscription are definitely not earlier than the thirteenth century A.C., I agree with him in observing that the inscription, as we now have it, appears to have been engraved from a more ancient copy.[5]

TEXT[6]

[Metres : Verse 1, *Mālinī;* v. 2, *Anushṭubh*].

1 सिद्धिः[7][।।*] संवत् १०११ समये ।। निजकुलधवलोयं[8] दि-
2 व्यमूर्त्ति[:*] स्वसी(शी)ल[:*] स(श)मदमगु[ण]यु[क्त][:*] सर्व्व-
3 सत्वा(त्त्वा)नुकंपी [।*] स्वजनजनिततोषो धां(धं)गराजेन[9]
4 मान्य[:*] प्रणमति जिननाथोयं भव्यपाहिल-[10]
5 नामा ।(।।)१।। पाहिल[11]वाटिका १ चंद्रवाटिका २[12]
6 लघुचंद्रवाटिका ३ सं(शं)करवाटिका ४ पंचाइ-

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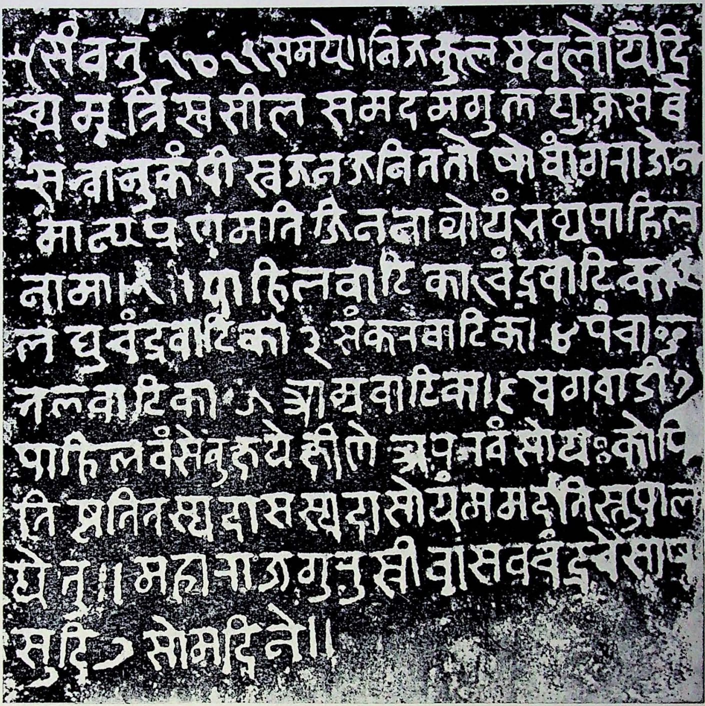
[1] Kielhorn translates this epithet as 'high priest'. The purpose of the mention of this name is not evident; possibly what is meant is 'in his presence'.
[2] Quoted in *Śabdakalpadruma,* III, p. 16.
[3] See *A. S. I. R., Vol.* XXI, p. 67.
[4] *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIX, p. 35, No. 59.
[5] *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. I, p. 135.
[6] From an ink-impression supplied by the Chief Epigraphist.
[7] Expressed by a symbol.
[8] In the sense of *dhavalayan,* making whiter, *i.e.,* prosperous. It is according to *Pāṇini,* III, i, 134.
[9] The *ā-mātrā* of *dhā* appears to have been struck off subsequently.
[10] Read *Pāhillanāmā,* as required by the metre. The last quarter offends against the metre. It contains a number of grammatical and other errors, and Kielhorn proposes to read the whole verse thus:

> निजकुलधवलोयं दिव्यमूर्त्तिः सुशीलः शमदमगुणयुक्तः सर्वसत्त्वानुकंपी ।
> सुजनजनिततोषो धंगराजेन मान्यः प्रणमति जिननाथं भव्यपाहिल्लनामा ।।

[11] Read *Pāhilla-.*
[12] This figure is damaged as already seen above.

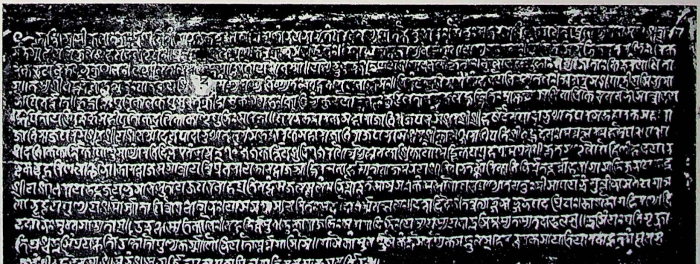
KHAJURĀHŌ JAINA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION OF DHAṄGADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1011



From Facsimile

PLATE XCV-B

NANYAURĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF DHAṄGADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1055



From Facsimile

7 तलवाटिका ५ आम्रवाटिका ६ घ(धं)गवाडी ७ [॥*]
8 पाहिल्वंसे(शे) तु क्षये क्षीणे अपरवंसो(शो) यः कोपि
9 ति[ष्ठ]ति [।*][1] तस्य दासस्य दासोयं[2] मम दंतिस्तु[3] पाल-
10 येत् ॥[२॥*] महाराजगुरुस्त्री(श्री)वासवचंद्र[:॥*] वैसाष-[4]
11 सुदि ७ सोमदिने ॥

No. 100 ; Plate XCV-B

NANYAURĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF DHAṄGADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1055

THE plate bearing this inscription was found in 1872, along with another which is edited below (No. 107), by a peasant in the process of ploughing his field at the village of **Nanyaurā**, or **Nānyaur,** in the Jaitpur-Panwārī *tahsīl* of the Hamīrpur District in Uttar Pradesh. The plate was acquired by W. Martin, B.C.S., who presented it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta ; and six years subsequently (in 1878) the inscription was published by V. A. Smith, with a translation of the text prepared by Pt. Prānnāth but without a facsimile, in the *Journal* of the same Society, Vol. XLVII, Pt. I, pp. 80 ff., which also included a note by the Pandit himself. Subsequently, the record was edited by F. Kielhorn, with a facsimile, in the *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XVI (1887), pp. 201 ff., with his own reading of the text from an impression made and supplied to him by J. F. Fleet, with a fresh translation and facsimile, and also with the remark that his reading of the text 'would be found to differ considerably from that of his predecessors'.[5] The plate is stated to have been made over some time subsequently, to the Indian Museum by the Asiatic Society to which it had been presented by Martin, as stated above ; and it is regretted that all my efforts failed to know anything about its present whereabouts.[6] And, as no impression of the inscription could now be available, it is edited here from the photo-lithograph accompanying Kielhorn's article in the Volume of the *Ind. Ant.,* referred to above.

It is a **single** copper-plate, incised on one side only, and measures about 14¼″ (36·20 cms.) by 7¾″ (19·7 cms.). Kielhorn described the plate in the following words: "The edges of it were turned up, so as to form a high raised rim all round, which was fastened, by fusing, at two of the corners, but not at the other two. The plate is rather thin ; and the letters, being fairly deep, shew through very plainly on the back of it. The engraving is good ; but, as usual, the interiors of most of the letters show marks of the working of the engraver's tool. — There is no ring-hole in the plate, for a **ring** with a seal attached to it ; and no indications of a **seal** having ever been soldered on to it."

The **writing** covers the upper three-fourth of the surface, which measures about 32·5 cms. broad by 12·5 cms. high, and consists of fourteen lines, the last of which extending slightly more than half of the others. Below it and on the proper left side of the plate is engraved the **sign-manual** Śrī *Dhaṁga,* in characters which are almost of the double size of the others and followed by two vertical strokes, but it does not show the representation of the royal emblem. On the right

[1] Better read पाहिल्लवंशे तु क्षीणेऽपरो यः कोऽपि तिष्ठति.
[2] Better read दासोहं.
[3] Read *dattiṁ,* in the sense of '*a gift*'. See *C. I. I.,* Vol. IV, p. 617, *n.* What appears as an *anusvāra* over *da* is a fault of the stone.
[4] Read *Vaiśākha.*
[5] *Op. cit.,* p. 201.
[6] From personal correspondence with both these institutes I can only conclude that this plate, along with some others which are recorded to have been handed over to the Indian Museum by the Asistic Society of Bengal, is not now forthcoming.

side, again, the lines leave an open space which increases almost uniformly in each of the subsequent lines and thus the alignment of the record is not exactly vertical but slightly slanting inwards. The average height of the letters ranges between ·5 and ·7 cms.

The **characters** of the inscription are Nāgarī of the tenth century, to which the record belongs. To note the peculiarities of the formation of some of the letters, we find that *g* as a subscript is engraved as *n*, cf. *svargga-*, l. 13 ; *ṅ* continues to be devoid of its dot, as in *bhaṅga-* and *kalaṅka*, both in l. 5 ; and *ch*, *dh* and *v* are often alike ; see *dhavala-*, l. 3 and *chandra-*, l. 5 ; occasionally the first of these letters, *i.e.* *ch*, resembles *v* ; see *chatuḥ-*, l. 10 ; and in a few instances *dh* shows the beginning of a horn on its fore-limb, as in *vasudhā*, l. 12, where the verticals of *dhā* are also joined. The letters *t*, *n* and *ś* appear in their antique form ; see *nayan-āmṛita-* and *-śchandra-*, both in l. 1. *P* is often engraved as *y* ; cf. *parama*, l. 6, and *y* is generally found with the curve bent upwards so as to serve the purpose of the vertical ; see *yasya*, l. 12. *R*, which is generally marked as a vertical with a horizontal stroke attached to the middle of its left, often resembles *v*, as in *kairava-*, l. 5, and is sometimes also like *g*, as in *ravi-*, l. 8 ; this letter in its subscript form is shown by a serif ; cf. *praṇayi-*, l. 1. The signs for *n* and *v* are not frequently distinguished ; cf. *vriddha-* and *tmana-*, both in l. 11, and also the signs for *ch* and *v* ; see *chatuḥ-* and *nāma-*, both in l. 10. The medial short *u* is a slanting stroke attached to the middle of the vertical and bent to the right ; see *-aśru*, l. 4 ; and the sign for the medial long *ū* is shown by a loop turned upwards and then suddenly bent down ; cf. *bhūmiṁ*, l. 12. A curious form of *ph* appears in *phalam*, l. 12.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit ; and it is written in an admixture of prose and poetry. In all there are thirteen verses which are not numbered. With reference to **orthography,** we may note (1) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well, as in *vahubhi-*, l. 12 ; (2) the general use of the *pṛishṭha-mātrā* with a few exceptions ; (3) the reduplication of a class-consonant following *r* as in *suvarṇṇa-*, l. 13, and frequently of a class-consonant preceding *r*, as in *mittra-*, l. 1 ; (4) the correct use of all the sibilants and class-nasals ; and finally, (5) no change of *m* to an *anusvāra* in *saṁvatsara*, l. 7, and *saṁvat*, l. 8 ; and the use of the dental nasal in *pratigṛihnāti*, l. 12.

The inscription is one of **Dhaṅgadēva** of the **Chandēlla Dynasty.** Its **object** is to record the bestowal, by Dhaṅga himself, of the village **Chulli** (or **Yulli** connected with *Ūsharavāha*, to **Yaśōdhara** *bhaṭṭa*, son of the *bhaṭṭa* Jayakumāra of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, with the three *pravaras viz.*, Bhāradvāja, Āṅgirasa and Bārhaspatya, of the Vājasanēya *śākhā*, who had migrated from Tarkārikā. Yaśōdhara was the grand-father of the donee of the Nanyaurā grant of Dēvavarman, as will be discussed below while editing that grant.[2] The present grant was made by the king for the increase of the religious merit and fame of his parents and himself, from Kāśikā, *i.e.*, Vārāṇasī, on **Sunday,** the **lunar-eclipse** day in the month of **Kārttika** in the (Vikrama) **Year 1055,** as expressed both in words and numerical figures. The corresponding Christian date is Sunday, the **6th of November, 998 A. C.** when there was a **lunar eclipse** visible in India.[3]

The inscription opens with the symbol for *Siddham*, followed by seven stanzas giving the genealogy. The first two of these stanzas introduce **Harshadēva,** mentioning him to be valorous and fierce like the scorching Sun of summer and also endowed with some other qualities. Stanzas 3 and 4 mention his son **Yaśōvarman,** who earned fame 'by cleaving the temples of opponents' elephants ; and the following three stanzas describe Yaśōvarman's son, **Dhaṅgadēva,** stating that he was victorious in countless battles, righteous and just. All this description is merely poetic, the verses being good examples of the classical style of composition, containing figures of speech like *upamā*, *rūpaka* and *parisaṅkhyā*. Historically they are of no value, as all the three kings who are mentioned here with their mutual relationship are already known from the other records of the house. All these three names are repeated in the prose passage that follows and

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[1] See text, *n.* on the name, below.

[2] He also appears to be the royal priest mentioned in No. 114, v. 56.

[3] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 201 and *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 23, No. 5. In the former of these references Kielhorn also says that calculated by General Cunningham's Tables, the result would be the following day, Monday, the 7th November. But considering the Tables and Kielhorn's calculations to be correct, it is possible to hold that Sunday was the day of the eclipse and the grant was made actually on Monday when the period of the eclipse was over.

each of them is mentioned here with the usual title of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, with an additional epithet of *Kālañjar-ādhipati* attached to the name of Dhaṅgadēva. Then comes the formal portion, followed by the date, which we have seen above; and with the five oft-quoted imprecatory verses, the document comes to a close. In the end there is the **sign-manual** of the king.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the record, **Kālañjara** (l. 7) is the well-known fort; and **Kāśikā** (l. 8) is the renowned Vārāṇasī, as we have seen above. I am unable to identify **Dūrvāhara**, the habitation of the donee, and the grant village **Chulli** or **Yulli** (ll. 9-10). The maps at my disposal show a place Dēvrāo, which is roughly about 80 kms. south-east of Jhānsī; but besides some similarity in the names and the situation of the latter in the region of Bundelkhand, we have nothing to establish its identity with Dūrvāhara. Or it may be identical with Dhurvai, *c.* 55 kms. west of Jaitpur. The grant village is described as *Ūsharavāha-pratibaddha*; this expression, as far as I think, is not a place-name but an adjective of the word *grāma*, in the sense of 'connected with or bounded by a barren spot', and along with it, we may take the other expression *sa-sār-ōsharaṁ, i.e.*, fertile and saline soil. Lastly, **Tarkārikā**, the original home of the donee (l. 9), seems to be the same as mentioned variously as Tarkārika, Ṭakkārikā, Ṭakkārī or Ṭakārī in epigraphic records as the original home of Brāhmaṇa donees as well as of the Vāstavya family of the Kāyasthas. Our attention has been drawn by Dr. V. V. Mirashi to the fact that there were more than one place of this name;[1] some of these were situated in Mālwā, as we have seen while editing the Māndhatā grants of Dēvapāla and Jayavarman,[2] while some others in Uttar Pradesh; and though nothing can definitely be said about the location of this place, the Tarkārikā of the present record appears to be the same as situated about 25 kms. north-west of Gayā in Bihar, as pointed out by Mirashi.[3] It is easy to understand a man from Gayā going to Vārāṇasī to receive the donation made by Dhaṅgadēva, who ruled at khajurāhō.

TEXT[4]

[Metres: Verses 1 and 7 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv. 2, 4-6 and 8-14 *Anushṭubh;* v. 3 *Āryā*].

1 सिद्धम्[5] [।] स्वस्ति। आसीत्कल्पतरुः प्रणयिनां[6] मानन्दकन्दः सतां मित्राणां नयनामृतं परव(ब)लस्यो
त्प[ा]तकेतुः परः। सेतुः सङ्गरवारिधेर्भगवतस्त्रैलोक्यचूडामणेश्चन्द्रात्त्रेय-

2 मुनेर्महीयसि कुले श्रीहर्षदेवो नृपः ॥[१*] प्रचण्डमण्डलोग्रस्य करक्रान्तमहीभृतः। निदाघभास्करस्येव
प्रतापो यस्य [दुःसहः][7] ॥[२*] अरितिमिरनिकरतरणेः परक-

3 रिकरटाव[भे]दनकुठारः[8]। लक्ष्मीलतालवालस्तस्माज्जातो यशोवर्म्मा ॥[३*] यस्येन्दुकुन्दशुभ्रेण यशस
धवलीकृताः। कुलाचलगुहाः[9] सेव्या जाताः किन्नरयोषिता-

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[1] *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 475.

[2] Above, Nos. 51 and 60.

[3] Mirashi, *op. cit.*, p. 475.

[4] From the facsimile accompanying Kielhorn's article in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 201.

[5] Denoted by a symbol.

[6] The *anusvāra* on ना is redundant. — Before प्र two *aksharas* are omitted in the text, as is evident from the metre. Kielhorn's guess that they may stand in the margin just above where there appears to be some writing, seems to be correct. He proposes to read something like *suhṛit* here, but *śubha* or *śruti* appears to me to be more appropriate.

[7] The *aksharas* in the brackets are not distinct in the facsimile and are adopted here from Kielhorn's reading.

[8] Kielhorn read the bracketed letter as भ and corrected it to भे. But the slanting stroke before it with its extremity joined to the preceding *akshara* appears to be the sign of the *prishṭha-mātrā*.

[9] One of the seven principal mountains of the continent. Kinnara is a mythical being with a human figure and the head of a horse.

4 म् ॥[४*] तस्य श्रीधङ्गदेवोभूत्पुत्रः पात्रं जयश्रियः। असंख्यसंख्यविख्यातः खड्गधारापराक्रमः ॥[५*] चित्रं
यदरिनारीणां हृदये विरहानलः। अजस्रमश्रुपानीयसिच्यमा-

5 नोपि वर्द्धते ॥[६*] भङ्गोन्तःपुरिकालकेषु सुरतक्रीडासु केशग्रहः काठिन्यं कुचयो[र्भ्रुवोः][1] कुटिलता
चन्द्रे कलङ्कस्थितिः [।*] स्वाच्छन्द्यं का(क)विवाचि कैरववने मित्त्रोदय-

6 द्वेषिता यस्मिन्नेकमहीपतौ कदलिकाकाण्डेषु निःसारता ॥[७*][1] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-
श्रीश्रीहर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभ[ट्टा]रकमहारा-[2]

7 जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीयशोवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकालञ्जराधिपति-
श्रीधङ्गदेवः।[3] सम्व(संव)त्सरसहस्रे पञ्चपञ्चा-

8 शदधिके कार्त्तिकपौर्णमास्यां रविदिने एवं सम्व(संव)त् १०५५ क(का)र्त्तिकशुदि १५ रवौ अद्ये[है]-
व[4] काशिकायां सैङ्घि(सैंहि)केयग्रहग्रासप्रवेशीकृतमण्डले। रोहिणीहृदयान-

9 न्दकन्द(न्दे) हरिणलाञ्छने[5] ॥[८*] भारद्वाजसगोत्त्राय त्रिप्रवराय भारद्वाजआङ्गिरसबा(बा)र्हस्पत्यवाज-
सनेयशाखिने[6] तर्क्कारिकाविनिर्ग्गतदूर्व्वाहर।[7] ग्रामाभिजनाय भट्ट-

10 श्रीयशोधराय भट्टजय[कु]मारसुताय ऊषरवाहप्रतिव(ब)द्धं सजलस्थलं सनिम्नोन्नतं साम्रमधूकं
ससारोषरप्रख्यातचतुःसीमापर्यन्तं युल्लीनामधेयग्राम-[8]

11 [म्।][9] नृ(वृ)द्धये पुण्ययशसोर्म्मातापित्त्रोरथात्मनः। [ग्रा]ममग्राम्यचरितः स ददौ धर्म्मवत्सलः ॥[९*]
दत्वा(त्त्वा) दिदेश तत्त्रत्याञ्जनाञ्जनपदप्रियः। भागभोगहिरण्यादि-

12 ददानैः सुखमास्यताम्[10] ॥[१०*] उक्तञ्च स्मृतिकारैः ॥ व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥[११*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्ना(ह्णा)-

13 ति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति। उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ॥[१२*] गामेकां
सुवर्ण्णमेकं[11] भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुलम्। हरन्नरकमायाति यावदाहू(भू)तसंप्लवम् ॥[१३*]

14 इदं श्रीधङ्गदेवस्य शासनं शासनार्ज्जित(तम्)[।*] प्रतापतापितारातिचक्रस्य क्रमवर्त्तिन[12][:] ॥[१४*]

15 श्रीधंग[13] ॥

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[1] As *n.* 7 above. This verse has the figure of speech known as *parisaṅkhyā*, instances of which are found in the *Kādambarī* and some other works of the type. It means to say that *bhaṅga* (break and curls of hair), *kēśa-graha* (seizure by the hair), hardness, crookedness, stain, self-willingness, aversion and superficiality — all these are to be found only in what is mentioned with each of these and not in his kingdom. There is a play on the word *mitra,* meaning (1) the Sun and (2) a friend.

[2] By a wrong stroke of the chisel the bracketed letter appears as *hā*.

[3] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[4] Originally अद्येहाव. But what one naturally expects is अद्येहैव.

[5] This verse and No. 11 that follows are introduced in the middle of a prose portion, as in a *Champū-kāvya* and the word *pravēśīkṛita* is used for, as Kielhorn has already observed, *pravishṭa* or *pravēśita*. It means to say that when the orb of the 'deer-marked' (moon), the root (source) of joy to the heart of Rohiṇī, had been devoured by the son of Siṁhikā (Rāhu), *i.e.*, when there was a lunar eclipse.

[6] Read भारद्वाजाङ्गिरस–.

[7] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[8] The consonant of the first *akshara* of the name might also be read as *ch;* cf. *ch* in *chatuḥ* — appearing just before in the same line. The village is described as 'appertaining to Ūsharavāha, with its water and (dry) land, with its low and high (land), with its mango and *madhūka* (*madhuca indica*) trees and with its fertile and saline soil'.

[9] I am very doubtful about the reading of this *akshara,* though I have adopted it as read by Kielhorn. What looks like *t* at the beginning may have been a wrongly cut loop of *m.*

[10] Some word like *iti* has to be supplied after this verse.

[11] Here the word *suvarṇa* is used in the sense of a gold coin. For the sake of metrical euphony, read सुवर्ण्णमेकं गामेकां–.

[12] Kielhorn takes *krama* in the sense of *vidhivat;* but comparing the use of this word in some other records, I feel that it has the sense of *kram-āgata, i.e.,* 'obtained by succession'. See *C. I. I.,* Vol. IV, p. 222, *n.* 1.

[13] Here we have the use of *anusvāra,* unlike in all the other instances in the record where we have the nasal.

Nos. 101-06 ; Plates XCVI-XCIX

SIX DUDĀHĪ STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF DĒVALABDHI

(Undated)

THE six inscriptions which are edited here were first brought to notice by Sir A. Cunningham, who published transcripts of them, accompanied by photozincographs of five, in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports,* Volume X (for 1874-75 & 1876-77), pp. 94-95, and Plate xxxii, 1-2 and 4-6. Subsequently they were edited by F. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary,* Volume XVIII (for 1889), pp. 236 ff., from rubbings taken by Cunningham and supplied to him by Fleet. But Kielhorn's article is not illustrated. The inscriptions are edited here from impressions kindly supplied to me by the Chief Epigraphist, and in my readings thereof I have also taken into account the plate illustrating Cunningham's writings.

All these inscriptions were discovered by Cunningham, as stated above, in a shrine dedicated to Brahmā and standing on a ridge to the east of **Dudāhī,**[1] a petty hamlet in the Lalitpur subdivision of the Jhānsī District of Uttar Pradesh, situated about 29 kilometres to the south of Lalitpur and about 19 kilometres south-east of Dēogaḍh, the well-known place of antiquity. They are said to have been carved on parts of the temple, though neither Cunningham nor Kielhorn gives a clue as to their exact location. As stated above, they are six in all, and all are short, ranging from one to eleven lines. In his *Report,* Cunningham, while describing them, uses figures (1 to 6), whereas Kielhorn uses alphabetical figures from A to F, to denote them, and for facility's sake, he also makes alterations in their order fixed by the former scholar. In the subjoined transcripts thereof, I have followed the order given to them by Kielhorn, and in brackets I have also given the respective numbers in which they are treated by Cunningham.

The following table is intended to show the number of lines of the respective records, along with their dimensions.

Serial No.	Kielhorn No.	Cunningham No.	Total Lines	Breadth in cms.	Ht. in cms.	Size of letters, in cms.
101	**A**	2	11	8·25	25·4	1·27 to 2
102	**B**	3[2]	10	7·00	21·1	
103	**C**	1	5	15·25	12·5	1·5 to 3
104	**D**	4	3	15·3	7·5	
105	**E**	5	1	15·37	0.12	
106	**F**	6	1	10·16	2·0	2·0

All the inscriptions are fairly legible and are engraved, as stated above, on parts of the temple so as to suit the space available. For example, **A** and **B** are arranged in short lines, each of which consists of about 5 or 6 letters, while **C** and **D** are in longer lines, the first of these two showing about ten and the second about twelve letters in each of the lines.

The **characters** of all these records are Nāgarī of the eleventh century A.C. Attention may be drawn to the general tendency that the letters have their curves sharp and some of the

[1] Doodhai, N.L. 24°26′; E.L. 78°27′ (*Ind. Atlas,* Sheet No. 70 N.W.); Cunningham describes the antiquities of this place in his *A. S. I. R.,* Vol. X, pp. 90-96. For the description of the temple, see *ibid.,* p. 94, where he observes that the ascription of this temple to the Gonds, as stated in the Gazetteer of the *N. W. Provinces* (now U.P.) Dist. Lalitpur, should evidently be taken as pertaining to later times. A parallel example of an earlier temple captured later on by the Gonds is shown by the temple of Bōramdēo at Chhaprī near Kawardhā in the Chhattīsgaḍh Division of Madhya Pradesh (See *C. I. I.,* Vol. IV, p. 581).

This inscription is not noted by Cunningham; and instead of it, he gives transcript of another (his No. 3); but it is not illustrated by him.

top-strokes are triangular. *J, n, ś* and *s* are engraved in their antique forms; *ch* shows its loop triangular, and the formation of *dh* is like that of *v*. The subscript *u* resembles *l*, and *r* is in a transitional stage, showing both its forms — with and without the loop.

The **language** is Sanskrit and all the inscriptions are in prose. **Orthographically,** there is nothing worth noting except that the medial *ē* is denoted both by the *prishṭha-* and *ūrdhva-mātrās* and the consonant following *r* is generally doubled.

The **object** of all these inscriptions is to record that the temple *kīrttana,* evidently the one where they were found, was erected by **Dēvalabdhi** of the **Chandēlla** family, who was a son of **Krishṇapa** and lady **Āsarvvā,** and a grandson of the *Mahārājādhirāja,* the illustrious **Yaśōvarman.** The first three of the inscriptions **(A-C)** give this information completely; **D** states the same but omits the name of the grandfather Yaśovarman with his epithets; and E and F, both of which consist of one line each, mention only the name Dēvalabdhi, the former of these adding that it is his (built by him) temple.

Yaśōvarman, the grandfather of Dēvalabdhi, as we are informed here, was undoubtedly the Chandēlla king of the same name, whose long inscription of V.S. 1011, *i.e.* 954 A.C. has been edited above.[1] We have seen that his son Dhaṅga had succeeded to the Chandēlla throne shortly before this date; and from the present records we know that Dēvalabdhi, who was Krishṇapa's son and thus a nephew of Dhaṅga, was in those days guarding the western frontiers of the Chandēlla dominions, as his subordinate, when the boundaries of his kingdom are known to have extended up to the Bētwā river in the west. The necessity of appointing an officer in that region may have been particularly felt in apprehension of an attack by an enemical power from the west.

Krishṇapa of the present records is no doubt the same as Kanhapa, mentioned in ll. 8-10 of a fragmentary stone inscription found at Jhānsī and now preserved in the Provincial Museum at Lucknow (E' 24 of the Museum Catalogue). This record is not included here as it is in a very bad state of preservation and nothing but mere names of some of the rulers can be read in some of the lines. But what is absolutely certain is that it refers to Kanhapa as a *nṛipa,* unlike the present inscription; and from what is stated in this connection, he seems also to have founded a city which was his capital (*rājadhānī*).[2] Whether he actually ruled cannot be said with certainty, since the use of the word *nṛipa* can be justified even by concluding that he held a command under his father or his brother, who were Yaśōvarman and Dhaṅga, respectively. Here it is noteworthy that he is called a *nṛipa* in another fragmentary inscription also, which was found by Hall at Vidishā (Bhilsā) in the last century.[3]

Since Dudāhī, the find-spot of the present inscription is only about 120 kms. north by east of Vidishā, the situation of both these places in the same region corroborates the statement of Yaśō-varman's inscription of V. 1011, *viz.,* that the Chandēlla kingdom in those days extended in the west so far as Vētravatī which flows by the town.[4]

While editing these inscriptions in the *Indian Antiquary,* Kielhorn has observed that they furnish an older form of the name of the royal family, *i.e.,* Chandrēlla, instead of the later Chan-dēlla. The former of these names he takes to be a derivative, by means of the Prakrit suffix *illa,* from *chandra,* 'the moon', formed like Bhāilla from *bhās.*[5] But the subjoined transcripts clearly indicate that the word is spelt in all of them without the subscript *r,* excepting in only one **(B),** where too the reading is doubtful.[6] Thus this slender evidence precludes the possibility of drawing any conclusion with reference to the older form of the name, as done by Kielhorn, particularly bearing in mind that the inscriptions were engraved by different hands, as is clear from a look at the plate.

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[1] No. 98. Another Yaśōvarman is mentioned in the Baṭēśvara stone inscription of Paramardin of the Vikrama year 1252, as the latter's father. But his name figures in no other record of the house, and whether he actually ruled is doubtful, as we shall see below, while editing that inscription. The palaeographic evidence too points to an earlier ruler.

[2] See *A.S.I., A.R.,* 1936-37.

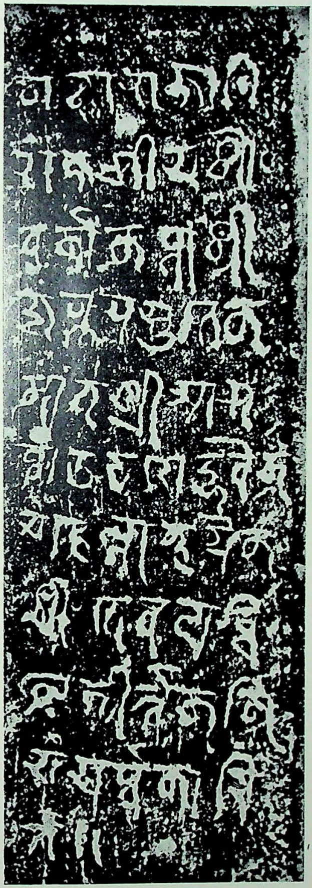
[3] *J.A.S.B.,* Vol. XXXI, p. 111, *n.* 2.

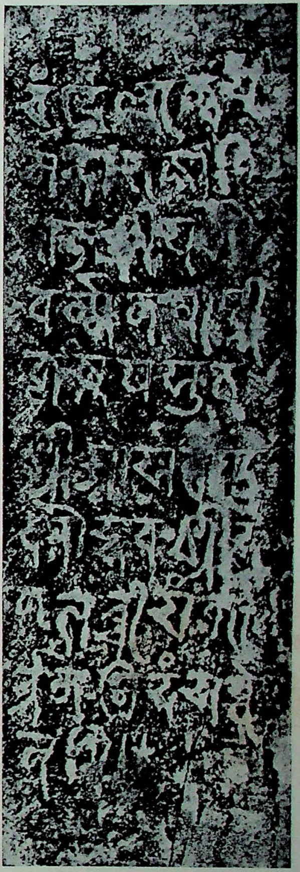
[4] No. 98, v. 45.

[5] Kielhorn, *Op. cit.,* pp. 236-37.

[6] See *n.* on this word occurring in the text below.

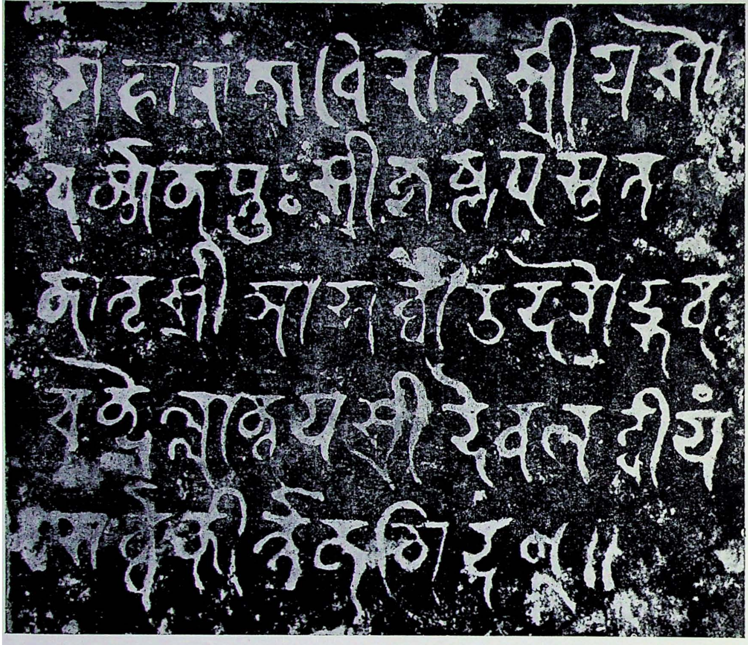
DUDĀHI STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF DĒVALABDHI (UNDATED)



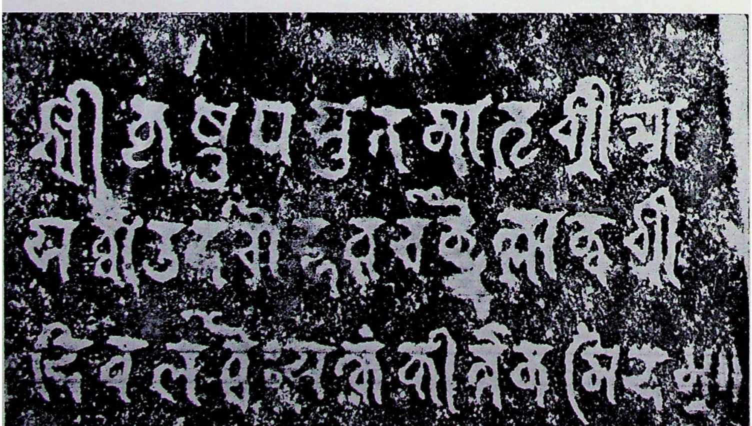


From Facsimile

DUDĀHĪ STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF DĒVALABDHI (UNDATED)

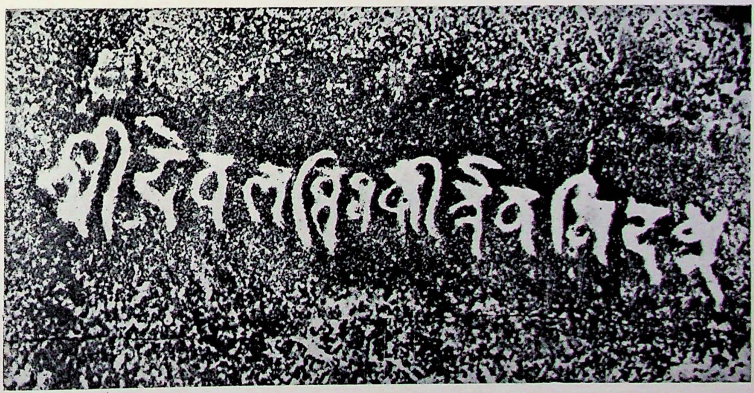


Scale : Actual size



DUDĀHĪ STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF DEVALABDHI (UNDATED)

Scale : Actual size



Scale : Actual size

TEXT[1]

No. 101 ; A (C 2)

1 महाराजाधि-
2 राजश्रीयशो-
3 वर्म्मनप्त्रा श्री-
4 कृष्णपसुतेन
5 मातृश्रीआस-[2]
6 र्व्वाउदरोद्भवेन
7 चंदे[3]ल्लान्वयेन
8 श्रीदेवलव्धि(ब्धि)-
9 [ना] कीर्त्तनमि-
10 दं सर्व्व[ं*] कारि-
11 तं(तम्) ॥

No. 102 ; B (C 3)

1 चंद्रे[3]ल्लान्वय-
2 महाराजाधि-
3 राजश्रीयशो-
4 वर्म्मनप्त्रा[तृ]श्री-
5 कृष्णपसुत-
6 श्रीआसर्व्वाउ-
7 दरोद्भवश्रीदे-
8 वलव्धी(ब्धी)यं की-
9 र्त्तनमिदं सर्व्व-
10 म[पि] ॥

No. 103 ; C (C I)

1 महाराजाधिराजश्रीयशो-
2 वर्म्मनप्तुः(प्त्रा) कृष्णपसुत-
3 मातृश्रीआसर्व्वाउदरोद्भव-
4 चन्देल्लान्वयश्रीदेवलव्धी(ब्धी)यं
5 सर्व्वकीर्त्तनमिद[4]म् ॥

No. 104; D (C 4)

1 श्रीकृष्णपसुतमातृश्रीआ-
2 सर्व्वउ(र्व्वो)दरोद्भवचंन्दे(चन्दे)ल्लान्व[य*]श्री-
3 देवलव्धेः(ब्धेः) सत्कं[5] कीर्त्तनमिदंम्(दम्)[॥*]

No. 105 ; E (C 5)

श्रीदेवलव्धिः(ब्धेः) कीर्त्तनमिदम् [॥*]

No. 106 ; F (C 6)

श्रीदेवलव्धी(ब्धिः) [॥*]

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[1] From impressions supplied by the Chief Epigraphist and also from photozincographs (Plate xxxiii) in Cunningham's *A.S.I., A.R.* Vol. X. Cunningham's number of the inscriptions is given here in brackets, where the letter C denotes Cunningham.

[2] *Sandhi* is not observed here and below in similar cases.

[3] Kielhorn read this letter as ड्रे, but what he took to be the subscript ्र appears to me only a scratch, as can be seen also above this letter and below those that precedes and follows it. This portion is damaged and we cannot be certain about the existence of the subscript.

[4] What appears as an *anusvāra* above द is only a defect in the stone.

[5] The word सत्क, 'belonging to' is used to express the meaning of the possessive case in contemporary inscriptions; but, as Kielhorn has rightly observed, it is redundant here since the name that precedes this word is already included in that case.

No. 107 ; PLATE C-A

NANYAURĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF DĒVAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1107

THE copper-plate which bears the subjoined inscription was found in 1872, along with the one issued by Dhaṅgadēva and edited above (No. 100), by a farmer, in the process of ploughing his field at **Nanyaurā,** or **Nānyaur,** a village in the Panwārī-Jaitpur *tahsīl* of the Hamīrpur District in Uttar Pradesh. The plate was acquired by W. Martin, B.C.S., who presented it to the Asiatic Society of Bengal ; and six years subsequently the record was published by V. A. Smith, with an English translation, in the *Journal* of the Society, Vol. XLVII (1878), Pt. I, p. 81, without an illustration, though accompanied by a note by the local Pandit who prepared the transcript. The inscription was thereafter systematically edited by F. Kielhorn in the *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XVI (1887), pp. 201 ff., with his own reading of the text and a fresh translation,[1] accompanied by a photo-lithograph, from an impression prepared by Fleet who was then one of the editors of the *Journal.* Some time subsequently, the plate is stated to have been made over to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, but in my attempt I failed to obtain a definite clue regarding its present whereabouts ; and as neither the original nor any estampage of the inscription is now forthcoming, I edit the record from the facsimile accompanying Kielhorn's article in the Volume of the *Indian Antiquary,* referred to above.

It is a **single** copper-plate, smooth and plain with its corners rounded off, and is inscribed on one side only. According to Kielhorn's statement it measures about 15¼″ by 10¾″, which are respectively equivalent to 38·7 and 27·4 cms. "The plate is not very thick but the letters are rather shallow and do not show through on the reverse side". The inscribed portion covers a space about 36 cms. broad by about 25 cms. high ; and the size of the letters varies from ·5 to ·8 cms. The central part of the first line of the plate shows a mark as for a ring, but no ring nor any seal was ever obtained. The photo-lithograph shows that a few of the *aksharas* in the lower proper right corner have been slightly damaged by verdigris, but they are throughout legible ; otherwise the plate was in a good state of preservation when Kielhorn wrote. There are also redundant marks of the engraver's tool. The inscription consists of nineteen lines of writing.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the eleventh century A.C. and are slightly developed than those employed in the plate-inscription of Dhaṅgadēva, which was obtained along with it from the same place and under the same circumstances. The initial *a* generally begins with a curve and resembles the modern *lr,* as in *Abhi-,* l. 11, but occasionally it has a more modified form, as in *anyasya,* l. 15. The form of the initial *i* which occurs in *ittham-,* l. 6, is represented by two hollow circles placed horizontally and subscribed by the sign for medial *u.* The loop of *k,* which is often formed with a sudden bend of the lower extremity of the vertical, as in *Kālañjara-* in l. 2, appears generally in its developed form, as in *bhaṭṭāraka* in the same line ; and in such *aksharas* as *kṛi* and *krī,* or when the first member of a conjunct consonant, it shows an unlooped form ; see, *e.g., kṛimi,* l. 18 and *dīkshā,* l. 4, but there are exceptions like *vikrīṇa-,* l. 15, *Kh* is formed of two loops with a vertical stroke on each and joined by a horizontal bar at the top ; see *Vaiśākha,* l. 7 ; but occasionally this letter appears in its modern form ; cf. *śākhinē,* l. 11, showing it in a transitional stage. The *aksharas t* and *n* which in rare instances have their antique form as in *varjita-,* l. 13 and *snātvā,* l. 9, respectively, show the developed form as in *hutvā,* l. 10 and *pitṛīn,* l. 9. *N* occasionally also shows its unlooped form, see *bhōgēna,* l. 15. In a few instances the upper loop of *th* is not developed ; cf. *panthi-,* l. 16 ; sometimes this letter is engraved as the modern Nāgarī *gh,* as in *yathāvat,* l. 10 ; and a totally different form of its subscript occurs in *sthala-,* l. 12 where it much resembles the modern *dh.* The letters *dh, v, ch* and *r* are occasionally confused ; see, *e.g., dhavala-,* l. 5, *Vāchaspati-,* l. 5, and *kara,* l. 14. *Y* shows its forms with and without the vertical bar, *e.g.* in *gāṁbhīryēṇa* and *satyēna,* both in l. 4 ; and in addition to some of its forms noted in the preceding inscriptions, *r* has its form resembling *ch* in *pravara* and *pāra-,*

[1] The necessity of the fresh attempt is explained by Kielhorn himself who says: "my own reading will be found to differ considerably from those of my predecessors."

both in l. 11, and *v*, as in *-pura-*, l. 7. *Ś* shows its antique form as in *śubha*, l. 6, and occasionally it is only a triangle surmounted by a hook; see *kuśalī*, l. 3; *s* which is in its older form occasionally appears as modern, *e.g.*, in *Sachī-*, l. 4. And finally, *h* is occasionally without the tail; *cf. mahārāja-*, l. 1. One *akshara* each in ll. 6 and 9 was originally omitted and is engraved above and below the line.

There are a few instances showing that some of the letters have totally different forms than in the rest of the record: *e.g.*, *ś* in *yaśō-*, l. 10, *jña* in *-ājñā*, l. 14, *sya* in *yasya* and *ph* in *phalam*, both in l. 16. Mistakes of writing or engraving, *e.g.*, *vāḥ* for *kaḥ* in *dhārmmikaḥ*, and *guḥ* for *jñaḥ* in *krita-jñaḥ*, both in l. 5, and others are pointed out in the text that follows. There are a few grammatical errors, *e.g.*, *krishāpayatu* and the use of the wrong *dvandva* compound in *kshityudadhiṁ* for — *dhi* (neuter), both in l. 15; they are also corrected in the text.

The **language** is Sanskrit; and except two stanzas devoted to the description of the donor Dēvavarman in ll. 4-6 and five imprecatory verses in the concluding portion, the record is composed in prose. The verses are not numbered. A tendency of the writing, as to be seen in some other records also,[1] is the use of a *daṇḍa* to denote a comma as well, as in ll. 3 and 10-13; and another peculiarity is to introduce verses in the very middle of a prose portion (see vv. 1-2) as in a *Champū-kāvya*.

In respect of **orthography,** we may note the following: (1) the general use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well, as in *vōdhayati*, l. 8; (2) occasionally putting the dental for the palatal sibilant, *e.g.*, in *Sachī* for *Śachī*, l. 4 and *saila* for *śaila*, l. 12; (3) the doubling of a class-consonant following *r*, as in *-karmmāṇau* and *svargga-*, both in l. 17, with rare exceptions like *-varjita-*, l. 13; (4) the sparing use of the *prishṭha-mātrā*; (5) the wrong change of the final *m* to an *anusvāra* at the end of a sentence as in *upanētavyaṁ* and *bhavitavyaṁ*, respectively in ll. 14 and 16, and also at the end of a stich as in ll. 18-19, and *vice versa* in *sāṁvatsarikē*, ll. 8-9; (6) the general use of an *anusvāra* except in four instances, *viz.*, *jitēndriya-*, l. 5, *-ānanda-*, l. 6, *bhagavanta-*, l. 9 and *paryanta-*, l. 13, where the dental nasal is correctly used; and finally, (7) the wrong spellings of *arghya* as *argha* and *dattvā* as *datvā*, both in l. 9, and of *puṇya* as *punya* in l. 10.

It is a royal charter and its **object** is to record the grant of a village by king Dēvavarman, in honour of the first death-anniversary of his mother Bhuvanadēvī; and the day is recorded to be **Monday** falling on the **third of the dark half of Vaiśākha** of the (Vikrama) **year 1107**. The details of the date are to be discussed below.

The inscription opens with the auspicious symbol for *Siddham*, followed by a prose passage naming the ancestors of **Dēvavarman,** introducing him as *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, and the supreme lord of Kālañjara, meditating on the feet of the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Vijayapāladēva** who, in his turn, had meditated on the feet of *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Vidyādharadēva.** The inscription does not name the family to which all these kings belonged; but from the occurrence of these names in succession and also from the use of the epithet *Kālañjarādhipati*, they may safely be taken as belonging to the house of the **Chandēllas** holding their sway over the Vindhya region, particularly when Dēvavarman who issued this grant has given us another record in the very next year which is to be dealt with just below. Dēvavarman is further described as a great warrior (ll. 3-4); and in a stanza that follows, he is said to have surpassed Yudhishṭhira by his truthfulness, the ruler of Champā *i.e.*, Karṇa, by his generosity, the ocean by his depth, the lord of Śachī (Indra) by his might, the mind-born (Kāmadēva) by his handsomeness and Śukra and Vāchaspati (Guru) by his shrewdness. The next stanza describes him as endowed with many good qualities, stating that he was wise, righteous, valiant, truthful, subduing senses and grateful.

Then the record says that 'having realised that the world which is beautiful to look at is like the innermost part of a plantain tree and void of substance', on the day as stated above, after performing all the rites and in the presence of all the *mahattamas* and the *janapadas* (chief and other persons), the Brāhmaṇas and others dwelling at the village of **Kaṭhahau** which appertains to **Raṇamau** in the **Rājapura** avasthā,[2] the king Dēvavarman, from his camp at Suhavāsa, donated the village, exclusive of what had already been given, the occasion being the death

[1] As also in the Sēmrā grant of Paramardin, below, No. 126.

[2] This word seems to be connected with *avasatha* or *avasthāna*, a dwelling place. Here it may be taken to denote a town or a territorial unit.

anniversary of his mother **Bhuvanadēvī** (ll. 8-9). The **purpose** of the grant was also to increase the merit and fame of the king himself and his parents and the donee was the Brāhmaṇa **Abhimanyu,** the son of Bhaṭṭa Ēllā and grandson of Jasadhara (Yaśōdhara), hailing from the *Bhaṭṭa-grāma* known as Ṭakārī. His *gōtra* was Bhāradvāja with the three *pravaras, viz.,* Āṅgirasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja, and he was a *Yajurvēdin,* versed in all the Vēdas and the Vēdāṅgas,[1] and was devoted to the six duties adjoined on Brāhmaṇas[2] (ll. 10-13).

Lines 13-16 specify the details of the gift village and all express the full right of the donee and his successors over it. And with the usual benedictory and imprecatory stanzas (vv. 3-7), the document ends, desiring bliss and good fortune and with the sign-manual '*Śrīmad-Devavarm-madēvaḥ*'.

This is the earliest known record of the house to give us the names of the three kings who ruled at Kālañjar, in close succession, *viz.* Vidyādhara, Vijayapāla and Dēvavarman. The Khajurāhō inscription of Dhaṅgadēva, V.S. 1011, supplies the names of Harshadēva, Yaśōvarman and Dhaṅga, in succession ; and the names of two intermediate princes, *viz.,* Dhaṅga's son Gaṇḍa-dēva, and the latter's son Vidyādhara, are known from some later records of the house, *e.g.,* the Mahōbā stone inscription of Kīrttivarman and the Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman, both of which are fragmentary and bear no date. Thus all these records taken together enable us to establish a line of succession of the Chandēlla kings from Harsha to Dēvavarman. The present record also informs us that Vijayapāla's queen was Bhuvanadēvī.

The word *vāhalā* (l. 12) is of lexicographical interest. While editing this inscription in the *Ind. Ant.,* referred to above, Kielhorn translated it by the word 'water-course' and quoted epigraphical references in support of his views. M. Williams, however, showed the meaning of this word to be 'a stream' and rightly remarked that 'it has not yet been met with in any published text'. It appears to me to be a Prakrit or local word, from the root *vah,* to flow, as we find two other words in their Prakrit form, *viz.* Ēllā and Jasadhara, respectively the father and grandfather of the donee, in this record.

The **date** of the document does not yield satisfactory equivalent for v. 1107 mentioned in it. Making calculations for four years, *i.e.,* for 1105, 1106, 1107 and 1108, Kielhorn concluded that the only year in which the third day of the dark half of Vaiśākha, as mentioned in it, was associated with Monday, is V.S. 1105, and in the other three years the day differed.[3] Elsewhere he observed that the details work out properly for the immediately following year which was V.S. 1108 or 1052 A.C. ; and accordingly the day was **Monday, 20th April.**[4] He rejects his calculation of the date which is equivalent to Monday, 1st April, 1051 A.C., probably because, as noted by himself, the desired *tithi* (*tritīyā*) commenced 6 h. 4 m. after mean sunrise and also that either Monday was joined with the (third) *tithi,* or the year 1107 has been put erroneously for 1108. But as far as I think, it is less likely to take the year wrong. It may also be remarked here that on Monday, 1st April, 1051, *tritīyā* was current in the afternoon, which is preferred to the forenoon for performing a *śrāddha.* Thus this seems to be the desired day.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Kālañjara** and **Takāri** have already been identified, respectively with the well-known fort and Tarkārikā of the Nānyaur grant of Dhaṅga-dēva. **Rājapura** suggests its identification with the modern Rājapurā which is about 40 kms. west-north-west of Chhatarpur, the headquarters of a district of the same name in the Bundel-khand region of Madhya Pradesh. This identification appears to be probable in view of another, *viz.* of **Raṇamau** with the modern Mhow, which is about 16 kms. north-west of Chhatarpur and about 32 kms. north-east of Rājpurā. Both these identifications are suggested in view of the fact that these places are situated in the same region as Jaitpur-Panwārī, the headquarters of the *tahsīl* in which the present plate was discovered. I am, however, unable to locate **Kaṭhahau,** the donated village, and **Suha(kha)vāsa** where the king was encamped when he issued the grant.

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[1] These are *Sikshā, chhandas, nirukta, vyākaraṇa, kalpa* and *jyōtisha.*

[2] See *M. S.,* X, 75. The donee of the present grant was evidently the grandson of Yaśōdhara, the donee of the Nānyaura grant of Dhaṅgadēva, in which the name figures in its Sanskrit form. For, besides the fact that the *gōtra* and the *pravaras* of both were the same, their families are also mentioned as hailing from the same place.

[3] *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XVI, pp. 201-02.

[4] *Ibid.,* Vol. XIX, p. 364, No. 178. In his *I. N. I.,* No. 129, D. R. Bhandarkar takes the English equivalents as 1st April, 1051 A.C.

TEXT[1]

[Metres: Verse 1 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita ;* vv. 3-7 *Anushṭubh*].

1 सिद्धम्[2] स्वस्ति। परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीविद्याधरदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि-

2 राजपरमेश्वरश्रीविजयपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालंजराधि-

3 पतिश्रीमद्देववर्म्मदेवः कुशली ॥ प्रतापानलकवलिताखिलदिक्चक्रवालः।[3] संग्रामांगणनिहताराति‌वनिता-
वैधव्यदानदी-

4 क्षागुरुः (॥) यः सत्येन युधिष्ठिरं विजयते त्यागेन चंपाधिपम्[4](।) गांभीर्येण महोदधिं प्रभुतया देवं
स(श)चीवल्लभम(म्)। रूपेणापि मनोभवं [प]टुत-

5 या शुक्रं सवा[च]स्पतिं तस्यान्यैर्विशदेंदुधामधवलैः किं कीर्त्तितैः स्याद् गुणैः ॥[१*] वु(बु)द्धि-
मान्धार्म्मिवा(कः) शूरः सत्यवादी जितेन्द्रियः। [कृ]तगु(ज्ञ)ः सज्ज-

6 नानन्दजन[न]ः[5] शुभदर्शनः ॥[२*] इत्थमनेकगुणगणसमलंकृतशरीरः(।) निःसारसुंदरतरालोककदलीगर्भ(र्ब्भ)-
विभ्रमाकारसंसारमाकलय्य[6](।)

7 संवत् ११०७ वैशाखमासे कृ[श्न(ष्ण)]पक्षे तृतीयायां सोमदिने सुहवाससमावासे राजपुरावस्थायां
रणमौ[अ]संव(ब)द्धकठ[हौ][7]-

8 ग्रामे निवासिमहत्तमजनपदान् व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणोत्तरान् राजपुरुषां[श्च] वोव(बोध)यति। आत्मीयमातुः
राज्ञीश्रीभुवनदेव्याः साम्व(सांव)-

9 त्सरी(रि)के (।) जले विधिवत्स्नात्वा देवमनुष्यपूर्व्वान् पितॄन् सदर्भतिलोदकेन संतर्प्य रवेर[र्घ्यं] दत्वा
भग[8]वन्तं भवानीपतिं समभ्य-

10 [र्च्यं] यथावत् हुतभुजि हुत्वा च (।) मातापित्रोरात्मन[श्च] पुन्य(ण्य)यशोभिवृद्धये (।) टकारीभट्ट-
ग्रामविनिर्ग्गताय[9] भारद्वाजगोत्राय अं(आं)गि-

11 रसवा(बा)र्हस्पत्यभारद्वाजत्रिप्रवराय यजुर्व्वेदशाखिने व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणअभिमन्यवे भट्टएल्लापुत्राय[10] जसधरनप्त्रे (।)
वेदवेदांगपा[र]गा-

12 य षट्कर्म्माभिरताय सुशीलाय (।) ग्रामोयमस्माभि[ः*][11] सजलस्थलः सा[म्र]मवू(धू)कः (।) सगर्त्तोषर-
पाषाणः (।) ससै(शै)लवाहलः[12] (।) सलो-

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[1] From facsimile in *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XVI.

[2] Denoted by a symbol.

[3] Here and in some cases below, which are not separately noted, the sign of punctuation is redundant.

[4] That is, Karṇa. The consonant of the preceding ष्ठि is not well formed.

[5] The *akshara* in the brackets was originally omitted and was later on written below the line with an arrow-mark to draw attention, but after the sign of *visarga* and not before where it is actually to be supplied. This was not noted by Kielhorn.

[6] Better read –कारं संसारं –.

[7] The reading of the consonant of this *akshara,* as also noted by Kielhorn, is not certain. In सुहवास that precedes, the vertical showing the *mātrā* in the third *akshara* is detached from it so as to look like a *daṇḍa.*

[8] This *akshara,* which was originally omitted, is written below the line but without an arrow-mark to draw attention to it as in *n.* 4, above.

[9] Kielhorn read ढकारी, but to me it appears to be as given here. What follows the point of ट is a chisel-stroke and not the bend.

[10] The reading of the first *akshara* of the name is not certain. Moreover, no *sandhi* is made here as also in –ण अभि– that precedes. The Sanskrit form of the name that follows is यशोधर.

[11] This *akshara* is followed by two small dots vertically placed. It cannot be ascertained whether they form the sign of the *visarga* inserted subsequently or are merely strokes of the chisel.

[12] This word is not known to dictionaries. The context, however, shows that *vāha,* water-course, is intended. See *n.* on this word in No. 4, l. 11, above. The word *vāha* occurs also in No. 100, l. 10.

13 हलवणाकरः (।) सवननिधानः (।) चतुराघाटविशुद्धः (।) स्वसीमातृणयूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः (।) पूर्व्वदत्त-
देवव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणवर्जितः सा(शा)-

14 सनत्वेन प्रदत्तः। तद्भवद्भिराज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा समस्तभाग[भो]गकरहिरण्यदंडादायादिकमुचितानुचितं[1]
चास्योपनेतव्यं(व्यम्)

15 [आ]चंद्रार्क[2] क्षित्युदधिं यावत् स्वपुत्रपौत्रसंतत्या भुनक्तु भोगेन वा प्रयच्छतु अन्यस्य वा ददातु
विक्रीणतु कृषतु कृषापयतु वा [।*] न कैरपि भा-

16 विभोक्तृभिः परिपंथिभिर्भवितव्यं(व्यम्) ॥ व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः। यस्य यस्य यदा
भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ।[।३*] भूमिं यः प्रति-

17 गृह्ता(ह्णा)ति य[श्च] भूमिं प्रयच्छति। उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ।[।४*] शंख
भद्रासन(नं) छत्रं वराश्वाः वरवाहनाः। भूमिदानस्य चिह्ना-

18 नि फलं स्वर्ग्गः पुरंदर ।[।५*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां(राम्)। स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा
पितृभिः सह मज्जति ।[।६*] स्वर्ण्णमेकं[3]गामेकं(कां) भूमेरप्येक-

19 मंगुलं(लम्)। हरन्नरकमायाति यावदाहू(भू)तसंप्लवम् ।[।७*] मंगलं महाश्रीः॥ श्रीमद्देववर्म्मदेवः ॥[4]

No. 108; Plate C-b

CHARKHĀRĪ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF DĒVAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1108

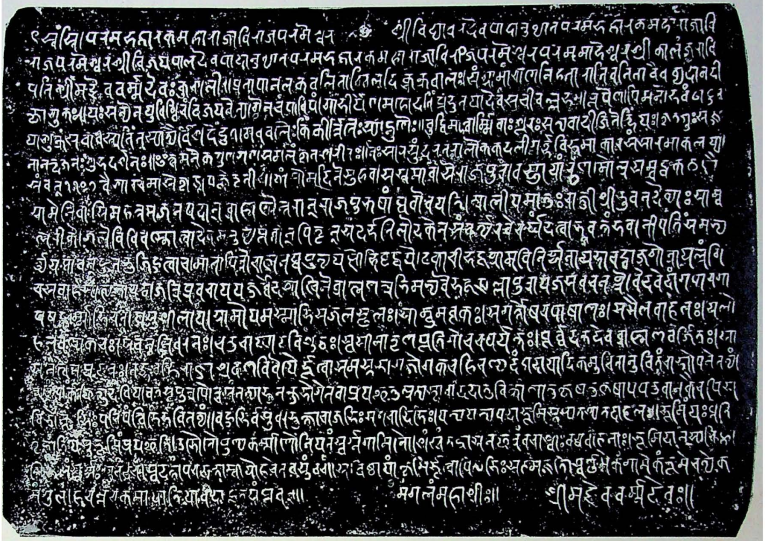
THIS plate, together with some others,[5] is stated to have been in the possession of the ruling Chief of **Charkhāri,** formerly a State in Bundelkhand, Central India Agency, but now included in the Hamīrpur District of Uttar Pradesh. Its original find-spot is unknown and there is no information as to how and under what circumstances it was obtained. The inscription on it was edited by R. B. Hiralal, with text in Nāgarī characters but without a lithograph, in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XX (1929-30), pp. 125 ff.[6] It is edited here from an inked estampage kindly furnished by the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.[7]

It is a large plate of copper, with its corners rounded off. Its dimensions, as recorded by Hiralal, are $18\frac{3}{4}''$ by $12\frac{5}{8}''$ which are equivalent to 47·63 and 30·48 cms. respectively, and it is stated to weigh $360\frac{1}{2}$ *tolas,* or 4·20 kgms. Hiralal described the plate as "surmounted by a copper-hook, $2\frac{3}{4}''$ (6·85 cms.) long, which is rivetted to it and holds a ring $2\frac{5}{8}''$ (5·80 cms.) in diameter".

The plate is inscribed on one side only. The writing covers a space measuring 42 cms. broad by 28 cms. high and consists of 23 lines, the last of which is only 19·5 cms. long. At the top of the plate is engraved a representation of the four-armed goddess **Lakshmī,** being sprinkled by an elephant holding a pot in its trunk raised up, on either side. The figure is seated

1 Kielhorn explained this as *niyal-āniyala,* in the sense of 'fixed and not fixed'.
2 The first *akshara* in this line is damaged and Kielhorn doubtfully read it *sa.* But the two verticals which are clear show it as taken here.
3 Read सुवर्ण्णमेकं, so as to suit the metre.
4 The sign-manual and the preceding six *aksharas* are separated by some space from the main body of the record.
5 Below, Nos. 132, 144 and 151.
6 From impressions sent to him by Hirananda Sastri who was then the Government Epigraphist for India.
7 His No. A-45 (56-57). The present whereabouts of the plate are unknown.

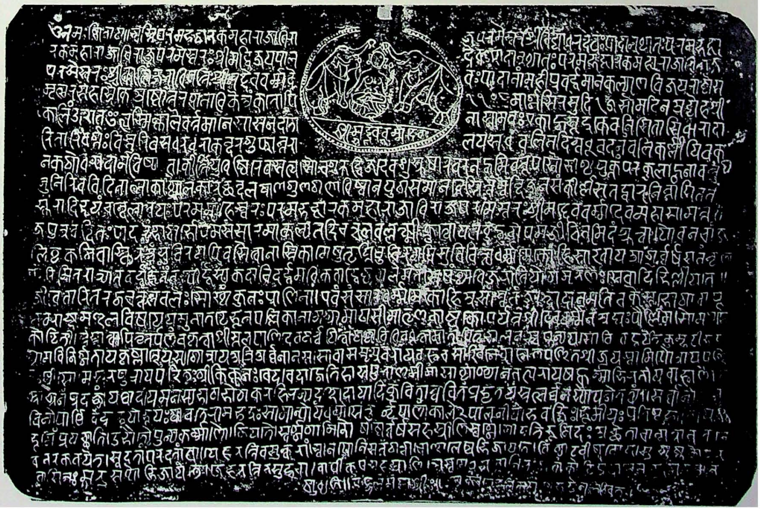
NANYAURĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF DĒVAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1107



From Facsimile

PLATE C-B

CHARKHĀRĪ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF DĒVAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1108



on a full-bloomed lotus and holds a lotus-bud in each of the upper hands which are raised. The whole design is included in an oval figure of beaded borders, 8 cms. in height and 10 cms. in breadth, and divides the first six lines of the writing into equal halves.[1] Under the seat of the goddess is inscribed the **sign-manual** *Śrīmad-Dēvavarmmadēvaḥ sva-hastaḥ,* in two lines. The average height of the letters is about one cm., except for those of the second line of the sign-manual which are slightly smaller. The impression shows the plate to be in a perfect state of preservation.

The **characters** are Nāgarī. They share the characteristics of the script of those of the preceding charter which was issued only a year back; but they are somewhat irregularly formed and slovenly incised, evincing that some of the letters and signs of the original draft were misunderstood both by the writer and the engraver. The record also abounds in grammatical and other mistakes, as will be known from the notes appended to the text that follows.

Despite this, the points that call for notice regarding the palaeography of the letters employed in the present inscription are as follows. The initial *ē* which resembles a triangle with its vertical point below, in *ēka-,* l. 5, appears as *pa* in *ēvaṁ,* l. 13; *Kh* shows its older form in *vyākhyāna,* l. 17, but its advanced form in *-sākhinē,* l. 16 and *likhitaṁ,* l. 23; the conjunct consonant *gg* sometimes appears as *gg* as in *mārgga-,* l. 4 but as *gn,* in some other cases as in *vinirggata-,* l. 16; *ṅ* has not developed its dot; cf. *-anaṅga,* and *-aṅganā,* both in l. 7; the letters *ch, dh, v* and occasionally *r* also are often confounded; *e.g., ch* appears as *v* in *suchira-,* l. 11, and *cha,* l. 15, and reverse is the case in *gaṭvā,* l. 21; *r* is cut as *ch* in *-rātma-,* l. 15; *dh* is endowed with the top-stroke in *bandhu,* l. 7, but is devoid of it in *dhārā,* l. 5, where the verticals of *dhā* are also joined, as is often the case, with a horizontal stroke; *d* occasionally appears as the modern *r, e.g.,* in *paṇḍita,* l. 16; and finally, *s* in *sataṁ,* ll. 11 and 21, and *-sākhāya,* l. 11, shows that this *akshara* had then begun assuming the modern form.

The **language** is Sanskrit, often barbarous and incorrect; and in some places the case-terminations are altogether omitted, whereas in others we have wrong cases, incorrect verbal derivations, false genders, incorrect numbers, and moreover, often, putting the *visarga* sign unnecessarily. The record is in prose, with the exception of a verse in ll. 11-13 and six imprecatory verses in ll. 18-23 in the end, which are not numbered. In the composition the writer has evinced his fondness for similes and we also find some portions of the composition reading as parts of verses, *e.g.,* in *anushṭubh, mandākrāntā,* and *mālinī,* respectively in ll. 4, 7 and 8.

With reference to **orthography,** we may note (1) the general use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* also, as in *vudvuda-,* l. 10; (2) the doubling of a class-consonant following *r, e.g.,* in *vargga,* l. 6; (3) putting the dental for the palatal sibilant in some cases, cf. *sāsana,* l. 5 and *asāsvata,* l. 13; (4) the wrong use of an *anusvāra* at the end of a stich; see ll. 12 and 18; (5) the use of a dental nasal for the lingual; cf. *visnu,* l. 6, *hiranya,* l. 18, *-grihnāti,* l. 19 and *punya,* l. 20; and finally, wrong spellings, *e.g.,* of *tri* as *truḥ,* l. 16, *jē* as *yē* in v. 6 (l. 22) but not in v. 5, and *jala* in l. 10 spelt as *yala,* some of which evince the effects of the locality. The spelling Kāliñjara (in ll. 3 and 5) and not Kālañjara, as it often appears, may also be noted with interest. In some cases the *mātrās* are detached from the letters to which they belong so as to make them appear as a *daṇḍa, e.g.,* in *paurṇṇimā,* l. 14.

It is a royal charter referring itself to the reign of the king **Dēvavarman** who belonged to the **Chandēlla** dynasty ruling at Kālañjara. The **object** of it is to record the grant of the village **Bhūtapallikā,** situated on the bank of the Yamunā river in the *vishaya* of **Navarāshṭramaṇḍala,** by the king Dēvavarman. The donee was a Brāhmaṇa-Paṇḍita named **Kikkana,**[2] the son of Paṇḍita Sōmeśvara and grandson of *Paṇḍita* Jayasvāmin, whose ancestors had come from a *bhaṭa-grāma* known as Kumbhaṭī. He belonged to the Krishṇātrēya *gōtra* with the *pravaras* Ātrēya, Ārchanānasa and Śyāvaśva and to the Bahvṛicha *śākhā,* and expounded the Vēdas, the *Vēdāṅgas, Itihāsa,* the *Purāṇas* and *Mīmāṁsā,* and was devoted to the six-fold duties (*shaṭ-karm-ābhirata*) obviously enjoined on the Brāhmaṇas.[3]

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[1] This is the first of the Chandēlla grant issued with the representation of a royal emblem.

[2] As we find the dental nasal often put for the lingual in the present inscription, it is not possible to know whether the last letter of the name was really *na* or *ṇa*.

[3] See *M.S.,* X, 75. Hiralal took these six duties to designate the practices of *haṭha-yōga,* given under *shaṭkarma* in Apte's Dictionary. But his statement cannot be upheld for want of evidence. It is also worth nothing here that the donee of the Nanyaurā grant of the same king also was *shaṭ-karma-rata.*

The day of the grant, as mentioned both in figures and words, was **Monday** the **15th day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha** of (the vikrama) **Saṁvat 1108**, when there was a **lunar eclipse.** The details of the date do not work out satisfactorily. Calculating the date to be equivalent to 20th November of 1051 A.C., Hiralal observed that it fell on Wednesday and that there was no lunar eclipse on that date.[1] In a foot-note to this sentence he also says that the date in V.S. 1109 would correspond to Tuesday, the 8th of December, 1152 A.C., when there was a lunar eclipse. And remarking that neither of these dates is associated with Monday he takes the date to be irregular. A solution of this difficulty, however, may be sought by suggesting that charitable deeds associated with an eclipse are generally performed only after the period of the eclipse is over; and taking the day of the eclipse to be Monday, as mentioned in the inscription, it would be **Tuesday** when the gift was actually made.[2] Thus, if what has been suggested here is all correct, the present grant appears to have been made about eight months later than the previous one which was issued by the same king on the occasion of the death-anniversary of his mother.

After a symbol of auspiciousness and a sentence in prose showing obeisance to Śiva, the inscription gives the genealogy of the illustrious king Dēvavarman; and this portion is nothing but a mere repetition of what we find in the preceding grant. He is said to be the sole and supreme lord of Kāliñjara; and in the portion that follows, a fulsome praise is lavished on him, comparing him with Vishṇu, Bali, Karṇa and Yudhishṭhira and also stating that he was as pious as a sage. The passage that follows says that Dēvavarman, having reflected that the world is unsteady like the interior of a plantain tree, that wealth is as momentary as (the flash of) lightning, that human life is transitory as water-bubbles and that youth is fickle, and also realising that righteousness alone is eternal, set his mind on giving alms and made the donation, as seen above. The purpose is stated to be the increase of his own merit and fame, as well as of his parents. Thereafter we have the conditions of the gift (l. 18); and with the customary imprecatory stanzas, the inscription comes to an end, stating that it was written by Yaśōbhaṭa, the *aksha-paṭalika, i.e.,* the writer of legal procedure.[3]

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription, **Kāliñjara** (l. 3) is the well-known fort, as we have often seen; and **Kōṭitīrtha** (l. 15) is obviously the celebrated place of pilgrimage within the fort. The river **Yamunā** (l. 14) needs no remark for its identification. The gift village **Bhūtapallikā,** which is stated to have been situated on this river (l. 14) does not appear to have been far from Hamīrpur, close to which the Bētwā joins it. I am, however, unable to locate the place definitely. **Navarāshṭra**-*maṇḍala* (l. 14) roughly corresponds to the region where all these places were situated and a part of which was watered by the Yamunā, north of the present Hamīrpur District. We have no clue to identify the *Bhaṭagrāma* of the name of **Kumbhaṭī** (l. 15); it may, however, be pointed out that a place bearing the same name figures in the Mallār stone inscription of the Kalachuri Jājalladēva where it is stated to have been situated on the Ganges in Madhyadeśa.[4] It appears that the Kumbhaṭī of the present inscription is identical with this place in view of the fact that whereas the first is said to be a *bhaṭa-grāma,* the second is described as a 'habitation of the twice-born *(dvija-vara-vasati)*'.[5] Thus this place has to be sought on the Ganges, somewhere to the north of Hamīrpur, though I am unable to know its definite location.

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[1] *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XX, p. 126.

[2] It has also to be observed here that the consonant of first *akshara* showing the day may really have been *bh* and a redundant vertical stroke above its tail would make it appear as *s*, as also in *saubhāgya* towards the end of l. 7. This suggestion is made in view of the fact that the inscription teems with errors in engraving of this type. It may also be noted here that the thirteenth *tithi* ended at 10 moment of the day, on Monday, and the next was a *kshaya tithi;* and thus the fifteenth day, when there was an eclipse, actually commenced on Monday.

[3] One of the meanings of *aksha* is 'legal procedure' which gives us this word. But in epigraphy it is generally used to denote an officer in charge of records and documents. See *I. E.G.*, p. 14.

[4] *C. I. I.,* Vol. IV, p. 514, v. 9.

[5] It is interesting to note here that like the donee of the present grant, the one mentioned in the Mallār grant also hailed from Kumbhaṭī and belonged to the same *gōtra* with the same *pravaras.*

TEXT[1]

[Metres: Verse 1 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 2 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 3-7 *Anushṭubh*].

1 ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ स्वस्ति [॥*] परमभट्टा[2]रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीविद्याधरदेवः(व)पादानु-
ध्यातः(त)परमभट्टा-

2 रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्वरः(श्वर)श्रीमद्विजयपालदेवः(व)पादानू(नु)ध्यातः(त)परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज-

3 परमेस्वरः(श्वर)श्रीकालिंजराधिपत्तिः(ति)श्रीमद्देववर्म्मदेवः(व)पादानां मही[3]प्रवर्द्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये स-

4 म्वत्सरसहस्त्रैके[4] अष्टोत्तरशताधिके अंकतोपि ११०८ मार्ग्गसिर(शीर्ष)सु(शु)दि १५ सोमदिन(ने)
अद्येह श्री-

5 कालिंज[5]रात(त्) इत्यस्मिन्काले वर्त्तमाने सा(शा)सनदाता नास्नामवः[6] एकाङ्ग[:*] सू(शू)द्रकेव(क इव)
निसि(शि)तासिधारादा-

6 रितारिव[र्ग]ः विस्नु(ष्णु)रिव सधरधरा(धराधर)कन्दरगुफा(हा)न्तरालयस(शो)धवलितदिग्वधूवदनं(नः)
व(ब)लिकर्ण्णीयि(र्ण्णावि)व क-

7 नकगोधरादामविष्याताकीर्त्ति[:][7] युधिष्ठिरेव(र इव) सत्य[शौ]चगुरुद्विजदेवशुस्र॒(श्र॒)षारतानङ्गमिव[8] रूप-
सौ[भा]ग्ययुक्तं(क्तः) परकुलाङ्गनाव(ब)न्धु[:*]

8 मुनिरिव विदिता[त्मा] काव्यालंकारच्छन्दलषा(क्ष)ण[9]गुणगणाधिष्ठान[:*] युगसमानदेसित्वंम्वन्दिजन[10]संकीर्ण्ण-
स(श)तद्वार[:] निन्ना(र्या)सितत-[11]

9 स्करादिभयंच(भयश्च)न्देलान्वयः परममाहेस्व(श्व)रः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रः श्रीमद्देव-
वर्म्मदेव(वो) महासामन्तरा-

10 जपुत्रवन्दितःपाद(तपादः) रंभागर्भोपम[-] संसारमाकल्य(लय्य) तडिचञ्चलवल्लक्ष्मी[12] ज्ञात्वा य(ज)लवुद्ब॒-
(बुद्ब॒)दोप[मं] जीवितमिदं श्रुत्वा यौवनं चांज-

11 लितृकमिवास्थिरत्वं[13] सुचिरमपि वसि(उषि)त्वा नास्ति कामेषु तृप्ति[स्सु]चिरमपि सुविचिन्त्य धर्म्म-
मेको हि साखाय[14][।*] आ[यु]र्व्वर्षस(श)तं नृणा(णां)

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[1] From an inked estampage.

[2] Perhaps originally ट्ठा, corrected to ट्टा.

[3] Hiralal read मह्रो(ह्रा), but the curve above the *akshara* is distinct in the impression before me.

[4] Read संवत्सर. From सं up to के the portion reads like a half of verse in *Anushṭubh*, of course, without the elision of *a* for the sake of metre.

[5] Originally engraved as ञ्र later on altered to ज.

[6] The meaning of this expression is not clear. The reading of the second of these *aksharas* is not certain, and the last of them can also be read as ग्रः.

[7] Read दानविख्यातकीर्त्तिः. The *visarga* was inserted later on, and the vertical stroke above the loop of the second of these *aksharas*, and also the stroke representing the medial *ā* or a *daṇḍa* after त, appear to have been struck off subsequently.

[8] Read –रतोनङ्ग इव. The consonant of the second of these *aksharas* was originally incised as व but later on changed to त.

[9] Read -छन्दोलक्षण-. It appears that an *anusvāra* was originally engraved on छ and also on the preceding ल, but both these signs were later on struck off.

[10] Read -दर्शित्वाद्वन्दि-, as suggested by Hiralal. The sign of the *visarga* that follows is only one dot.

[11] Originally ती, with the sign for medial *ī* chiselled off later on.

[12] Read तडिच्चञ्चलां लक्ष्मीं.

[13] To be restored to यौवनं च तृणाग्रजलविन्दु-.

[14] Read धर्म्मं एको हि सखा. The sense requires the use of इति or some such word before this.

12 [1]परिमित(तं) रात्र्या तदर्द्धा(र्द्धं) हृतं तस्यार्द्धस्य कदाचिदर्द्धमधिक(कं) वाद्धिज्य(र्द्धक्य)वाले(बाल्ये) मतं(गतम्) [।*] से(शे)षं व्याधिजराधियोगमरणैः सेवादिभिर्ल्लीयते ॥[2]

13 जीवे वारितरङ्गचञ्चलवलैः(तरे) सौख्यं कुतः प्राणिनां(नाम्) ।[।१*] एवं संसारधर्म्ममेको(कं) हि असास्व-(शाश्व)तं ज्ञात्वा दानमतिचक्रे[3] [।*] [स्व]भोगावा[स]-

14 नवराष्ट्रमण्डलविषये यमुनातटे भूतपल्लिकानामग्रामोय(यं) सीमातृणकाष्ठकोपर्यन्तं(न्तः)[4] श्रीदेववर्म्मन(णा) अद्यः(द्य) पौ(पू)र्ण्णिमासोमग्राहे

15 कोटितीर्थे स्नात्वा पितृतर्पणं च[5] कृत्वा श्रीसू(शू)लपाणिदेवम[र्चं]यित्वा यथाविधि च धू(हु)त्वा माता-पितृरा[त्म]नश्च[6] पुण्ययसोविवृद्धये[ति][7] कुम्भटीभट-

16 ग्रामविनिर्ग्गताय कृष्णात्रेयस्य(स)गोत्राय अत्रिअर्च्चनानससोवासस्तृःप्रवराय[8] व(ब)हृचसा(शा)खिने व्रा-(ब्रा)ह्मणपण्डितश्रीजयस्वामिपौत्राय पण्डि-

17 तः(त)श्रीसोमेस्क(श्व)रपुत्राय पंडितः(त)श्रीकिक्नः(नाय) वेदवेदाङ्गेतिहासपुराणमीमांसाव्याख्यानतत्पराय षट्कर्म्माभिरताय व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय[9]

18 श्राश्रनं प्रदक्कं[10] यथा दीयम(मा)नस्य भागभोगकरहिरन्य(ण्य)दण्डादायाकुवितान्वचितं प्रभृतय[11]स्तत्सर्व्वम-स्योपनेतव्यं(व्यम्) ॥ सर्व्वान्ये(ने)तान्भ[ा*]-

19 विनो(नः) पार्थिवेंद्रा[न्*] भूयो भूयः(यो) याचते रामभद्रः [।*] सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले २[12] पालनीयो भवद्भिः ।[।२*] भूमी(मिं) यः प्रतिगृह्ना(ह्णा)ति ।[13] यश्च

20 भूमिं प्रयच्छा(च्छ)ति । उभौ तौ पुन्य(ण्य)कर्म्माणौ ।[13] नियतौ स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ [।।३*] षष्टिर्व्वर्षसहस्री-(स्रा)णि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] अच्छेता चान्मन्ता व्व तने

21 व नरक वयेत[14] ।[।४*] स्वदतां(त्तां) परदतां(त्तां) वा ।[13] ये हरन्ति वसु[न्ध]रां[15](राम्) । स्वा(श्वा)-नयोनिस(श)तं गत्वा ।[13] चाण्डालेष्वभिजायते[16] ।[।५*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटर-

22 वासिनः [।*] मरुसर्प्पा हि जायंते ।[13] जे(ये) हरन्ति रसुद्धचा[17] ।[।६*] वापीकु(कू)पसहस्राणि ।[18] अस्व-(श्व)मेधस(श)तानि च [।*] गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न

23 शुध्यति ॥[७*] मङ्गलं महाश्रीः । अक्षपटलिकयशोभटेन लिखितं(तम्) ॥

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1 This *akshara* has a redundant chisel stroke above and it is also separated from the following letter by some space showing another redundant chisel stroke. Similarly, there are some redundant strokes over some of the following *aksharas*.

2 The vertical strokes are redundant. A top-stroke representing the medial *ē* was originally incised above य and subsequently struck off, as unnecessary. This verse is from Bhartṛihari's *Vairāgya-śataka*.

3 Hiralal put a query mark after these six *aksharas*; but to me they appear to be restored to दाने मतिं चक्रे. The subscripts of both the bracketed letters that follow are formed alike, though they are different.

4 What is perhaps intended is -काष्ठगोचरपर्यन्तः.

5 This *akshara* is incised as व and the same in -वमर्च- that follows has an oblique stroke separated from its loop.

6 Read मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च or -पित्रोश्चात्मनश्च. रा appears somewhat like चा, as it was actually read by Hiralal.

7 Read पुण्ययशोविवृद्धये इति. इति is redundant here.

8 The name of the third *pravara* can also be read in the original as सासावास. But read the whole as आत्रेया-र्च्चनानसश्यावाश्वेति त्रिप्रवराय, following the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba*.

9 The last but one *akshara* has the sign of medial *ai* above it, which is superfluous.

10 Read शासनेन प्रदत्तम् ।

11 Read -दिकमुचितानुचितप्रभृति-.

12 The figure 2 is intended to show the repetition of the preceding word. Cf. above, No. 91, Text, l. 3.

13 The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

14 Read the latter half of this verse as आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्.

15 The *akshara* in the brackets was originally engraved as न्क and then altered to न्ध.

16 This form of the verb is singular whereas that of the subject is plural. Read in the first half; यो हरेत.

17 These four *aksharas* are as actually engraved in the original. Restore: वसुन्धराम्.

18 The *daṇḍa* is superfluous and the *sandhi* is not made *metris causa*.

No. 109 ; Plate CI

DARBAT ŚĀNTINĀTHA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KĪRTTIVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1132

THIS inscription, which is engraved on the pedestal of a statue, was discovered in the village of **Darbat**,[1] near Mahōbā in the Hamīrpur District of Uttar Pradesh, in 1935, and was presented to the State Museum, Lucknow, by the Commissioner of the Jhānsī Division. It is No. G. 308 of the Acquisition Register of the Museum. The record was noticed by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, then Government Epigraphist for India, who gave a brief description of it in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1936-7, p. 92. His description of the inscription runs in the following words:

"It is found on a marble frieze containing a sitting lion on each side. Apparently the statue once set up has now disappeared. The whole record is in three parts. The one to the left records that the image of Śāntinātha was caused to be made by the merchants Pāhila and Jījū, that in the middle mentions *Paṇḍitāchārya* Vāsavachandra and the inscription on the right says that the image was set up by Kīrttidhara in Saṁvat 1132 in the reign of the illustrious Vijayapāla. This ruler is most probably to be identified with the father of Vikramasiṁha of the Dubkund branch of the Kachchhapaghāta family for whom we have a record of V. 1145. The Vijayādhirāja of the Bayānā Jaina inscription of V. 1100 has been identified with this Vijayapāla. But if he is a prince of the Sūrasena family whose inscriptions have been found in Bharatpur State, as he seems to be, then the present inscription would be the only record so far known of the Kachchhapaghāta Vijayapāla."

Dr. Chakravarti had also prepared impressions of this record in his visit to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow ; and from a study of these impressions, lying in his office since then, Dr. D. C. Sircar, then Government Epigraphist for India, published a note in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Volume XXX, pp. 183-85, with a transcript and a photograph of the inscription. In this article he rightly observes that "Dr. Chakravarti does not appear to have taken note of the find-spot of the inscription." Sircar goes on to state that since in the eleventh century A.C. to which time the record belongs Mahōbā was one of the strongholds of the Chandēlla kings, it should be ascribed to this dynasty and not to that of the Kachchhapaghātas.[2] More in this respect will be said in its proper place, after giving the preliminary details of the document.

As stated above, the inscription contains **three sections** : the portion on the left, middle, and right, called here Sections **A, B** and **C**, each of which contains two lines of writing. The letters are not very carefully formed and a few of them are also damaged in Section **C**, but the text of the record can be completely restored. The **writing** belongs to the eleventh century A.C. Attention may here be drawn to the formation of *ṇ* in *paṇḍita* in **B**, l. 1, of which the lowest extremity is just a stroke, of *t* which is devoid of its tail of the left limb, as in *praṇamati* in **B**, l. 2, and of *r* which is denoted by a vertical with a horizontal or a slanting stroke attached to it on the left, as in *rūpaṁ* and *srēyaskaraṁ*, both in **A**, l. 1. The cursive way of writing *ktyā* in **A**, l. 2, is noteworthy, and in *paṇḍitāchārya* in B, l. 1 *ch* appears as *d*.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit ; and whereas Section B is wholly in prose, Sections **A** and **C** have one verse each in the *Anushṭubh* metre, the latter also embodying the word *Saṁvat* in the end, in prose. **Orthographical peculiarities** are the same as to be found in the inscriptions of the time, *e.g.*, the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant, as in *srēyaskaraṁ* and *Sāṁtēḥ*, in **A**, l. 1, which also illustrate the use of an *anusvāra* for a class-nasal, and the reduplication of a consonant following *r*, as in *Sāṁtēr-vvāsava* in **A** l. 1, but not in *paṇḍitāchārya* in B l. 1. A grammatical error occurs in the use of *pratishṭi* (*ṭhi*)*tā* for *pratishṭhāpitā* in **C**, l. 2.

The inscription is **sectarian**; and its **object** is to record the setting up of an image—evidently the one which is now lost, of Śānti, *i.e.* the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha, in **V.S. 1132, corresponding to 1075 A.C.** The details of the year are not recorded.

[1] The exact location of the village is not recorded and I have no means to ascertain the same.

[2] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXX, p. 184.

To note the contents of the inscription, it begins with an auspicious symbol for *Siddham*, and goes on to state that the image (*rūpaṁ*) of *Śānti*, *i.e.*, the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha, which bestows on prosperity, was caused to be made with praise, *i.e.*, out of devotion to the deity, by the *Śrēshṭhins* Pāhila and *Jījū*. Section B says that Vāsavachandra, apparently the same as Vāsavēndu of Section **A**, bows down to the Jina, *i.e.*, to the Tīrthaṅkara (whose image was set up), and a verse in *Anushṭubh* in Section **C** records that the statue was set up in the kingdom (*i.e.*, during the reign of) **Kīrttivarman,** the son of **Vijayapāla** and during the administration of a group of his hereditary ministers.[1] The concluding part of the inscription records the Saṁvat, as we have seen above, and it is followed by what I take to be an auspicious symbol resembling *chha*.[2]

Vāsavēndu or Vāsavachandra, as his name figures in Sections **A** and B, respectively, appears to have been the sage who influenced Pāhila and Jījū to set up the image and not their preceptor, as remarked by Dr. Sircar in his paper in the *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, referred to above. Similarly I do not see any reason to take Pāhila and Jījū to be the ministers under Kīrttivarman, as taken by Dr. Sircar. The reading *tatkulāmātya-vṛindasya* in stanza 2, which is in a separate section **C,** can hardly be connected with the names of these two persons figuring in an altogether separate stanza in Section **A.** Again, of the two ministers under Kīrttivarman, the first, that is Pāhila, is proposed to be identified, by Dr. Sircar, with Pāhilla of the Grahapati family, who was the son of *Śreshṭhin* Dēdū and who is known from the Khajurāhō Jaina image inscription of V.S. 1215 (1158 A.C.).[3] The difference between the years of these two records is of 83 years; and Dr. Sircar's suggestion can be accepted only if we presume that the Pāhila who caused to set up the present image when he was at least a young man could have enjoyed a life of more than hundred years. The name Pāhila also figures in another inscription at Khajurāhō, dated in V.S. 1011 (955 A.D), showing that it was a very common name.

Since Kīrttivarman is mentioned in the present record as the son of Vijayapāla, there is no difficulty in taking him to be the well-known **Chandēlla** monarch of that name. The earliest known date for this king is offered by the Kālañjara stone inscription, to be V.S. 1147 or 1090 A.C.; and the present inscription, which gives for this king a date 15 years earlier than that of the record from Kālañjara, is of inestimable value as it offers a clue to solve the problem of the Kalachuri-Chandēlla contest, as will be seen below while dealing with the following inscription.

TEXT[4]

[Metre: *Anushṭubh*]

A 1 सिद्धम्[5] [॥*] रु(रू)पं स्रे(श्रे)यस्करं सां(शां)तेर्व्वासवेन्दुकृतस्तुति[6]। स्रे(श्रे)ष्ठिपाहि-
2 ल्जीजूभ्यां भक्त्येदं कारितं भुवि ॥[१॥*]

B 1 पण्डिताचा[7]र्य श्रीवासव-
2 चंद्रः प्रणमति जिनं(नम्) ॥

C 1 [सूनो]र्व्विजयपालस्य राज्ये श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्मणः।
तत्कुलामात्य-
2 वृंदस्य प्रतिमा संप्रतिष्ठिता[8] ॥[२॥*] संवत् ११३२ ॥०[9][॥]

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[1] Dr. Sircar translates it as 'or belonging to king's *kul-āmātya-vṛinda*'.

[2] It is taken to be an ornamentation by Dr. Sircar.

[3] See below, No. 124.

[4] From the facsimile in *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXX, between pp. 184 and 185.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

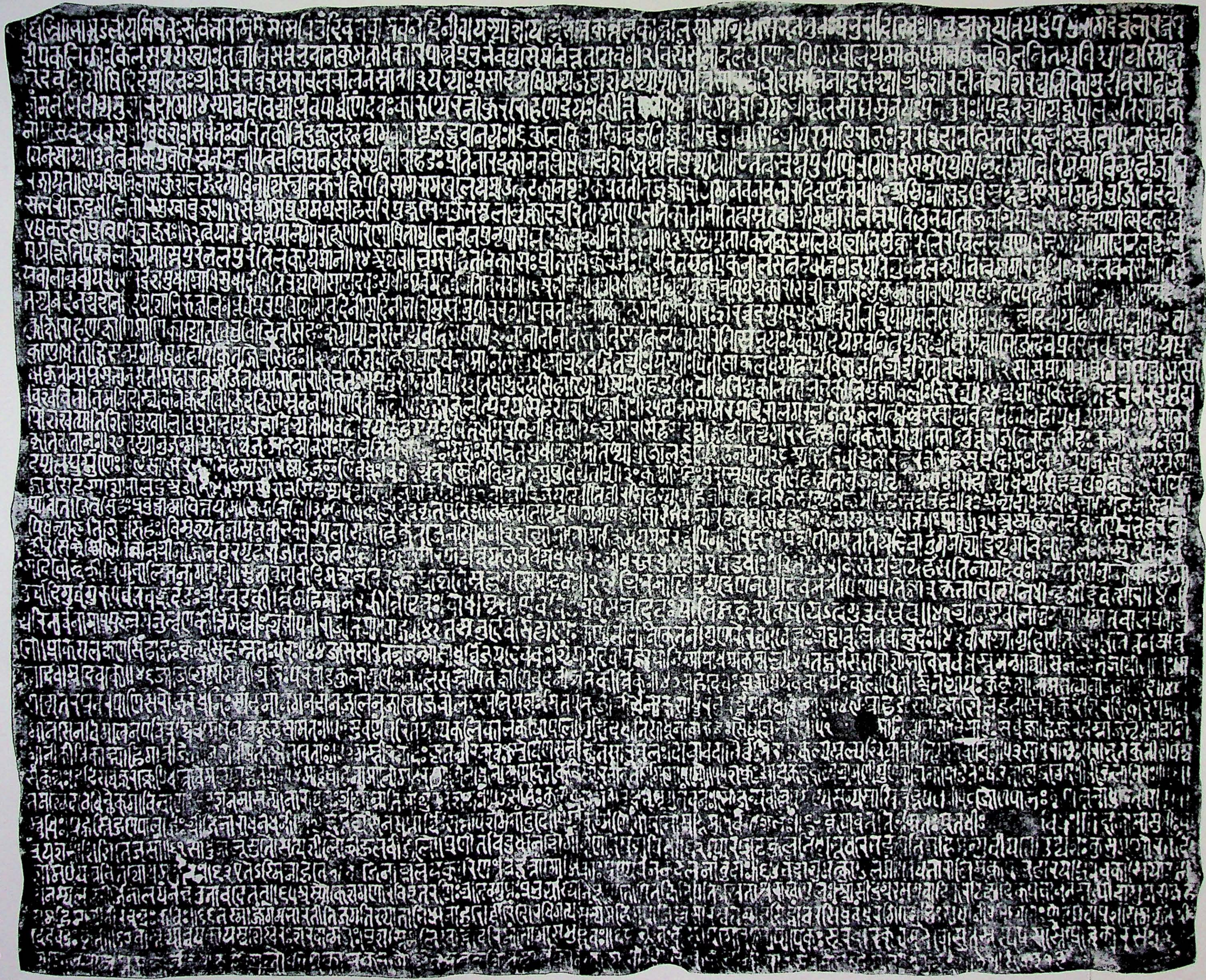
[6] Sircar corrects this word to स्तुते: and takes it as an adjective of शांते: = शांतिनाथस्य; but as an adjective of रूपं, it requires no emendation.

[7] By a break in the horizontal stroke the fourth letter appears as दा, as in some other contemporary inscriptions.

[8] The loop forming the lower portion of the preceding letter is broken; but to me it appears to be ठ and not ट as read by Sircar.

[9] In Sircar's reading in *I. H. Q.* this appears to be a zero; but I take it to be the letter *chha* (छ), as found to be the symbol of prosperity in some of the contemporary inscriptions.

BHIMPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ĀSALLADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1319



From Facsimile

No. 110 ; Plate CII

KĀLAÑJAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KĪRTTIVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1147

THIS inscription was brought to notice, by N. P. Chakravarti, in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1935-6, pp. 93 ff. It was edited by Dr. Sant Lal Katare in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXI (1933-34), pp. 163 ff., with text in Nāgarī and a facsimile facing p. 165. From the same facsimile the inscription is edited here.

The record is engraved on a slab of stone affixed to a wall of the sanctum of the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha on the well-known fort of **Kālañjar** in the Bāndā District of Uttar Pradesh.[1] It consists of twenty lines of writing which covers a space about 43 cms. broad by 64 cms. high. The last of the lines is about three-fourth of the others, in length. The size of the letters in the first seventeen lines is between 1·8 and 2 cms., whereas in the remaining lines, which show letters of a slightly bigger size, it is about the double of this size.

The inscription is very slovenly engraved and shows a number of cases of subsequent corrections and insertions. It has also suffered considerably from the peeling off of the surface of the stone on the proper right side which has wholly or partially broken away one or two *aksharas* in each of the lines from 6 to 16, the loss being greater in ll. 15-16. Even in the extant part of the inscription some of the letters here and there are mutilated or rubbed out and a long horizontal scratch running over about the three-fourth portion of line 5 makes it difficult to restore the text for a great part thereof.

Besides what is said above, the proper right side of the bottom of the slab contains four lines of writing which occupies a space about 10·5 cms. high by 9 cms. broad ; and the letters in these lines, which are of about the same size as in the last three lines of the main inscription, range from three to five in each of the lines. This portion of the inscription is wholly corrupt and the reading of it is almost uncertain, as will be shown below.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the eleventh century A.C., to which the record belongs. They lack in showing uniformity, and in this respect they share the same peculiarity as of the preceding inscription. However, to note the outstanding peculiarities of the letters, we find that *k* in *kavi-*, l. 15, shows a sudden curve of the lower end of the vertical so as to form the loop and is altogether different from that employed all through the record. *Ṅ* has not developed the dot, as in *Gaṅgā*, l. 1 ; the lingual *ḍ* is round-backed ; *e.g.*, in *maṇḍapa-*, l. 5 ; and the conjunct consonants *gg* and *ṇṇ* appear as *gn* and *ll*, respectively in *vargga*, l. 6 and *-pūrṇṇā*, l. 12. *Dh* is without the horn on its left limb and thus it resembles *ch* : see *vidadhad=vidhi-*, l. 4 ; *r* is generally represented by a vertical with a horizontal stroke attached to its middle on the left ; *e.g.*, in *rachita-*, l. 15, but its lowest extremity is occasionally curved to the right, showing it in a transitional stage, as in *rāja-*, l. 9. We have at least one clear instance to show that as the latter member of a conjunct consonant this letter appears complete with a slanting stroke attached to the lower end of a long vertical ; see *gra* in l. 19.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit ; and with the exception of the introductory *Ōṁ namaḥ Śivāya* and the last five lines which are in prose, it is all in verse. The stanzas are not numbered, but each of them has the letter *tha* engraved at the end to show its completion.[2] A mistake in versification occurs in the very first stanza, to which attention has been drawn in *n.* appended to the text below.

The **orthography** calls for only a few remarks, *viz.*, (1) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well, as in *-vōdha* in l. 3 ; (2) the occasional use of the dental for the palatal sibilant ; cf.

[1] The place lies at 80°30′ E. Long. and 22°58′ N. Lat. and is about 30 kms. straight north-east of the fort of Ajaygaḍh and about 145 kms. due south-southwest of Allahabad. For the description of the Nīlakaṇṭha temple and the other antiquities at the place, see Cunningham's *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 20 ff.

[2] For the significance of this syllable, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 218, *n.* 2.

Sivāya, l. 1 ; (3) showing the medial dipthongs more often by the *mātrā* at the back than above ; and (4) the general use of *anusvāra* mostly to represent all the class-nasals except *n* and *ṇ,* as in *Gaṅgā,* l. 1 and *-kaṇṭha-,* l. 8, though exceptions are also to be found, *e.g.,* the word *maṇḍapa* is written with the lingual nasal in l. 5 but with an *anusvāra* in l. 18 ; (5) occasionally it is difficult to distinguish between a redundant chisel stroke and a *daṇḍa* which is, in some instances, put so close to a letter as to appear a *mātrā* attached to it, *e.g.,* after *tha* in l. 2, and after the word *sūtradhāra* in l. 18 ; (6) a class-consonant after *r* is reduplicated as in *pūrṇṇā-,* l. 12 ; and finally, (7) *yuga* in l. 3 is spelt as *juga,* betraying local influence.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a hall (*maṇḍapa*) for the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha by the *guru* (spiritual preceptor) of **Kirttivarman** (ll. 5-7), the latter of whom is mentioned here only as a king. The house to which this king belonged is not mentioned in the record, but from the time of the inscription and from the region where the inscribed slab was found, he appears to be evidently identical with the homonymous **Chandēlla** ruler and the son of Vijayapāla, as known from the preceding inscription.

The inscription is dated in ll. 16-17, in figures only, on the **seventh day of the bright half of Māgha,** of the year **1147,** on **Rēvatī** *nakshatra* ; and referring this date to the Chaitrādi Vikrama era and taking the year as *expired,* it corresponds to **Thursday, the tenth January, 1090 A.C.** This date falls within the reign period of Kīrttivarman whose earliest and latest known years are furnished respectively to be V.S. 1132 (1075 A.C.) and V.S. 1154 (1098 A.C.) by the Darbat and Dēogaḍh inscriptions. Thus the present date is not new ; but the record reveals for the first time the name of Kīrttivarman's *guru* and also his patronage to Śaivism.

Opening with the customary invocation of Śiva, the inscription has a *maṅgala-ślōka* in praise of the same god, who is described as the basic pillar of the world and is evidently Nīlakaṇṭha himself in whose temple the inscribed slab was found. The second verse introduces the preceptor (*guru*) of Kīrttivarman as one who commanded mastery over the vast field of literature with its various phases of subtleties and who had attained enlightenment and high position by the favour of the three-eyed deity (Śiva).[1] The expression *śrīmūrti* used in this stanza may have been either his name or his title.[2] Stanzas 3-7 inform us that this person built a beautiful *maṇḍapa* adjoining to the temple of *Nīlakaṇṭha,* at Kālañjara, and now he requests (desires) the chief of the royal *śrīkaraṇa* (superintendent of the records department) and the other Śaivas who were Pāśupatas and the vārikas and others[3] to comply with the request of Vāsudēva, by which they would also earn a part of the merit. The next two verses (8-9) speak highly of pouring water on *Siddhaliṅgas* and also repeat the request of Vāsudēva. It may be noted here that it is not an official record, and hence the preceptor of Kīrttivarman, who enjoyed a high position (*mahimā,* as used in v. 1), desires the *śrīkaraṇādhipa* to regularise the whole affair. Further we are told that the inscription was composed by the Kāyastha, *Ṭhakkura* **Dēvapāla,** son of Payā,[4] and the *maṇḍapa* was built by the *sūtradhāra* **Rāma.**[5]

Line 19 of the inscription under study is extremely mutilated but the reading is certain. It may be translated as follows: "When the *sūtradhāra* Rāma constructed the *maṇḍapa,* two *halas* (of land) were obtained." It appears possible that Rāma was the donee, but who donated the land cannot be made out from the context. Admitting this difficulty, Dr. Katare who edited the

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[1] Katare translated the compound word *-prabōdha-mahimā* as 'glory of knowledge' (p. 163 of his article); I would, however, prefer to take here a *dvandva* compound, taking the latter of these words in the sense of 'power' as the royal preceptor could naturally have commanded.

[2] The way in which the word *Śrīmūrti* is put in this stanza is rather obscure, and Dr. Sircar who takes this to be rather 'an honorific expression' than a personal name, observes that his real name was Vāsudēva, as quoted in his own speech in v. 5 (*Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXXI, p. 164, n. 1). But this would involve *dūrānvaya* ; and as the word *Śrīmūrti* is followed here by *iti,* I am inclined to take it the name of the royal preceptor, presumably so called after he had acquired attainment and prestige. If so, it is consistent with his birth-name Vāsudēva, as given in his own speech.

[3] See *n.* on the corresponding portion of the text, below.

[4] The reading of this name is uncertain. We cannot be definite about the reading of the consonant of the second *akshara.*

[5] The name Rāma figures also in another inscription found at the same place and of V.S. 1188 (No. 117), as the father of the mason Lāhaḍa; and Dr. Katare identifies them both. This may be possible, but excepting only the similarity in name, we have no other evidence to hold this view definitely.

inscription, suggested that the donor may have been either the *sūtradhāra* Rāma himself, or, as also is not unlikely, Vāsudēva.[1] On the other hand, while publishing Katare's article in the *Epigraphia Indica*, referred to above, Dr. D. C. Sircar observed that "although the context appears to require a word like *dattam* instead of *labdham*, lines 17-20 mean to say that, on the completion of the construction by the mason Rāma, Kāyastha Dēvapāla granted, on the occasion of its installation ceremony, two *hala* measures of land for its maintenance."[2] The argument advanced by Sircar appears to be very cogent, but in view of the word *labdhaṁ* as we actually find in the record, and connecting it with *Rāmēṇa* in l. 18, it does not appear to be altogether improbable that the mason Rāma obtained the land by way of his wages for constructing the *maṇḍapa*, presumably from Vāsudēva, who, as the royal preceptor, could donate it on the occasion,[3] and this is why he desires the royal superintendent (ll. 9-10) to regularise the gift by obtaining the formal royal sanction for this donation also, as is implied by the expression *anumanyantāṁ* in l. 9 and again by *pālanīyaṁ* in l. 20, as in the case of the *maṇḍapa*.

Reference has also been made at the beginning of this article to four small lines incised on the proper lower right corner of the stone on which the present inscription is engraved. All the four lines contain about 14 or 15 *aksharas* which are extremely mutilated and nothing except the name Vāsudēva in the first of its lines is eligible. Dr. Katare is inclined to take this inscription as a 'marginal note' and he observed that "the scribe who appears to have omitted a portion of the text which he later on inscribed in the margin, has drawn the attention of the reader to it by adding a note at the end of the main record, saying that the wise will read the small inscription also."[4] But it is noteworthy here that in l. 20 the inscription uses the word *ēva* and not *api*; that the word *laghu*, as read by katare, is used without any case-ending and without any adjunct; and also that in the sense in which he took it, the use of *sudhībhiḥ* instead of *sudhiyāṁ* would have been not only grammatically correct but also more appropriate. It may also be observed here that there should have been no necessity of forming letters of bigger size at the end of the record in the last three lines, particularly knowing when the writer or the engraver could at that stage have perceived that the record would thereby remain incomplete. Viewing all these points, I am inclined to hold with Dr. Sircar that the inscription seems to be complete in itself and what Katare takes to be a 'marginal note' may have formed part of an altogether different record which cannot be deciphered owing to its mutilated condition.[5]

The only **geographical name** figuring in the inscription is **Kālañjara** in l. 5. It is the well-known fort in the Bāndā District of Uttar Pradesh, as already seen above.

TEXT[6]

[Metres: Verses 1, 3 and 4 *Āryā*; v. 2 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 5-9 *Anushṭubh*].

1 [हरि(रिः)] ओं[7] नमः सि(शि)वाय। ग[ङ्ग]ा यत्र पताका हैमवती सा(शा)ल[भं]जिका[8] यत्र ॥(।)[9]

2 यत्र[10] स्तुतिः प्रस(श)स्तिर्म्मूलस्तम्भं नमामि जगतः[11] ।[।१॥*] अस्ति त्रिनेत्रपट(द)-

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 163.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 166, *n.* 2.

[3] See *n.* 2, on the previous page.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 164. Also see my reading in the text, below, and *n.* on it.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 166, n. 1. Attention may also be drawn here to text, *n.* 15 on the next page.

[6] From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI, facing p. 164. After the text was finalised, an impression kindly supplied by the Chief Epigraphist was helpful to me in deciding the reading of a few disputable letters.

[7] This syllable is preceded by traces as of रि, probably showing that the letters हरि may have been engraved before it. Katare, who edited the inscription, took no notice of it.

[8] *Bha* is engraved as *ha,* as also below.

[9] Here two *daṇḍas* were at first engraved and the latter of them was subsequently scored off as unnecessary. It is also followed by what looks like a *kāka-pada* symbol.

[10] A slanting stroke on the top of the left limb of this letter has changed its form.

[11] The fourth foot of this stanza, with its sixteen *mātrās*, offends against the metre, *Āryā*. If we add तम् in the end of it, as required by the use of यत्र in each of the other *pādas,* this quarter will have eighteen *mātrās,* showing the verse in the *Gīti* metre. Secondly, the *daṇḍa* which was later on inserted at the close of the verse, has damaged the following letter अ, which looks like स्व, as actually read by Katare. For the similar idea as found in this verse, see above, No. 84, v. 1.

3 पद्मजु(यु)गप्रसादप्राप्तप्रवो(बो)धमहिमा महती(नी)यकीर्त्तिः। श्रीमु(मू)र्त्ति-
4 रित्यखिलवाङ्मयतत्व(त्त्व)सारसाम्राज्यसंपदि पदं विदधद्विधिज्ञः। थ ।[।२॥*]
5 कालंजरे पृथिव्याः शीर्षनि[भे] मुकुटसन्निभं येन। मण्डपम[कारि]
6 रुचिरं देवश्रीनीलकण्ठस्य ।थ ।[।३॥*] उद्धारकेण कृतिना रिपुषड्वर्ग्ग[ं*]
7 [विजि]त्य संचरता। श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्म्मनृपतेग्गु(र्ग्गु)रुणा तेनोच्यते सृ(शृ)णुत।
8 [थ।] [।४॥*] [ग]डूकद्वयदानेन[1] नीलकण्ठस्य यत्फलम्। तेन[2] संयुज्यतां श्री-
9 [–][3] वासुदेवः सताम्र(म्म)तः[4]। थ ।[।५॥*] तदे[त]दनुमन्यन्ता[ं*] राजश्रीकरण[ा]-
10 [धि]पाः। शैवाः[5] पा[शु]पत्ता(ता)चार्यवारिकप्रमुखाश्च ये ।थ। [।६॥*] पा(प्रा)र्थना वा
11 [सुदे]वस्य पालनीया महात्मभिः। स्रे(श्रे)यसां पालनाद्ये न(देव)[6] यूयं(य)मप्यंस(श)-
12 भा[गिनः][7]। थ ।[।७॥*] पृथ्वी[ं*] मौक्तिकपूर्णा[ं*] यद्दत्वा फलमवाप्यते। तत्पयो-
13 विं(बिं)[दु]मात्रेण[8] सिद्धलिङ्गेष्विति स्मृतम्। थ ।[।८॥*] जलमम्भोनिधौ यावद्या-
14 व[द्विभा]ति च(चं)द्रमाः। तावच् श्री[9]वासुदेवस्य प्रार्थना पूर्यतामियंम्(यम्)[10]।
15 [थ।] [।९॥*] ····नि(वि)त(न)य[11]विद्यासत्कविपदपद्मसेविना कविना। रचितं
16 ————[।थ॥१०॥*] संवत् ११४७ माघमासे सु(शु)क्लपक्षे स[प्तम्यां][12]
17 रेव[ती]नक्षत्रे ॥ कायस्थठकुरश्रीप[या ?]सुतश्रीदेवपालेन।
18 सूत्रधारा(र)रामेन(ण) मंडप[पे*] घटापिते[13] सत्ति(ति) द्व(ध्व)जा-
19 रोहणे प्रतिष्ठार्थेग्रप्रासादे भूमौ हलद्वयं ॥[14]
20 ल[ब्धं(ब्धम्)] एत[च]च स[र्व्व]दा पाल[नी]यं(यम्)[15] ॥ थ[16] ॥

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[1] A dot above the first of these *aksharas* is probably due to a redundant stroke of the chisel, as some others in this inscription, or it may have been due to the fault in the stone. Taking the letter as with the *anusvāra*, the editor of the *Ep. Ind.* remarked that the intended reading seems to be गंडूष, *i.e.*, handful; but according to M. Williams, it is for *āchamana* or for rinsing the mouth. Moreover, the Śāstras lay down that water is poured on an image by a pot (*gaḍuka*) and (not from the palm). Katare agrees with me in reading the word as I have done here.

[2] This *akshara* is wrongly engraved as म.

[3] The letters lost here may have been मान्, as to be restored from the traces, as also read by Katare.

[4] It is also possible that the intended reading here may have been स नामतः = he. by name.

[5] This and the following sibilant show a combination of the dental and the palatal sibilants, Dr. Sircar translated the expression as "the Śaivas headed by the Pāśupata *āchāryas* and *vārikas*, *i.e.*, temple superintendents like the *Paṇḍās* of today". for which see *op. cit.*, p. 164, *n.* 1. Our remark on the word *vārika* may be seen in No. 83 where too it occurs.

[6] I take *yēna* as an example of *Hētau tṛitīyā* and the correction in the brackets is as suggested by Dr. Sircar.

[7] Both these letters are indistinct in the impression but the latter appears as a conjunct consonant.

[8] The *akshara* in the brackets has altogether disappeared and the reading is only from the traces left. Katare suggested *dhi* but my reading of it is more suitable.

[9] Read तावच्छ्री The superscript is perhaps *t*, wrongly engraved.

[10] The sign of *anusvāra* above *ya*, which was wrongly engraved at first, appears to have been struck off subsequently.

[11] Here the *aksharas* appear to be as—[ल ?]नितय,but nothing can be made out of them. It is possible that a portion of the v. in l. 15, which could not be accommodated in this little space, is given below, which Katare took as a marginal note, though he has not pointed out its exact fitting. It is also possible that this half of the verse has to be completed by what is engraved in l. 17, after the portion containing the date, which, in this case, has to be taken as a paranthesis, and it would then give us the name of the engraver as देवपाल. In fact, the whole of this portion is so carelessly engraved and is also damaged that nothing can be said with certainty, and the suggestions made here should all be taken as tentative.

[12] Both these *aksharas* are lost, leaving only traces.

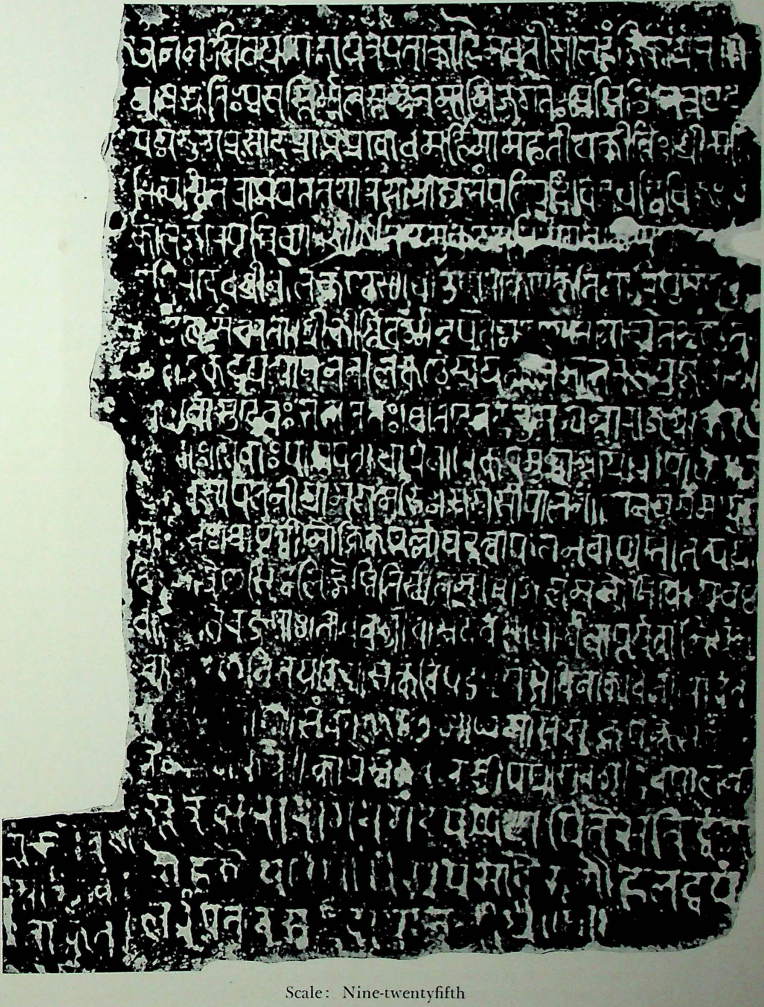
[13] In his notice of the inscription in *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1935-36, p. 93, Chakravarti took two *maṇḍapas* constructed by Vāsudeva, but this sense does not fit in the record. He appears to have taken the word in neuter dual, but it is masculine. The use of *sati* also shows that it is one (and not two),. and the word is in the locative absolute. Also read घटिते.

[14] The *daṇḍas* are redundant.

[15] Katare read लघु एव च सु[धियां पठनी]यं, for which see my remarks in the article above.

[16] This letter is again damaged and the reading is doubtful.

KĀLAÑJAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KĪRTTIVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1147



Scale: Nine-twentyfifth

No. 111 ; Plate CIII

DĒOGAḌH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KĪRTTIVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1154

THIS inscription was found by Sir A. Cunningham who published a rough transcript of it, accompanied by a photozincograph, in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports,* Vol. X (for 1874-75 & 1876-77), pp. 103 ff. and Plate xxxiii-3. Cunningham's transcript was corrected by Hultzsch, who also translated the text into English in the *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XI, pp. 311. ff. Subsequently, the record was edited by Kielhorn, showing some differences between his own and Hultzsch's readings and also attempting a fresh translation, in the same *Journal,* Vol. XVIII, pp. 237 ff. but without a facsimile. The inscription is edited here from an excellent impression which I owe to the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The inscription is incised on a rock near the river gate of the fort of the town of **Dēogaḍh,**[1] situated at the western end of the Lalitpur range of hills immediately overhanging the river Bētwā in the Lalitpur division of the Jhānsī District of Uttar Pradesh. The record contains eight lines of writing which cover a space about 66·04 cms. broad by 35 cms. high; and the letters are beautifully formed, showing angles at their bends and joints. The size of the individual letters is between 3 and 3·5 cms.; but in the first three lines they are slightly longer in size and are sparsely written. The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of the eleventh century A.C. and they are peculiar in showing a crescent incised under the straight line forming the top-stroke.[2] The inscription is in a good state of preservation.

As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the form of the initial *ē* with the tail of its left limb joined to the vertical on the right so as to bear resemblance to *p*, as in *ētē*, l. 5 (for comparison, see *prasanna* which follows it immediately). *Ṇ* as the second member of a conjunct consonant appears as *l, e.g.,* in *Vishṇu-,* l. 3; the subscript *th* is laid flat on its side; see *-asthairya-,* l. 4; *dh* is devoid of the top-stroke and thus resembles *v*; cf. *vidyādhar-,* l. 2; and the letter *b,* which appears in three certain instances in all, is put by its own sign, which resembles *p* only with the difference that it is almost a rectangle with the horizontal stroke slightly less drawn; see *babhūva* in ll. 1 and 6 and *-abdhi-,* l. 4. *Bh* which is generally indicated by a wedge joined to a vertical by means of a horizontal or oblique stroke, as in *babhūva,* ll. 1 and 6, resembles the modern *t* in one case, *viz., -bhavat,* l. 3; and *r* appears with a wedged loop as in *nara-,* l. 2, but in one instance *viz., ravau,* l. 8, we see a sudden bend in its lowest extremity; the subscript *r* is shown by a serif attached to the lowest extremity of the vertical of the preceding consonant, as in *prakara,* l. 5; and the slightly varying form of this subscript can clearly be seen in *śrī-* in ll. 4 and 6; and occasionally as in *nṛipēndra,* l. 2 and *tēn=ātra,* l. 8, the serif assumes the form of a curved stroke.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit; and with the exception of the customary obeisance in the beginning and the portion containing the date in the end, it is metrically composed. It contains seven verses composed in the usual *kāvya* style, the first six of which are numbered. The language is correct. Metrical irregularity occurs in the last quarter of verse 5, which, though *anushṭubh,* obstructs against the metre *ślōka.* As regards **orthography,** we may note that (1) *b* is denoted by the sign for *v* except in the three instances noted above; (2) a class-consonant following *r* is usually doubled, as in *dharmma-,* l. 2, of the exception of which we have probably only one instance in *-vinirgata-,* ll. 5-6; *Chaittra* is spelt with the double *t* in l. 8; (3) *ś* occasionally figures as *s*; *e.g.,* in *-subhra-,* l. 3 but not in *viśāla* in l. 1; (4) the medial *ē* and *ō* have both been denoted by the *prishṭha-mātrā* or the *mātrā* above, cf, for the latter, *ētē,* l. 5 and *rājō-,* l. 4, respectively; in one case, in *-sthairya-,* l. 4, we have both the *mātrās* above the letter; and finally, the word *aṅghri* in l. 1 is spelt as *aṁhri,* probably because of the influence of the local pronunciation of the word.

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[1] Situated at Long. 78° 18′ E. and Lat. 24° 32′ N. The antiquities of this place are described by Cunningham in his *A. S. I. R.,* Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

[2] Cunningham, and following him, Kielhorn call the head-strokes 'saucer-shaped'.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Kirttivarman** of the **Chandēlla** ruling Dynasty (v. 2) and the **object** of it is to record the construction of a flight of steps (*ghaṭṭa*) by the king's Counsellor and Chief Minister **Vatsarāja,** who was the son of Mahīdhara (v. 7). The inscription is dated at the end of l. 8, in figures only, on **Sunday,** the **second of the bright half of Chaitra** of the (Vikrama) era **1154.** The day and the date regularly correspond to **Sunday the 7th March, 1098 A.C.,** according to the Kārttikādi Vikrama year 1154, *expired,* when the second *tithi* ended 22 h. 13 m. after mean sunrise.[1]

After the introductory *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya,* the inscription introduces the name of **Vidyādhara,** "whose wide-spread fame was to the Chandēlla family what the moon is to the night-lotuses." From him was born the king **Vijayapāla** (v. 1). The next verse states that the latter's son was the illustrious **Kirttivarman,** whose fame spread far and wide. Verse 3 goes on to describe the same prince, saying that in withdrawing royal fortune from (enemical) kings and making it firm, he appeared to be a new Vishṇu who recovered Lakshmī from the sea and made her leave off her fickleness. This is evidently a reference to his conquest of the Kalachuri Karṇa, alluded to in a number of inscriptions of the house and will be discussed at length below.[2] The next verse informs us that Kīrttivarman, among the other kings, resembled the moon moving in the midst of stars, and also that Yudhishṭhira, Sadāśiva and Rāmachandra — all these three have entered his graceous person which was endowed with all (lit. these and those) virtues.[3] It may be noted here that these three in particular have probably been chosen by the poet with the intention of signifying the best specimens of *satya, śiva* and *sundara,* respectively.

The royal genealogy appearing in the present document is also known from some other inscriptions of the house, and in this respect it adds nothing new to our knowledge. Verse 5 introduces Kīrttivarman's Councellor and Chief Minister Vatsarāja who was the illustrious son of Mahīdhara and a native of **Ramaṇipura.** We are informed in verse 6 that Vatsarāja wrested the surrounding region from the enemy and constructed the fort of Dēvagiri, which, from the use of the expression *idam* appears to be the fort of Dēvagaṛh itself where the inscribed slab was found. The enemy from whom Vatsarāja snatched the neighbouring region is not mentioned here, but he appears to have been Karṇa or Lakshmī-Karṇa of the Kalachuri dynasty who is referred to above, though vaguely, in the description of Kīrttivarman himself. As we shall see below, the credit of repelling Karṇa from the Chandēlla territories is ascribed to kīrttivarman's Brāhmaṇa general Gōpāla; however, it is possible to hold in view of the information supplied by the present record, that Vatsarāja too may have had some significant share in that exploit.

It is stated in the last of the verses (v. 8) that Vatsarāja caused this flight of steps (*ghaṭṭa*) which was known after him. And with the date as seen above, the record comes to a close.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Kīrttigiri** appears, as stated above, to be the hill near its findspot, probably named after Kīrttivarman. I am unable to identify **Ramaṇi-pū,** *i.e.,* Ramaṇīpura, or -purī, the native place of Vatsarāja.

TEXT[4]

[Metres: Verses 1, 4 and 6, *Vasantatilakā ;* vv. 2-3, 5 and 7, *Anushṭubh*].

1 सिद्धिः[5] [॥[6]] ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ चंदेल्लवंस(श)कुमुदेन्दुविशालकीर्त्तिः ख्यातो बभूव नृपसंघनतांह्रि(घ्रि) पद्मः।
2 विद्यावरो नरपतिः कमलानिवासो जातस्ततो विजयपालनृपो नृपेन्द्रः ॥१॥ तस्माद्धर्म्मपरः श्रीमा-

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[1] As calculated by Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIX, p. 36, No. 61. Also see *Ibid.,* Vol. XI, p. 312, *n.*
[2] In No. 113.
[3] Both Hultzsch and Kielhorn have not in their translation fully brought out the sense of the expression *yattadguṇa-,* which I take to mean 'this and that ability'. *Yattat-* is a *dvandva,* the first of which refers to his recovering the kingdom and the second to establishing the same in his family on firm grounds.
[4] From an impression.
[5] Denoted by a symbol. The next syllable is expressed as ऊ with a dot over it, as is often the case. See Nos. 113, 133, 151, 187, *etc.*

3 न्कीर्त्तिवर्म्मनृपोभवत्। यस्य कीर्त्तिसुधासुभ्रं(शु)भ्रं त्रि(त्रै)[1]लोक्यं सौधतामगात्॥२॥ अगदं नूतनं विष्णुमाविर्भूतमवाप्य[2]

4 यम्। नृपाब्धितः समाकृष्टा श्रीरस्थैर्यममार्ज्जयत्॥३॥ राजो[डु][3]मध्यगतचन्द्रनिभस्य यस्य नूनं युधिष्ठिरसदाशिवरामच-[4]

5 न्द्राः। एते प्रसन्न[गुण][5]रत्ननिधौ ति(नि)विष्टा यत्तद्गुणप्रकररत्नमये शरीरे॥४॥ तदीय(या)मात्य-मन्त्रीन्द्रो[6] रमणीपूर्व्विनिर्ग[7]-

6 तः। वत्सराजेति विख्यातः श्रीमान्महीधरात्मजः[8]॥५॥ ख्यातो बभूव किल मन्त्रिपदैकमात्रे वाचस्पतिस्त[9]-

7 दिह मन्त्रसुपौरुषाभ्याम्। योयं समस्तमपि मण्डलमाशु[10] स(श)त्रोराच्छिद्य कीर्त्तिगिरिदुर्ग्गमिदं व्यधत्त॥६॥

8 श्रीवत्सराजघट्टोयं नूनं तेनात्र कारितः। ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमुज्ज्वलां कीर्त्तिमारोहयितुमात्मनः॥[७॥*] संवत् ११५४ चैत्र [शु[11]] दि रवौ [12] [॥*]

No. 112 ; Plate CIV

AJAYAGAḌH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KĪRTTIVARMAN

(Undated)

THIS inscription was found by Alexander Cunningham in the touring season of 1883-84 and was noticed by him in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Volume* XXI, p. 54 (Pl.), where he says that the inscription consists of four lines and contains the name of Kīrttivarman in the last line. The record was again noticed by N. P. Chakravarti in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India, for the year 1935-36, p. 92; and from an ink-impression supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India, it was edited by Dr. Sant Lal Katare, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume XXX, pp. 87 ff., with the text in Nāgarī and Plate (facing p. 90). From the same plate the subjoined transcript is prepared.

The inscription is engraved above a group of female images on a rock lying below the upper gate of the fort of **Ajayagaḍh,** situated by the side of the chief town of a *parganā* of the

1 Originally incised as त्रि and later on the curve above the top-stroke was attempted to alter so as to form a *mātrā*.

2 Kielhorn remarked that the superscript of *rbhū* was omitted while engraving, but in the impression before me it is very clear. This verse has a pun on the word *agada* meaning (1) free from disease and (2) without the *gadā,* mace.

3 Kielhorn read the bracketed letter as डु and corrected it to डु.

4 Above this letter is a fault of the stone appearing as an *anusvāra* sign.

5 Both the bracketed *aksharas* are rather peculiar; the fore-part of the first was probably formed as that of *y* and subsequently corrected, and the second appearing as पे. **In the following** निधौ नि-- ***n*** appears as *t*.

6 The subscript of न्त्र appears more like प.

7 This *akshara* looks somewhat like र्गी but it is as I have taken it here.

8 The fourth *pāda* of this verse obstructs against the metre *ślōka,* though it is a different type of *anushṭubh*.

9 Kielhorn says that the subscript is formed as *o* but in the impression before me it is clearly the same as taken here.

10 This *akshara* is a combination of the palatal and the dental sibilants.

11 The vowel attached to the bracketed letter is clearly *u* and the consonant of the following letter, though indistinct and cramped, is *ś,* making the whole *akshara* to be *śu* and not *ba,* as it was read by Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XI, p. 311. And thus I agree with Kielhorn who observes that perhaps this letter (शु) was at first omitted and was inserted on revision and this is why it appears as a *visarga* in Cunningham's photozincograph. In the impression the two circles, as of *ś* (and not *v*) are clear.

12 The tail of र is curved to the left.

same name in the Pannā District of Madhya Pradesh.[1] At this place a number of inscriptions of the time of the Chandēlla kings have been discovered.

The **writing,** which is damaged in the initial portion and a letter or two here and there, as can be seen from the transcript, covers a space measuring 1·22 metres broad by 9 cms. high. It consists of four lines, as already stated above. The size of letters is about 1·2 cm. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the eleventh century A.C. The initial *ē* shows its right limb as a vertical resembling that of *p*; see *ēk-ātapatraṁ*, l. 3, in which both these letters appear. The guttural nasal *ṅ* figures twice in l. 4, in *siddh-āṅganā* and *-kāraṁ = grāmaṁ*, where it is formed of straight strokes showing angles where they meet, and is also without the dot. *Ch* and *v* are almost alike; cf. *vimuchya*, l. 1. *Dh* shows a horn on the left limb; this horn is more often a slanting stroke, as in *sūtradhāraḥ*, l. 1, but occasionally it is curved and separated from the lower limb, as in *nāmadhēyō*, l. 2. *Th* which occurs only once, in l. 4, is formed of two loops placed vertically before a vertical stroke; and almost so is the letter *sh*, which too occurs only once in *maharshiḥ*, l. 2, with the distinction that its upper loop touches the top-stroke and the lower one is comparatively bigger in size. *R* which ends in a tail, *e.g.*, in *charanti*, l. 2, is sometimes engraved as *v*, cf. *grāmō*, l. 3. The sibilants *ś* and *s* present transitional forms. The former of these syllables sometimes appears in its old form beginning with a curve as in *śaila*, l. 1, but in some other instances it is without the knot in the middle of the left limb and shows a sudden bend to the right; cf. *śīlaiś-*, l. 2; its developed form almost resembles the modern one, as in *śīmā*, l. 2. Similarly the antique and the developed forms of *s* are to be seen side by side in *vāsaḥ svarg-aukasām*, l. 1. The dots of the sign of the *visarga* are rectangular.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit; and, excepting the initial sentence denoting obeisance to Chaṇḍikā, the record is **metrically composed.** In all there are eight verses; all of them are numbered.[2] **Orthographically,** the following peculiarities may be noted: (1) the letter *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; *e.g.*, in *vivudha* for *vibudha*, l. 1; (2) in two instances out of about a dozen, the dental sibilant is put for the palatal; they are *visuddha*, l. 2 and *sāstra*, l. 3; and the palatal sibilant appears for the dental about half a dozen times out of 21; cf., *e.g.* in *śīmā* for *sīmā*, l. 3. The wrong use of both these sibilants occurs in *śāsana*, l. 4, spelt as *sāśana*: (3) consonants following *r* are doubled, *e.g.*, in *āvirvvabhūva*, l. 1, with a few exceptions like *saṁpūrṇa*, l. 4; (4) the final consonants *t* and *n* appear in their full forms in *āvir-āsīt*, l. 4 and *dhīmān*, l. 3; (5) the dipthongs are denoted by the *prishṭha-mātrā*, an additional upward stroke being marked for *ai* and *au*; but there are a few exceptions to this, like *-śaila*, l. 1, *-tatō-* and *kṛitinō*, l. 2; (6) *dṛi* is spelt as *dru* in *pītādri*, l. 4; and (7) sandhi has wrongly been observed in *sthitim-itāḥ api* put as *sthitim-itāpi* in l. 2.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of **Pipalāhika** and the sanction of the authority over the gates[3] of the fort of **Kālañjara** in favour of one **Mahēśvara,** by the illustrious **Kīrttivarman.** Nothing besides the name of the king is mentioned in the record, but from the statement that he donated a village to Mahēśvara on whom he also conferred the authority over the gates of the fort which was then included in the dominions of the Chandēlla kings, he is none else than the king Kīrttivarman of the **Chandēlla** house, whose earliest and the latest dates are provided respectively by the Darbat inscription of 1075 A.C. and the Dēogaḍh inscription of 1098 A.C. (our Nos. 109 and 111). And the present inscription, which unfortunately bears no date, has to be placed during this period, as also indicated by its palaeography.

After the auspicious symbol, the record contains a stanza in glorification of (the fort) of Kālañjara, stating that it is longed for their abode even by the inhabitants of the heaven, *i.e.*, gods. The next verse describes Brahmā who created the three worlds, and in verse 3 is mentioned Brahmā's son (*ātmaja*) Kaśyapa, a sage who gave his name to the earth (*kāśyapī*). The following two stanzas introduce a family sprung from Kaśyapa and known as Vāstavya, in which was born **Jājūka,** who crossed the ocean of (was dexterous in) knowledge consisting of *kalā*, *purāṇa*,

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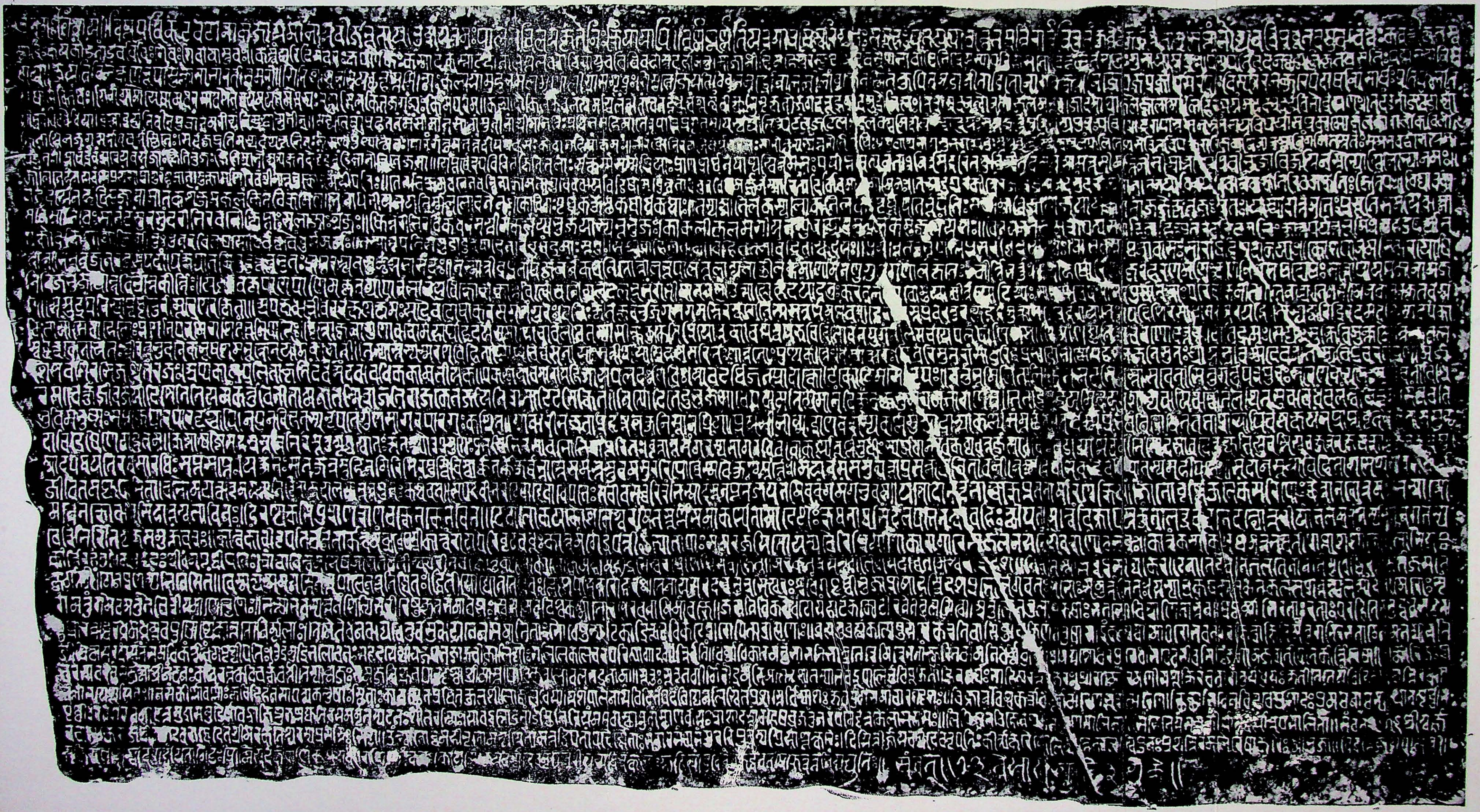
[1] The place is situated at 24° 54′ N. Lat. and 80° 20′ E. Long. It is about 25 kms. due north-east of Pannā and about 32 kms. south-west of *Kālañjar*. Its antiquities are described by Cunningham in his *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. VII, p. 46; and Vol. XXI, pp. 46 ff.

[2] The number at the end of the last verse is not visible.

[3] See text, *n.*, for the details.

KHAJURĀHO STONE INSCRIPTION OF DHAṄGADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1059 RENEWED BY JAYAVARMADEVA, VIKRAMA 1173



Scale: One-fourth

āgama, *dharmaśāstra* and *sāhitya* and who was an abode of compassion and a limit of tranquility (*śama*) and truth (*satya*). In verse 6 we are told that this personage bestowed upon **Gaṇḍa** the 'undisputed sovereignty' of the world (*i.e.*, the Chandēlla kingdom) and (in reward), obtained as a royal grant, the village of **Dugauḍā**.[1] The nature of help rendered by Jājūka to his overlord Gaṇḍa, the great-grandfather of Kīrttivarman, is not definitely known. The seventh verse of the record informs us that in the family of Jājūka was born Mahēśvara, who was of virtuous behaviour, vigorous, and his fame was sung by the wives of the Siddhas; we are also told here that by establishing the laws of Manu, this person restored the 'golden age'. The last verse (8th stanza) mentions the proper object of the record, as we have seen above.

The Vāstavya family of the Kāyasthas mentioned in the present inscription is also described in some other records of the house and at some more length in the Ajayagaḍh stone inscription of the time of Bhōjavarman,[2] as we shall see in its proper context. It is, however, evident that the ancestors of Mahēśvara of the present record enjoyed the hereditary right of appointment to high posts under the royal house of the Chandēllas.

The **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription are **Kālañjara** (l. 1), **Dugauḍā** (l. 3) and **Pītādri** and **Pipalāhikā** (both in l. 4). The first of these places is well known. **Dugauḍā,** as observed by Katare while editing the inscription, may be the modern Digaura (Dogora of the map), situated at 24° 58′ N. Lat. and 78° 55′ E. Long., about 24 kilometres north of Ṭīkamgaḍh. There is, however, another place known as Dongorā (with an additional *n*), lying about 25 kilometres straight south-east of Lalitpur, the chief town in the District of Jhānsī in Uttar Pradesh but physically on the western borders of Bundelkhand which constituted the Chandēlla kingdom. The only difficulty in identifying Dugauḍā of the present inscription with either of these places is that they are at a long distance of not less than 165 kilometres straight west of Kālañjar where Mahesvara was intended to be constantly present. Katare proposes to identify **Pītādri** of the inscription with the Pīta-*śaila*[3] which is about 7 kilometres south-east of the village of Digaurā in the Baldēogaḍh *tahsīl* of the former Orchhā State. But if the word *pīta* is to be taken in its figurative sense, it denotes the yellow soil found in the region from Lalitpur to Jhānsī;[4] and if the hill in this region may possibly have been suggested here by the use of Pītādri, the identification of Dugaudā with the village Dongorā in the Lalitpur division, as mentioned above, gains some support. **Pipalāhikā** cannot be identified for want of the details, but it appears to be a village in the vicinity of the Pīta hill.

TEXT[5]

[Metres: Verses 1-2 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 3-7 *Upajāti*; v. 8 *Indravajrā*].

1 ओम्[6] नमश्चण्डिकायै । कैलासशैलमसमं प्रवरं गिरीणां – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑[7] स नीलकंठः-
कालञ्जरो जयति संस्पृहणीयवासः स्वर्गौकसामपि विमुच्य दिवं मनोज्ञः ॥१॥ आविर्व्व(र्ब्व)भूव विवु-
(बु)धैरपि माननीयः पद्माश(स)न[8]स्ति(स्त्रि)भुवनामलसूत्रधारः । कल्पान्तरस्थि[9]-

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[1] The expression *yēn=arjjitaṁ śāsanam=āvibhāti* in v. 6, presents a difficulty of interpretation. Katare explains it by saying that "the grant of the village was recorded on a copper-plate, which has not yet been discovered" (*op. cit.*, p. 88). But in that case the use of *āvibhāti* would be redundant. The intended reading is possibly *yēn-ōrjjitaṁ śāsanaṁ*, to give the sense that he strengthened the government. Cf. *śrīr=asthairyam=amārjayat*, v. 3 of the Dēvagaḍh inscription of the time of the same ruler.

[2] Nos. 149 and 150. The latter of these inscriptions also mentions both Jājūka and Mahēśvara. Both these names are also found in an inscription from the same place, dated v. 1335 Chaitra-śu 13, Monday (27th March, 1279 A.C.). See *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 91. It is not included here; its contents are the same as of the present record. For the fanciful origin of the Kāyasthas, also see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 267; and *Naishadhīya Charita*, XIV, v. 66.

[3] Pet hill of the map of former Orchhā state, as suggested by Katare.

[4] *I.G.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 351.

[5] From the facsimile facing p. 90 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX.

[6] Expressed by a symbol.

[7] All these letters are crisped and damaged. The last five of them appear to read मपदि सद्य. Is the intended reading सुखदा कैलासशैलसदृश: प्रवरो गिरीणां . . . सपदि सद्य स नीलकंठ:(?)

[8] Originally some other letter engraved and later on corrected.

[9] What is partly visible at the end of the line may have been a *kāka-pada* symbol, intended to indicate that the word is completed in the next line.

2 तिमिता [अ*]पि[1] यत्प्रणीतशीलैश्चरन्ति कृतिनो[2] विमलस्वभावाः ॥२॥ तस्यात्मजः कश्य[प]नामधेयो
मान्यो मुनीनामभवन्महर्षिः। यदादिमुर्व्वीमपि संवदन्ति न कस्य व(ब)न्धः सुचरित्रशी(सी)मा ॥३॥
वंशस्ततोभून्महनीयः(य)कीर्त्तिर्व्वास्तव्यनामा सुचरित्रकेतुः। विसु(शु)द्धमुक्ता[3]-
3 मणिवद्विरेजुर्यस्माद्वरालंकरणाः पुमाशः(मांसः) ॥४॥ कलापुराणागमधर्म्मसा(शा)स्त्रसाहित्यविद्याम्वु(म्बु)धि-
पारगश्च। दयानिधानं [श]मसत्यशी(सी)मा जाजूक[नामा]जनि तत्र धीमान(न्) ॥५॥ एकातपत्रं
जगतीपतित्वं[4] वितीर्य गण्डाय महीश्वराय। [5]ग्रामो दुगौडा जनता[समृद्धो] ये-
4 नार्ज्जितं साश(शास)नमाविभाति ॥६॥ सिद्धाङ्गनागीतयशा महौजा महेश्वरस्त[त्*]कुल आविराशीत-
(सीत्)। यो मानवाचारविधिन्दधान[ः*] संपूर्णपुण्यं युगमा[नि]नाय ॥७॥ आराध्य [6]प्री(पी)ताद्द(द्रि)-
गतन्विपत्सु[7] श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्म्माणमथ प्रपेदे। कालञ्जरद्वारवराधिकार[8]ङ्ग्र(ङ्ग्रा)मञ्च रम्यम्पिपलाहि ॥-
(हि[कञ्च ॥८॥*])[9]

No. 113 ; Plate CV

FRAGMENTARY MAHŌBĀ INSCRIPTION ENDING WITH THE NAME OF KĪRTTIVARMAN

(Date lost ?)

THIS inscription was discovered by General Cunningham in 1865, at **Mahōbā**,[10] the ancient *Mahōtsavanagara* and the chief town of a *Parganā* of the same name in the Hamīrpur District of Uttar Pradesh. The place lies 86 kilometres to the south of Hamīrpur and 55 kilometres to the north of Khajurāhō, and is connected with both these places by metalled roads and is also a railway station on the Jhānsī-Mānikpur branch of the Central Railway. Cunningham found the stone let into the wall of a *Dargāh* known as of Pīr Muhammad Shāh ; but some time later it found its way to the Museum at Allahabad, where Cunningham saw it again in 1872, and from an impression thereof taken by him there, he published a short account of it in his *Annual Report* of the *Archaeological Survey of India* for 1883-1884, Volume XXI, p. 71, and facsimile (Plate xxi). In 1885 a transcript of the inscription with a short abstract thereof in German was published in *Zeitschrift d. Deutsch. Morg. Ges,* Volume XL, p. 47, by E. Hultzsch, who also edited it almost about the same time in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Volume I (1888), pp. 217 ff. It is edited here from the original and a fresh impression kindly supplied by the Director of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, where the stone is now exhibited.

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[1] ग्र is probably dropped by the writer in view of the preceding *mātrā* and not knowing that the *sandhi* would be wrong since the *visarga* has already been dropped here.

[2] The *mātrā* of ō is partly visible above this letter.

[3] There is a *kāka-pada* sign *at* the end of this line.

[4] cf. एकातपत्रं जगत: प्रभुत्वम् in *Raghuvaṁśa,* Canto II, v. 47.

[5] Katare read ग्रो. But what he takes to be a *prishṭha-mātrā* is in fact intended to be a *daṇḍa* which is very closely engraved before this syllable.

[6] A redundant stroke makes this letter appear as प्री. *cf. Pīta-śaila-vishayēshu,* below, in No. 150, v. 9. and *Pīta-parvata-talē,* in *C. I. I.,* Vol. IV, p. 280, and text, v. 10. In the former, it is called a *vishaya.*

[7] The reading of ग is doubtful, as a horizontal stroke appears between the two limbs of this letter.

[8] This means either (1) authority over the main gate of the fort (द्वार-वर) or the supreme authority over (all the) gates (वराधिकार) of the fort.

[9] Dr. Katare observes that the inscription ends abruptly and also that the scribe apparently left out the last two letters कं च which have to be conjecturally restored. But what appears to me is that these two letters may have been scribed just below the last two letters of the line, since there appears an *anusvāra* and a horizontal stroke in the Pl.

[10] Mahōbā is one of the well-known strongholds of the Chandēlla rulers; it is situated in Long. 79°.53′ E.; Lat. 25°.18′ N. The place and its antiquities are described by Cunningham in *A. S. I., A. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 71 ff. For the discovery of the inscription, see *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 447.

The inscription, which is incised on the sunken panel of a slab of black basalt, is fragmentary, containing seventeen imperfect lines, written in ornamental characters. The stone is broken on the proper left side and also at the bottom. The maximum height of the extant portion of writing is about 39 cms., while the length of the lines is irregular; it begins with 24 cms. in the first line, and gradually increasing to 59·5 cms. in line 14, with the exception of lines 11 and 12 in each of which some 2-3 letters are lost, and decreasing again from line 15, it is only 15 cms. in the last line where a major portion is again lost. It cannot be said how many more lines the inscription contained originally, but the length of the lines can be estimated by a calculation of space covered by the letters which are lost and comparing the same with those in the existing portion; for example, the complete length of writing in l. 14, which now contains 60 letters and 2 other symbols and has lost 43 letters, must have been approximately of about 102 cms.; and this may have been the length of the writing in the whole inscription. However, whatever remains is well preserved, though the stone has also suffered from a crack measuring about 12 cms. and developed in the proper left corner at the bottom. Fortunately no letter is lost in this crack, which appears to have developed some time after Cunningham saw the inscription, as he does not refer to it.

The **writing** is well executed. The **size** of the letters varies from 1 to 2 cms. in height, including the *mātrās*, subscripts and the ornamental flourishes appearing occasionally above the tops. The **characters** are Nāgarī closely resembling those used in the Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of Kīrttivarman which has been noticed just above. The tendency of attaching a slight vertical stroke to the left of the top-strokes of some of the letters is further developed here, using the stroke in the cases of all letters.

Worthy of note are the forms of the following letters:—the initial *i* is represented by two hollow circles below a horizontal top-stroke, as in *ity-*, l. 10, and the initial *ē* resembles *p* only with the difference that the vertical is not completely drawn, as in *ēva*, l. 16. *K* as a superscript has its loop joined to the vertical not directly but by a small horizontal stroke, for which see *kshamā-*, l. 15; *ṅ* is still devoid of its dot: cf. *-tvaṅgat-tuṅga-taraṅga-*, l. 8; the initial horizontal stroke of *ch* is not drawn beyond its loop; see *chakāra*, l. 7; *dh* begins with a curve but it is quite separate from the loop below; see *-sudhā-* and *-uddhata-*, both in l. 15; *b* is represented by its own sign as in the Deogarḥ inscription of the time of Kīrttivarman; see *babhūva* in ll. 6 and 8, but not in the same word in l. 14 and not also in *-kuvja-*, l. 13; and *bh* often resembles *t*, as in *lēbhē*, l. 15. *R* has assumed the modern form but occasionally it is incised as a vertical stroke with a horizontal stroke or a wedge attached to its left; *cf.* *-runmajjat-* and *-ruddha-*, respectively in ll. 9 and 11; and lastly, *ś* has its left limb often joined to the vertical by a stroke as of *s*, and the latter of these letters occasionally begins with a loop as *ś*; cf. *śasvat*, l. 2 and *tasmād-*, l. 11 respectively. The tail of letters like *s* and *h* are occasionally not developed, as can be seen in *sudhā-* and *hari-*, both in l. 15. The *mātrās* above are thin but ornamentally treated. The forms of the letters, however, indicate that the inscription belongs probably to the latter part of the eleventh century A.C., or to the early years of the twelfth.

The **language** is Sanskrit which is generally correct; and excepting a small sentence paying obeisance to Śiva in the beginning, the record is composed in verses full of ornate style which often remind the reader of the works of our classical poets. **Orthographically,** we may note that only on two occasions, *viz.* in *śasvat* and *śasi-*, both in l. 1, we have the use of the dental sibilant for the palatal; a class consonant following *r* is often doubled, *e.g.*, in *kīrttayaḥ*, l. 4; and particularly noteworthy is the use of *b* in *babhūva*, occurring twice in ll. 6 and 8, but not in other cases as already stated above. The use of *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa* may also be noted, *e.g.*, in l. 8.

The inscription opens with the auspicious symbol for *Siddham* and, following the usual sentence paying obeisance to Śiva, *Namaḥ Śivāya*, it has two stanzas, the first of which invokes the blessings of Śiva, and the second, of the Moon-deity adorning his forehead. Stanzas 3-5, introducing the *(Chandrātrēya)* **Dynasty** sprung from the moon, are partially preserved; and stanzas 6-9, which are all fragmentary, speak in glorification of the dynasty, probably also naming the earliest heroes thereof. The first of these heroes is explicitly stated to have been **Nārāyaṇa,** in stanza 8; possibly what the poet means is **Nannuka** (?), the earliest of the known kings belonging to this house. The name of **Vākpati,** who was Nannuka's son, as we know from other records of the house, appears to have been lost in stanza 9, of which only three

aksharas are preserved. Stanzas 10-11 mention the names of **Jējā** and **Vijā**, evidently the Prakrit forms of Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, who were brothers.

The next name we have in the record is that of **Dhaṅga,** in stanza 17, and the names of three of his predecessors—Rāhila, Harsha and Yaśōvarman may have figured in stanzas 12-16 which are only partially preserved, the extant portions describing them all to be valorous, in a poetic way. Dhaṅga, as we are told here, destroyed his adversaries, and, by the strength of his arms, equalled (lit. weighed) even the powerful Haṁvīra who was 'a heavy burden for the earth'. The identification of Haṁvīra or Hammīra and Dhaṅga weighing him with his arms have been discussed above while dealing with the Khajurāhō inscription of Yaśōvarman of V.S. 1011 (No. 98, above), where we have also seen that this powerful enemy was none else than Sabuktigīn (977-997 A.C.), against whom the king of Kālañjara (who was no other than Dhaṅga himself) helped Jayapāla with troops and money, according to the report of Firishta.

Stanza 18, which is again incomplete, appears to have a reference to Dhaṅga ; and the following verse, of which the first half is fortunately complete, mentions his son **Gaṇḍa,** "an ornament of the earth and an unrivalled hero," the ladies of whose enemies, as we are told in a poetic way of expression, "used to resort to the forest." Referring to the description of Gaṇḍa, Hultzsch accepted Cunningham's identification of this ruler with Nandā, the king of Kālañjar, who, according to Firishta, Nizamuddīn, and others, was twice attacked by Mahmūd in 1021 and 1023 A.C.[1] But from Ibn Asīr, who mentions Mahmūd's enemy as Bīdā and adds that he was the greatest of the rulers of India in the territory around Khajurāhō and had the largest army,[2] it is now definitely known that the Sulṭān launched his campaign not against Gaṇḍa but his son Vidyādhara (Bīdā).

Stanzas 21-22 state that from him, that is from Gaṇḍa, was born **Vidyādhara,** who snatched from his enemies the flower of fame and who brought about the destruction of the king of Kānyakubja ; and who, a master of warfare, was worshipped by Bhōjadēva, together with the moon of the kalachuris (*kalachuri-chandra*) who were full of fear, on his throne.[3]

The Bhōjadēva referred to here is evidently the Paramāra Bhōja (*c.* 1000-1050 A.C.) and the Kalachuri king is either Kōkalla who ascended the throne some time before 998 A.C., or his son by whom he was followed some time before 1019 A.C. ; Mm. V. V. Mirashi takes him to be the latter.[4] All the three names have a reference to Vidyādhara's assasination of the Pratīhāra king Rājyapāla of Kanauj for the latter's surrender to Sultan Mahmūd of Ghaznī, as seen above. This chivalrous feat must naturally have made Vidyādhara a conspicuous figure among the contemporary kings, and it was natural for the Paramāra and the Kalachuri kings to hold him in high honour.

Stanza 23 mentions Vidyādhara's successor **Vijayapāla,** "whose conquest of the quarters, as we are told in it, was checked (only) by the ocean ;" and the following stanza states that "perceiving this terrible (adversary) before himself, (even) the lotus of the heart of Gāṅgēyadēva closed its knot of pride in battle". While editing the inscription, Hultzsch thought that this expression means nothing more than that the two rulers were contemporaries, but we have now definite evidence to show that the eastern portion of the former kingdom of Kanauj, around Vārāṇasī, which was included in the Chandēlla kingdom under Dhaṅga, as we know from his Nanyaurā grant, dated V.S. 1055, had been subsequently captured by Gāṅgeyā,[5] of course, definitely at the time when the present record was put to stone.

What is preserved of the last of the verses (stanza 25) is only the name of Vijayapāla's successor **Kirttivarman,**[6] who in the next verse is described "to have acquired (royal) fortune just as Purushōttama (Vishṇu) had obtained Lakshmī by churning by his mountain-like strong arms the stormful ocean in the form of Lakshmīkarṇa, who had swallowed several kings (mountains)". Lakshmīkarṇa is no doubt identical with the Kalachuri Karṇa (1041-1073 A.C.) who is known to have attained remarkable success in the east, south and west, and was thus

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[1] See Ep Ind. Vol., p. 219.

[2] *Kāmil-i-Tawārīkh*, Vol. IX, pp. 115 ff.

[3] The expression *talpabhājaṁ*, as rendered by Hultzsch by 'who was lying on a coach' (*E. I.*, I, p. 219) is not at all appropriate here.

[4] *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. lxxxix, and notes 2-3.

[5] For details, see *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. xci; *H. K.*, p. 295.

[6] The name of Dēvavarman is omitted here because he was a collateral.

regarded to be the Indian Napoleon : and the defeat of such a powerful adversary was indeed a marvellous achievement. This event is also referred to in a general way in the Deogaḍh inscription[1] and is described at length in the *Prabōdhachandrōdaya*. a drama written by Kṛishṇa Mishra some time between 1050 and 1116 A.C.[2] The work in its prologue states that Kīrttivarman's general Gōpāla vanquished Karṇa, the Lord of the Chēdi country, and again placed his master over the throne. A lengthy Sanskrit passage of the drama again says that "Gōpāla, having crushed the ocean-like army of Karṇa, obtained the splendour of victory in battle, just as Madhumathana (Vishṇu), having crushed the milky ocean obtained the goddess Lakshmī. The way of description is exactly similar to that of the present inscription which also uses the same simile, probably with the drama before its poet. It is therefore clearly visible that the same event is referred to in both the works, *viz.*, the drama and the present inscription.

The expression *pītādri-gataṁ* used in v. 8 of the preceding inscription, which is undated but which also belongs to the reign of Kīrttivarman, enables us to solve the problem, in view of the situation of this mountain in Bundelkhand (in the present Tīkamgaḍh District).[3] In the Rēwā stone inscription of 1060-1061 A.C. Karṇa's general Vappulla is reported to have vanquished one Trilōchana, whose details are not mentioned in it, at the fort of the Yellow mountain (*pīta-parvata-talē*) ;[4] and the mention of this place where the encounter took place goes to suggest that in all probability it is the same Kalachuri-Chandēlla contest which is referred to in the *Prabōdhachandrōdaya* on the one hand and the present inscription on the other : and in view of this, Trilōchana about whom nothing is known from the record and who is diversely identified by scholars[5] appears to have been a Chandēlla general (under Dēvavarman) who was overthrown by Vappulla some time before 1061-1062 A.C., which is the year of the aforementioned Rēwā stone inscription. If this view is accepted, the date of the newly-discovered Darbat image inscription[6] may further help us in ascertaining the time of the Chandēlla-Kalachuri contest. The latest known date of Dēvavarman is 1051 A.C. when he issued the Charkhārī grant ; and he may have been exterminated[7] between this year and that of the Rēwā stone inscription, *i.e.*, 1061-1062 A.C., and the kingdom, which had terribly suffered with his death, appears to have been recovered by his brother Kīrttivarman some time before 1075 A.C., the year of the Darbat inscription which mentions him as the ruling prince.

Combining all these evidences we may also hold that though the main credit of exterminating the Kalachuri forces goes to Kīrttivarman's Brāhmaṇa general Gōpāla, the valient Chandēlla Chief Minister, Mahīdhara, also appears to have participated in the general rising and wrested from the enemy the region around Bētwā, and the Kāyastha Mahēśvara also participated in this stupendous task, as applied by the Ajayagaṛh inscription, stating in v. 8 that he rendered help to Kīrttivarman when the latter was in distress at *Pītādri*.

The next two verses (stanzas 27-28) of the inscription are again devoted to the extolment of Kīrttivarman's bravery in the usual way and telling us that he was a brave and warlike prince. And after this, we have the expression *āsīt tadīya-tanayō-* (his son was......). The remainder of the inscription is lost. This son of Kīrttivarman, as we know from the inscriptions of the house, was Sallakshaṇavarman.

Though it is a hazardous statement to make, it appears that the inscription probably included one or two names more ; and the lost portion also contained the date and the purpose of the record.

No **geographical name** figures in our inscription.

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[1] Above, No. 7 vv. 3 and 6.

[2] Calcutta edn., p. 6; also see *ibid.*, pp. 5, 7 and 8. For the date of the drama, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 204. As observed by Hultzsch, the historical importance of this verse was first recognised by General Cunningham in his *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. II, p. 453 and *ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 108.

[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXX, p. 89.

[4] *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 282, v. 10.

[5] R. D. Banerji took him to be a descendant of Bārappa of the Chālukya dynasty, and V. V. Mirashi is inclined to hold that he was a Gurjara-Pratīhāra. For both the views see *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 280-81.

[6] Above, No. 109.

[7] The *V. D. Ch.* (Canto XVIII, v. 93) describes Karṇa as the death of the lord of Kālañjara, who thus appears to be Dēvavarman and not Kīrttivarman as held by Smith in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 127.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1, 6 and 8 *Anushṭubh;* vv. 2, 4, 7, 14, 18, 27 and 28 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita;* v. 3 *Indravajrā, Upajāti* or *Vasantatilakā* (as shown by the first five letters only); v. 5 *Mandākrāntā;* vv. 10, 15,17, 19, 21, 25 and 29 *Vasantatilakā;* v. 12 *Pushpitāgrā; v.* 16 *Sragdharā;* vv. 20 and 26 *Hariṇī;* vv. 22 and 24 *Mālinī;* v. 23 *Drutavilambita;* v. 9, 11 and 13 are totally lost].

1 सिद्धम्[2] । ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ जयत्याम्नायनिःकंप[3]महि[मा] . . . . .[4]

2 नाः सतां शस्व(श्व)त्पल्लवयन्तु मौलिशसि(शि)नः श्रेयो म[यू]खांकुराः ॥[२*] एतस्य विश्व . . . . .[5]

3 प्रतिकलं स्फारीभवन्मण्डलः । पीयूषैः प्रतिवर्द्धितैरहरहः स्वैर्व्विश्वमाप्याययन्यः (?) . . . . .[6]

4 वतंसो वंशस्तस्मादजनि रजनीवल्लभाद्विश्वकान्तः ॥[५*] ततः पप्रथिरे वीराः कलिव्याघ्रा . . . . .[7]

5 कुसुमान्या[8]शास्वपर्व्वोल्लसत्क्षीराम्भोधितरंगरंगणकलाः क्रीडन्ति यत्कीर्त्तयः ॥[७*] आसीन्नारायणस्तेषु मु(?) . . . . .[9]

6 स्य लोकः ॥[९*] जेजाख्ययाथ नृपतिः स बभूव जेजाभुक्तिः पृथोरिव यतः पृथिवीयमासीत् । वीजाह्वयस्त दनु [जः] . . . . .[10]

7 भूव[11] ॥[११*] हतरिपुकरिकुम्भमुक्तमुक्ताप्रकरमिषेण चकार लाजवृप्टि(ष्टि)म् । असिवलभिगतेव यं विलोक्य स्फुटरणराज . . . . .[12]

8 बभूव निवि(बि)डं व्योमांगणे संगम[13]त्त्वङ्गत्तुङ्गतुरङ्गपुङ्गवखुरक्षुण्णक्षमो[त्थं] रजः । क्रुध्यत्सारथयो यथासरलितग्रीवं मुखैर्न्नामितै[रु] . . . .[14]

9 मलामृतानि वेलापयोनिधितटानि समुल्लसन्ति ॥[१५*] सान्द्रैः श्वेतातपत्रैर्व्विकसितकमला सोर्म्मिमाला-श्ववृन्दैरुन्मज्जद्धीमनक्रा ध्वजमकरमुखैर्व्विम्वि(ब्बिम्बि)[तै] . . . . .[15]

10 निर्म्मितवैरिभङ्गः श्रीधङ्ग इत्यवनिमङ्गलमाविरासी[त्] । सारेण यः स्वभुजयोर्भुवनातिभारं हंवीरमप्यतिव(ब)लं तुलयांचकार ॥[१७*] सोयं देवसरित्पतिः . . . . .[16]

11 रुद्धद्वीपजयोद्यमः समभवद् व्रीडाविलक्षः क्षणम् ॥[१८*] तस्मादभूद्भुजधृताखिलभूमिखण्डः श्रीगण्ड इत्य-वनिमण्डनमेकवीरः । यच्चण्डकोपशिखि . . . . .[17]

12 ल्लवैः[18] । तदनु तरलैर्लीलादष्टाधरा मधुपव्रजैर्व्विपिनतरुभिः स्वैरं भुक्ता हहा यदरिस्त्रियः ॥[२०*] तस्मादसौ रिपुयशःकुसुमाहरोभूद्विद्याधरो नृपतिरप्र[ति] . . . . .[19]

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1 From impressions and the original stone, which is No. E-25 of the Lucknow Museum Catalogue.

2 Expressed by symbol. What immediately follows it may have been a *daṇḍa*, with its lower end mixed with the curve of the following syllable, as already noted by Hultzsch.

3 Read निष्कम्प.

4 Here 21 syllables of v. 1 and 54 of v. 2 are lost. The number of lost syllables here and in the following notes are mentioned as already noted by Hultzsch.

5 Here the remainder of v. 3 and 27 syllables of v. 4 are lost. As in this line, all the *ūrdhva-mātrās* throughout are beautifully engraved, but occasionally they are not deep and consequently have only faintly come out in the impressions.

6 Here 18 syllables of v. 4 and 48 of v. 5 are lost.

7 Here 20 syllables of v. 6 and 47 of v. 7 are lost.

8 By an additional redundant stroke this letter appears as *myā*.

9 here 23 syllables of v. 8 and the commencement of v. 9 are lost.

10 Here 20 syllables of v. 10 and the commencement of v. 11 are lost.

11 Read *babhūva*. The first of these *aksharas* is lost in the preceding line.

12 Here 7 syllables of v. 12, the whole of v. 13, and 6 syllables of v. 14 are lost.

13 This syllable, which is mutilated, looks like *ma*, but the reading is certain.

14 Here 18 syllables of v. 14 and 37 of v. 15 are lost.

15 Here 46 syllables of v. 16 and 7 of v. 17 are lost.

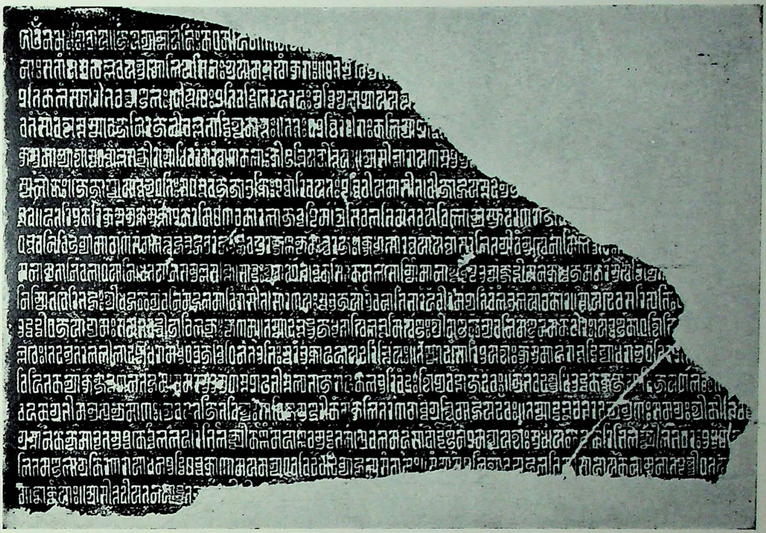
16 Here 49 syllables of v. 18 are lost. For the use of *tulayāñchakāra*, cf. *tulita-khasa-balaḥ* in No. 98, above.

17 Here 21 syllables of v. 19 and 32 of v. 20 are lost.

18 *Pa*, the first syllable of this word, is lost in the preceding line.

19 Here 32 syllables of v. 21 and 18 of v. 22 are lost. Read — *vārya-vīryaḥ* in the end of the line.

FRAGMENTARY MAHŌBĀ INSCRIPTION ENDING WITH THE NAME OF KĪRTTIVARMAN (DATE LOST)



Scale: Three-tenth

13 विहितकन्याकुव्ज(ब्ज)भूपालभङ्गम् । समरगुरुमुपास्त प्रौढभीस्तल्पभाजं सहकलचुरिचंद्रः शिष्यवद्भोज-
देवः ॥[२२*] अभवदम्वु(म्बु)धिरुद्धककुब्जयो विजयपाल इति . . . . .[1]

14 वहमग्रे भीममुत्प्रेक्षमाणः । अवहत जितविश्वः सोपि हृत्पुण्डरीकं मुकुलितरणगर्व्वग्रन्थि गाङ्गेय-
देवः ॥[२४*] तस्माद्व(द्व)भूव भरतस्य गुणैः समग्रैः श्रीकीर्त्तिव[र्म्म] . . . . .[2]

15 ग्रस्तानेकक्षमाभृतमुच्चकैर्व्वललहरिभिर्लक्ष्मीकर्ण्णं महार्ण्णवमुद्धतम् । अचलमहसा दोर्द्दण्डेन प्रमथ्य यशःसुधां
य इ[ह] करिभिर्लक्ष्मीं लेभे परः पुरुषो[त्तमः][॥२६*][3]

16 लितमण्डलाग्रकिरणैरायोधनेषु द्विषच्चक्राणामयमन्य एव विदधे दिव्याङ्गनासंगमः ॥[२७*] संग्रामेषु[4]
निशातखड्गलति[का]साहायकेनामुना ते पृथ्वीपतये[।] . . . .[5]

17 गाङ्काक्कर्कयोः[6] ॥[२८*] आसीत्तदीयतनयोद्भु त . . . .[7]

No. 114 : Plate CVI

KHAJURĀHŌ STONE INSCRIPTION OF DHAṄGADĒVA OF THE YEAR 1059; RENEWED BY JAYAVARMADĒVA IN THE YEAR 1173

THE stone bearing this inscription is built into the wall on the right side of the entrance of the temple of Viśvanātha at **Khajurāhō**[8] in the Chhatarpur District of the Vindhya region of Madhya Pradesh. It is said to have been found in February 1838 at the temple at that place, by Captain T. S. Burt, of the Bengal Engineers, who first published the record, with an English translation by J. C. C. Sutherland, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VIII (1839) pp. 159-184. The contents of the inscription were next discussed by Alexander Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. II (1862-1865), p. 423, and again in *ibid.*, Vol. XXI (1883-1884), p. 66, publishing a small-size photolithograph of it (Pl. xviii) ;[9] and subsequently it was edited by F. Kielhorn in the *Nachrichten d. Königl. Ges. d. Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1886, pp. 441-462, from a rubbing supplied to him by Fleet. But since the rubbing from which Kielhorn prepared his text was rather indifferent, as he himself remarked, he made another attempt to edit the record, with an improved version of the text prepared from two new impressions taken and supplied to him by Burgess. This article in which he also corrected Burt's errors[10] was printed in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I (1888), pp. 147, without any lithograph or translation. The record is edited here from an excellent inked impression kindly placed at my disposal by the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.[11]

The record consists of thirty-four lines of writing and covers a space about 1·57 metres broad by 0·86 metres high. The last of the lines is about three-fourth of the rest in length.

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1 Here 29 syllables of v. 23 and 19 of v. 24 are lost.

2 Here 37 syllables of v. 25 and 6 of v. 26 are lost.

3 Here 47 syllables of v. 27 are lost.

4 From this letter onwards the lower parts of the syllables are lost in the impressions, but they can be made out from what remains.

5 Here 47 syllables of v. 28 are lost.

6 The first syllable of the word *mṛigāṅka*, 'the moon', is lost in the preceding line.

7 Here 46 syllables of v. 29, along with the remainder of the inscription, are lost. The expression *tadīya-tanayaḥ* in this line no doubt refers to Sallakshaṇavarman who is known from the other records of the house.

8 For the situation of this place, see above, Nos. 97-98. For the description of the temple, see *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. II, p. 422. It is also known as of Pramathanātha, and Marakatēśvara, as stated respectively, below, in ll. 31 and 33.

9 As rightly observed by Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 137, *n.*, in the plate it is wrongly described as the 'Inscription of Gaṇḍa Dēva', whereas the name Gaṇḍa occurs nowhere in this inscription.

10 Cunningham, who saw the stone standing loose in the temple of Viśvanātha, also remarked that the record required a careful revision as it abounds in mistakes.

11 It is his No. B-248 of 1959-60.

In 1888, when Kielhorn wrote, the stone had already suffered from a crack running through it from top to bottom and rendering one or two *aksharas* illegible, but it has since developed another crack in the middle which cuts the stone transversally, from ll. 1 to 21 on the right. Except these two cracks which have rendered a few *aksharas* illegible, the writing is well preserved throughout. The size of the letters varies from about 2 to 2·5 cms. Lack of uniformity in their size is occasionally noticeable and some of them are closely packed up. Slovenliness on the part of the writer as well as of the engraver is also apparent from subsequent corrections by over-writing or chiselling parts of letters and also making insertions, which are all noticeable here and there.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet and resemble those of the Kālañjara inscription of the time of Kīrttivarman which was incised only about twenty-five years earlier in V.S. 1147. Owing to the slovenliness in writing, as already remarked, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the forms of some of the letters; nevertheless, the present inscription evinces some **palaeographical peculiarities** showing a number of letters both in their older as well as in advanced form, indicating that they were in a transitional stage in the region during this period.

As regards the formation of the individual letters, the initial *i* appearing *e.g.*, in *ity=ālāpa-*, l. 24, consists of two loops, the first of which shows a fine tail below and the second a hook above; *k* which is written in its modern Nāgarī form is occasionally incised in ligature, *e.g.*, in *kālēna-*, l. 8; and as the first member of a conjunct consonant or with a *mātrā* below, this letter either loses its loop or the same is joined to its vertical not directly but with a horizontal stroke; see *Śakuni*, l. 19, and *kṛita-* and *kshunna*, both in l. 20, but with a few exceptions like *kṛita-* in l. 13, where we find the loop of *k*; *ṇṇ* appears as *nl*, as in *-karṇṇa-*, l. 19; the upper loop of *th* is closed as found in modern Nāgarī; see *padārtha-*, l. 3; *dh* is written both in its older form without a horn on its left limb, as in *vyadhatta*, l. 20, and also in its advanced form where the horn appears, as in *sudhī-* in the same line; in *vidhi-*, l. 2, this letter has a top-stroke; in *dhara-* in the same line the top-stroke resembles a crescent, and in *-dhara*, l. 29, the horn assumes the form of a loop and is separated from any other limb; the slightly varying forms of this letter are to be seen in expression *dhana-dhānya-dhēnu-vasudhā-*, l. 28, where we also find the verticals of *dhā* joined by a horizontal stroke in the middle. *N* in many cases is formed as *t*; cf. *rājani* and *tēna-*, both in l. 18; *p* is occasionally marked as *y*; see *śilpi-*, l. 27; and the latter of these letters is frequently written as *s*; see *yāvat*, l. 32; *bh* is incised as a dot, a wedge, or a vertical joined to the right limb by means of a horizontal stroke as in *bhrū-bhaṁga-bhīm-ānana-*, l. 13; the letter *r* is incised in at least five slightly different ways; *e.g.*, its *ch*-like form can be seen in *hāra-*, l. 15; the wedged form in *saṁgara-*, l. 33; its form as a vertical with a horizontal stroke attached to its middle in *-rārtta*, l. 1; as a vertical with a triangular loop in *rūpā-*, l. 3; and the developed modern form as in *dvāri*, l. 2. As a subscript, this letter appears in its complete form with the superscript half drawn, as in *chakrē*, l. 27, and occasionally the subscript form also is shown by a serif, *e.g.*, *in tīvra-*, l. 12. Both the sibilants *ś* and *s* are written in their older forms, *e.g.*, in *Śivāya*, l. 1 and *suhṛit-*, l. 12, and also in their modern form, as in *Śivāya*, l. 2 and *tasmāt*, l. 12, respectively. The peculiar form of the ligature *ś* is also to be seen in some examples in *Śrīrāma-* and *praśasti-*, both in l. 30; and occasionally the former of these sibilants has also the horizontal stroke as in *s*; cf. *-dṛiśvā*, in the same line. In some cases *s* and *kh* have not developed the tail of the left limb; cf. both the letters in *sakhī-*, in l. 10; and finally, in a few examples the tail of *h* is either undeveloped or is altogether missing; see *varhā-*, l. 2 and *muhu-*, l. 3 respectively. As regards the *mātrās*, in a very few examples the medial *ā* is denoted by a curve above the letter, *e.g.*, in *tasyā-*, l. 23; and the medial short *u* is in rare instances shown by a curve turned downwards and attached to the middle of the vertical stroke, as in *-Achyuta-*, l. 13.

The **language** is Sanskrit; and except for the opening obeisance to Śiva, the two dates, one each at the end of ll. 32 and 34, and a sentence at the beginning of l. 33, the whole record is metrically composed in an artistic *kāvya* style abounding in figures and hyperbolic expressions. In all there are sixty-four verses, four of which are composed in the *Rathōddhatā* and one the *Hariṇī* metre which are rather rare. The verses are not marked by numbers, and one of them (No. 12) offends against the metre.

As regards **orthography,** we may note that (1) *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v* as in *-Vrahma-*, l. 4; (2) the class-consonant following *r* is generally doubled; see *nisargga*, l. 6; and the consonant preceding *r* is also doubled in some instances, *e.g.*, in *-karttrā* but not in

sūtra-, both in l. 31 : (3) the dental sibilant is often used for the palatal even in ordinary words like *sukla-*, l. 3, *-sikhara-*, ll. 20 and 26 and *suddha-*, l. 27, and *vice versa* is the case in a few examples like *yaśaśā*, l. 18 and *vinyāśa-* and *prāśāda-*, both in l. 31 :[1] and lastly, the *anusvāra* does the duty of the final *m*, even wrongly at the end of a stich except in a few instances in vv. 25, 27 and 35 and some others. *Anusvāra* is generally put for all the nasals except *n* which is used indiscriminately.

The record contains some grammatical errors as in *prōllikhat*, l. 34, *niḥkriyāya*, l. 1 and *jyōtiḥ-paṭala*, l. 5. Rules of *sandhi* are violated in a few instances, *e.g.*, in *ripōḥ chhēttā*, l. 22, *bahiḥ-kṛita*, l. 14, and *svachchhan cha*, l. 16 ; instances of wrong spellings are to be seen, *e.g.*, in *nētra* for *nētra*, l. 5, *aṁhri-*, ll. 10 and 30 ; and the dental nasal for the lingual is wrongly used in *hiranmaya*, l. 4 and *kshunna*, l. 20. And finally, one of the two similar consonants forming a conjunct is dropped by syncopation in *ujjvala* in ll. 5, 10, 15, 24 and 31. The *mātrās* above the letters in the first line are ornamentally treated.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Jayavarmadēva** of the **Chandrātrēya** (Chandēlla) **Dynasty**. The **object** of it is to record the renewal, in clear letters, of a *praśasti* which had been originally put in the temple of the glorious and illustrious Marakatēśvara (the emerald lord) at **Kharjūravāhaka**, by his honoured predecessor **Dhaṅgadēva**, in (Vikrama) *Saṁvat* **1059** or 1001-2 A.C. and which had become damaged or illegible (l. 33). The inscription is **dated**, at the end, in the year **1173** (expressed in numerical figures only), the **third of the bright half of Vaiśākha** when it was a **Friday**. The date does not work out satisfactorily, but discussing all the possible alternatives, Kielhorn concluded that "Friday, **April 6, 1117 A.D.** is really the day intended by the inscription, although according to the civil reckoning that day was the 2nd of the bright half of Vaiśākha."[2] The year is thus to be taken as the kārttikādi Vikrama expired. The *praśasti* was rewritten by the Kāyastha **Jayapāla** of the Gauḍa country.

The record opens with a short sentence paying homage to Śiva, and it is followed by four *maṅgala-ślōkas* in honour of the same deity under the names Rudra, Śiva and Śambhu and then of Nāgavaktra (Gaṇapati). After two more verses, — one of them eulogising Bhāratī (the goddess of speech) and the other expressing the poet's devotion to good people (old poets), the inscription says how the mundane egg came into existence, how from its two halves Brahmā made heaven and earth and also that the same god created the sages Marīchi with others (v. 8). The most eminent among these sages was Atri, from whose eye sprang the moon and the latter's son was the pious sage **Chandrātrēya** (v. 9). He was the progenator of the renowned race which is called after him and which would (in the form of a prophesy) rule the earth as long as the moon shines[3] (vv. 10-12). The poet then pays regard to the former great kings who were born in this illustrious race and ruled gloriously.

Verse 14 begins the genealogy of the Chandrātrēya (Chandēlla) house: and the first king mentioned here is **Nannuka**, whose valour in the battle-field reminded the gods, of Arjuna (vv. 14-15). His son was **Vākpati** who resembled Vākpati[4] (*i.e.*, Bṛihaspati, the preceptor of the gods) and excelled the mythical kings Pṛithu and Kakustha (vv. 16-17). Vākpati's son was **Vijaya**, who is called Vijayaśakti in the other records of the house and whose fame was sung by semi-divine beings. He, subdued the adjacent regions and led an expedition, "in the interest of his friend," to the south as far as the seacoast, as Rāma had done (v. 20). This statement is no doubt hyperbolical but may contain some historical truth, *viz.*, that this prince may have helped

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[1] Kielhorn has noted that in this inscription the dental sibilant is 43 times put for the palatal and the palatal 12 times for the dental; but this number has to be taken approximate and not exact, as there are a few cases where both these sibilants cannot be distinguished from one another as I found in preparing my transcript of the record.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 139. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 362, No. 171. Here the day (Friday) appears to have been joined with the *tithi* which commenced on it, 2 h .16 m. after mean sunrise, probably in view of the fact that the third day of the bright half of Vaiśākha (*akshaya-tritīyā*) is a holy day generally favoured for undertaking any auspicious work.

[3] It is significant to note that Yaśōvarman's inscription of V.S. 1011 also begins the account from the creation of the earth, though in a somewhat different way.

[4] This simile is obviously borrowed from our No. 98, the inscription referred to above. In fact, from the account given in the present inscription it appears almost certain that the poet of this record had before him the same inscription, *i.e.*, of Yaśōvarman.

his overlord the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king, in the latter's expedition over a region which adjoined to the south of his kingdom.[1]

The name of Jayaśakti, who was the elder brother of Vijayaśakti, is omitted in the present record probably for the simple reason that it deals with the line of succession from the latter. We are further told that Vijaya's son was **Rāhila** (vv. 21-23) and the latter's son was **Śrīharsha** whose description is merely poetical, as of some of his predecessors (vv. 24-25). Harsha's wife was Kañchukā (vv. 29-30) who bore him a son of the name of Yaśōvarman, who was devoted to Brāhmaṇas, excelled Śivi in liberality, powerful, far-famed and highly meritorious (vv. 31-37). We are further told that Yaśōvarman caused to be dug a large tank which was known as *Bailva-taḍāga*, and also constructed a magnificent temple dedicated to Vaikuṇṭha (Vishṇu) (vv. 38-39), which is evidently the same shrine as referred to in v. 42 in his inscription of V.S. 1011. His wife was Puppā (Pushpā) who bore him a son named Dhaṅga (vv. 40-42). The following five verses describe **Dhaṅga** in a poetic way and are devoid of any historical interest, though indicating the poet's skill in composing highly ornamental verses. In these verses Dhanga is compared with deities like Kṛishṇa and Nṛisiṁha, telling us that he exercised his complete control over the kings of Kōsala, Kratha, Siṁhala and Kuntala and had put in prison the queens of the lords of Kāñchī, Āndhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga. This claim cannot be justified from any of the available evidences.

The formal part of the original record commences with verse 48 and states that Dhaṅga constructed a magnificent temple and installed in it a lofty *liṅga* of emerald, also telling us that it was originally worshipped by Yudhishṭhira on the earth, where it was brought by Arjuna through the favour of Indra who used to pay homage to it (v. 48). It is interesting to note that the way of devising an exceedingly sacred origin and antiquity of the *liṅga* is much similar to the case of the image of Vaikuṇṭha described in Yaśōvarman's inscription of V.S. 1011. In the same shrine Dhaṅga also installed another *liṅga* which was of stone (vv. 49-51); he also distributed a large mass of gold (v. 52) and established there pious Brāhmaṇas, honouring them by gifts of wealth, grain, cows and land (vv. 53-54).

The next verse of the inscription tells us that Dhaṅga, after he had ruled the whole earth (*i.e.*, his kingdom), and lived upwards of hundred years of age, abandoned his body in the waters (confluence) of the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, closing his eyes in meditating upon Rudra and muttering holy prayers and thus obtained liberation. This statement makes it evident, as Kielhorn has pointed out, that the death of Dhaṅga must have taken place before V.S. 1059 which is the date of the original inscription and after V.S. 1055 when his Nanyaurā copper-plate was issued.[2]

Verse fifty-six of the inscription tells us that this *kīrti* of the lord was accomplished when Yaśōdhara, the illustrious priest of the royal house was administering justice.[3] The word *kīrti* (temple) is probably used here with a *double entendre*, as we so often find in inscriptions; and it also signifies all the charitable deeds of Dhaṅga which are mentioned here.

The *praśasti* was composed by the illustrious **Rāma** who was clever in 'composing pleasing expressions and also was an ocean of knowledge.' He was the son of Balabhadra and grandson of Nandana who was the foremost among the poets (*kavi-chakravartin*) and belonged to the Śabara (or Śābara) family of Tarkārika (vv. 57-58). It was written (on the stone) by the Kāyastha **Yaśaḥpāla,** who was dexterious in *padavidyā* (grammar), and was engraved by **Siṁha** who had mastered the art of writing (vv. 59 and 62 respectively). Verse 60 of the record says that the temple of Pramathanātha, *i.e.*, *Śiva* (where it was engraved) was built by Chhichhā, who was an expert architect.

Here ends the original *praśasti* adding a sentence in prose, as seen above; and the remaining two verses are devoted to express that it was got re-written, in clear letters, by the

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[1] We have no clear indication that Vijayaśakti was a feudatory of any Pratīhāra (*i.e.*, Gurjara-Pratīhāra) king nor do we know any Pratīhāra king leading any expedition to the extreme south. For a different view and its contradiction, see *E. R. K.*, p. 31, which also denies the suggestion of R. C. Majumdar, *viz.*, that Vijayaśakti may have helped the Pāla king Dēvapāla in his campaign in the south (*H. B.*, Vol. I, p. 119, *n.* 4).

[2] See No. 100, above. Also see kielhorn, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

[3] He is apparently the same person as the donee of the Nānyaurā grant of Dhaṅgadēva and mentioned in it with the title *bhaṭṭa*.

king Jayavarmadēva who had spread his fame in all the directions. The inscription is concluded by expressing the name of the writer and the date which we have seen above. It is strange that the record contains no allusion to the successors of Dhaṅga nor anything else about Jayavarman besides his name. From the other records of the house, however, we know him to be the sixth descendant of Dhaṅga, as we shall see in their proper context.

Of the two place-names mentioned in the inscription, **Kharjūravāhaka** (ll. 32-33) is the modern Khajurāhō in the Chhatarpur District of Madhya Pradesh, as already seen above: and **Tarkārikā** from where the poet originally hailed (v. 57) and which is also the original home of the donee of the Nānyaurā grant of Dhaṅgadēva, has already been shown to be existing in Bihar. The other names like **Kāñchī**, **Āndhra**, **Rāḍhā** and **Aṅga** do not figure in the main context and they are all well known to need identification.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1, 4, 16, 21, 36, 42, 51-52 and 60 *Āryā;* vv. 2-3, 7, 10-11, 13, 18, 25, 30, 34, 37-38, 45, 47, 50, 53, 55, 58 and 63-64 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita;* vv. 5 and 20 *Mālinī ;* vv. 6 and 59 *Śikhariṇī ;* vv. 8, 12, 14, 22, 26, 29, 33, 40, 43-44, 49, 54 and 62 *Anushṭubh;* vv. 9, 28, 31 and 46 *Mandākrāntā;* vv. 15, 19, 23 and 32 *Rathōddhatā;* vv. 17, 35 and 56-57 *Vasantatilakā;* vv. 24, 39 and 61 *Sragdharā;* vv. 27 and 41 *Vaṁśasthavila;* v. 48 *Hariṇī*].

1 ओं[2] नमः शिवाय ॥ विष्टपविकटवटानामजायमानाय[3] वी(बी)जभूताय । रुद्राय नमः पालनविलयकृते
नि:(निष्)क्रियायापि ॥[१॥*] तूर्णं घूर्णति यत्र गोत्रसि(शि)खरिव्यूहः समूहः पतत्यत्यावर्त्तितमूर्त्तिरार्त्त-
विरुतं कुर्व्वन्ककुप्कुम्भिनाम् । सप्तांवो(बो)ध्यवधिप्रधूतवसुधाव(ब)न्धः कव(ब)न्धीकृतस्व-
2 [र्ग्गा]द्रिः[4] क्षयकांडतांडवविधिः शैवः शिवायास्तु वः ॥[२॥*] कस्त्वं द्वारि दि[गं]व(ब)रः क्षपणकः
कस्मादकस्मादहो वा(बा)ले शूलधरो धिगायुधविधिं व(ब)र्हास्त्वदर्हा ननु । मां जानीहि महेश्वरं
स्फुटमिदं वस्त्रेष्वभावादिति प्रेयस्या परिहासतो विहसितं शंभोः शुभायास्तु वः ॥[३॥*] पशुपति-
वदनच्छद्मनि कृतवसतिः पद्मसद्मनि स-
दा या । जयति विलक्षणरूपा सु(शु)क्लाभा भारती भ्रमरी ॥[४॥*] गिरिशशिरसि यच्छन्हस्तमिन्दोः
कलायां मुहुरमलमृणालीग्रासगृध्नुः शिसु(शु)त्वे । जयति विधुतमूर्द्धज्योत्स्नाललीलांवु(बु)जेन स्मित-
कुपितमृडानीताडितो नागवक्त्रः ॥[५॥*] निजोपज्ञप्रज्ञाप्रसरपरिविस्फारमुकुरे पदार्थानां सार्थः
प्रतिफलति
4 येषामवितथः । गिरां ग्रामो येषामधरमधिशेते स्वयमयं नमस्तेभ्यः सद्भ्यस्तिलकितजगद्भ्यः किमपरम् ॥
[६॥*] कल्पादौ किल केवलं खमखिलं ध्वांतावनद्धं ध्रुवं शून्यं वीक्ष्य सिसृक्षतो जगदभूद्भू[द्रा]दमुद्रो-
निलः । तत्राभूदनलोनलाज्जलमभूद्वी(द्री)जादमोघाज्जले ज्वालामालि हिरम्म(ण्म)यं महदभूदंडं
विभोर्व्र(र्ब्र)ह्मणः ॥[७॥*] तदंडभांडखंडाभ्यां
5 द्यां भुवं विदधे धिया । व्र(ब्र)ह्मा व्र(ब्र)ह्मनिधीन् पुत्रान् मरीच्यर्[त्र]मुखान्मुनीन् ॥[८॥*] मध्ये तेषां प्रहत-
तमसां मानसानां मुनीनां श्रीमानत्रिः प्रथितमहिमा नेतृ(त्र)पात्रे प्रसूतम् । यस्य ज्योतिः(ष्)पटलजटिलं
मंडलं वंद्यमिन्दोश्चंद्रात्रेयः समजनि मुनिस्तस्य पुत्रः पवित्रः ॥[९॥*] दूरापास्तसमस्तसंशयविपर्यास-
प्रकामोज्व(ज्ज्व)लज्ञानालोकविलो-[5]

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[1] From an inked estampage.
[2] Denoted by a symbol.
[3] A part of some other letter was originally incised in place of the second letter, which was subsequently changed as the superscript of ष्ट.
[4] The *akshara* in the brackets looks like र्ग्गा.
[5] A *kāka-pada* is engraved here and also at the end of ll. 6 and 20 below, to indicate that the word is continued in the next line.

6 किताखिलजगत्सर्ग्गापवर्ग्गस्थितेः । सर्व्वज्ञप्रतिमस्य तस्य[1] कृतिनः कारु[2]ण्यपुण्यात्मनः (।)[3] पा[रं]
गंतुम[न]स्तदीपमहसः को वा महिम्नां क्षमः ॥[१०॥*] नीरंध्रो नि[तरां[4]] निसर्ग्गसरलः सारो[त्त]रा-
म्यन्तरो निर्ग्रंथिः पृथुलाग्रभागसुभगः पर्व्वस्वखर्व्वस्थितिः । आमूलं फलितोप्यसेवितविपक्ष्[ा]रारि-
[दावा]ग्निना न म्लानिं गमितस्ततः समभवद्वंशोयम-
7 त्यद्भुतः[5] ॥ [११॥*] आचंद्रं चंद्रात्रेयवंस(श)जाः क्षितिभुजः क्षितिम्[6] । भोक्ष्यन्त्यक्षतदोर्द्दंडचंडि-
मानोत्रितेजसा ॥[१२॥*] ये पूर्व्वेत्र पवित्रितक्षितितलाः सत्कर्म्मस(श)र्म्मप्रियाः (।)[7] प्राणप्राण-
नयाप्यखिन्नमनसः[8] पर्याप्तसत्यव्रताः । निःसिंदूरितदुर्व्विनीतव(ब)लव[त्सा]मन्तसीमन्तिनीसीमा-
[न्तां:(न्ताः)] पृथिवीभुजो विजयिनस्तेभ्योखिलेभ्यो नमः ॥[१३*]
8 कालेनेह महावंशे प्रशंशा(सा)प्रांशुरंशुमात्(न्) । मुक्तामणिरिव श्रीमान्न[न्नु]कोभून्महीपतिः ॥[१४॥*]
तेन विक्रमधनेन धन्विना क्रामता युधि[9] वधाय विद्विषाम् । धुन्वता धनुरधि[ज्य]मर्ज्जुनं स्मारिता
दिवि विमा[न]गामिनः ॥[१५॥*] तस्मादुदारकीर्त्तेरजनि जनानंदसुंदरः श्रीमान् । तनयो विनय-
निधानं वाक्पतिरिव वाक्पतिः क्षितिपः ॥[१६॥*] विद्यावदा-
9 तहृदयेन हृदि प्रजानामातंकशंकुमकलंकितविक्रमेण । तेनापनोय नयनिर्म्मललोचनेन शं(सं)कोचिताः
पृथुककुत्स्थकथार्थकंथाः ॥[१७॥*] तस्य क्ष्मातिलकस्य लोकतिलकः पृथ्वीपतेर्भूपतिः (।) स
श्रीमान्विजयो जयाय जगतां जज्ञे कृतज्ञः सुतः । यस्योदात्तमतेः प्रसूतिसमये धाम्नां
10 महिम्नां निधेः सानंदं सुरसुंदरीभिरवनौ क्षिप्ताः सलाजाः श्र(स्र)जः ॥[१८॥*] किन्नरीभिरधिकंधरं
सखीराकलय्य भुजयास्य भूभुजः । काकलीकलमगीयत स्फुरत्प्रोथमुत्पुलकमुज्व(ज्ज्व)लं यशः ॥[१९॥*]
विनयनतसुमित्रापत्यसंवाहितांह्रि(घ्रि)ः प्रवरहरिचमूभिः क्रान्तपर्यन्तभूमिः । [सु]हृदुपकृति-
11 दक्षो दक्षिणाशां जिगी[षुः][10] पुनरधित पयोधेर्व(र्ब)न्धवैधुर्यम[र्यः] ॥[२०॥*] तस्मान्नृपतिसमुद्रादुदपादि
नरेंद्रचंद्रमाः सूनुः । स श्रीराहिलनामा[11] विहि(ह)ततमा वंदिता[भ्यु]दयः ॥[२१॥*] प्रसन्ने तत्र
भूपाले प्रसरन्चित्रभानवः । ना[थ]वन्तोर्थिनां वा[सा]ः[12] सरोषे द्विषदालयाः ॥[२२॥*] कोशपान-
मसिधारयोषि-
12 तां नाभिभूतजनरत्नसंपदां(दाम्) । पक्षपातमिषुदुष्टभूभृतः प्रापुरस्य न सुहृत्सभासदः[13] ॥[२३॥*]

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1 Reading conjectural and as required by the context. In the original these two *aksharas* look like वुप्य, or वुब्य.

2 Probably some other letter was originally cut and it was later on altered to रु

3 The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

4 Noting that this *akshara* looks like वां or नां Kielhorn proposed to correct it to घो to suit to the sense, but the *anusvāra* on the third letter, which appears as *r* with its *v*-like form, as at many places in the inscription, tempts me to take the whole word as नितरां, with the second of the *aksharas* misformed. The reading proposed by me would also be suitable to the sense.

5 By play on words, the expressions used in this verse are applicable to *vaṁśa*, meaning (1) family and (2) bamboo.

6 This hemistich is metrically faulty. It may be restored as चन्द्रात्रेयकुले जाता आचन्द्रं क्षितिपाः क्षितिम्

7 The punctuation mark, as some others below, is superfluous; and not noting them separately in each case, I have put them in brackets. Kielhorn read the two of the preceding *aksharas* as *sargga* and noted that the second of these letters is rather *-rmma* than *-rgga*. I think that *mma* is really intended here in the sense of 'having happiness by righteous conduct'.

8 न, which was originally omitted, was added subsequently in a smaller form below the line and the dots of the *visarga* that follows are combined with the *daṇḍa*.

9 Originally two dots, later on changed to the curve of the medial *i*. Here we can have the *pada-chchhēda* as *krāmatā* or *ākrāmatā*, walking (proceeding), or attacking'.

10 The consonant of this *akshara* looks like *n*, and the fore-limb of the preceding *akshara* looks somewhat like *v*, because of a redundant chisel stroke.

11 The consonant of the first letter of the name is cut as *ch*, and of the *bhyu* that follows appears a *gk* probably with a medial *u*. *Saḥ* is here in the sense of 'renowned'.

12 These *aksharas* are misformed and in the impression they look like वाभतस्वार्थिनां वास. But I fail to see the mark above the last of these which Kielhorn, with some hesitation, supposed to be intended for *sā*.

13 The seventh *akshara* of this verse is engraved as *dhā* and Kielhorn corrected it to *vā*, giving the word *vārayōshitām*. He also translated the verse, for which see the text, *f.n.* 32.

तस्मात्तीव्रप्रतापज्वलनकवलितोत्तालभूपालतूला[न्मूला]च्छील[द्रु][1]माणामनणुगुणगणालंकृतेः कीर्त्तिभर्त्तुः ।
स श्रीहर्षोरिहर्षज्वरहरणमणिः क्षीणनिःशेषदोषः सन्तोषाय प्रजानामज-
13 नि निजभुजाश्रान्तविश्रान्तकीर्त्तिः ॥[२४॥*] यं द्द[ष्ट्वै]व कृपाणपाणिमकृतव्यापारभा[रं] युधि क्रोधा-
क्रान्तविलोचनौ(नो)त्पलदलभ्रूभंगभीमाननम् । उत्साहो हृदयाद्धनुः करतला[द्द्रा]वो[2] मुखात्कीर्त्तयो
दिग्भ्यः साध्वसवेपमानवपुषां नष्टाः परेषां क्रमात् ॥[२५॥*] तेनाच्युतेन भीमेन व(ब)लेन कृत-
वर्म्म-
14 णा । समुद्रपरिखा पृथ्वी पुरी सू(शू)रेण रक्षिता ॥[२६॥*] अपक्षधात्रीधररक्षणक्षमः सदैव दोषा-
करसंगभंगुरः । व(ब)हिःकृताक्रूरभुजंगसंगमस्तिरस्करोति[3]स्म स तूर्ण्णमर्ण्णवम् ॥[२७॥*] दूरा[पा]स्त-
प्रवरतुरगैर्दूरमुक्तातपत्रैर्दूरायातैः[4] सपदि शिरसा [शा]सनं धारयद्भिः । तस्य द्वारि द्विरदमदतिः-
स्य(निःस्यं)दपंकां-
15 कितायां से[वा]हेतोः प्रणतिपरमैरा[श्रि]तं[5] भूमिपालैः ॥[२८॥*] वृत्तोज्व(ज्ज्व)ला गुणाधारा महार्घा
हृदयंगमा[6] । हारावलीव तस्यासीत्कंछुकेति प्रियोत्तमा ॥[२९॥*] वर्ण्णे[7] स्वर्ण्णरुचिर्विलोचनयुगं
नीलं सचंद्रोप(त्प)लं पाणि[ः] शोणि(ण)मणिद्युतिः सचरणो दन्तच्छदो विद्रुमः । सद्यः सु(शु)क्ति-
विमुक्तमौक्तिकतल-
16 स्वच्छ[न्च(ञ्च) चे]तो यतः स्त्रीरत्नं भुवनैकभूषणमभूत्तेनेयमेका सती ॥[३०॥*] तस्यास्तस्य स्मरण-
विहिताघौघविध्वंसनायाः सत्तीर्थायास्त्रिदशसरितः शान्तनोः पुण्यकीर्त्तेः । धर्माधारः पितरि सुतरां
साधुरिद्धप्रभावो भीष्मो यद्वत्समजनि सुतः[8] श्रीयशोवर्म्मदेवः ॥[३१॥*] तस्य विप्रचरणप्रणामजं
17 शैशवे [शि][9]रसिजश्रितं रजः । अप्यकालपलिताकृतिं दधत्संदधावधिककामनीयकं(कम्) ॥[३२॥*]
एकस्मै याचमानाय द्विजाय पलदः शिविः । यावदर्थिजनं प्रादात्कोटिं कोटिमसौ नृपः[10] ॥[३३॥*]
नंतुं भ्रूमिलितालिके[न] सदसि व्यस्तासवे(ने)नासितुं गंतुं पत्रपुरस्सरेण चरणैः स्थातुं च नीचैश्चि-
18 रम् ।(।) वक्तुं जीव जयादिशेति नियमं कर्त्तुं विनीतात्मना तस्मिन्राजति[11] राजकेन जयनि
त्रासादिदं सिक्वि(शिक्षि)तं(तम्) ॥[३४॥*] नित्पो(त्यो)दितेंदुभुजगाधिपधाम नित्यमानंदिकुंदकुसुमं
गगतां(नां)गणं च । तेता(ना)द्भुतं द्वयमिदं यश[सा] व्यधायि धा[त्री]तलं शि(सि)तसुधाघ(?)-
धंवलंत्व[12]चित्रम् ॥[३५॥*] सं[भ]वति
19 भुवि मनुष्यः सप्ताकूपारपारदृश्वापि । न पुनरिह तस्य नृपतेर्गुणसागरपारगः कश्चित् ॥[३६॥*]
गांधारीं भजता प्रहृष्टशकुनिस्वा(श्वा)नप्रियां प्रेयसीं भीष्मद्रोणवचांस्यकर्ण्णसुखदान्याकर्ण्य[13]संमूर्च्छता ।
तो(नो) धर्म्मप्रभवं विरोधितवता प्राप्यापि वंशक्षयं न प्राप्ता धृतराष्ट्रता ससुहृ-

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1 Some other letters originally cut in place of *nmū-* and *dru*, which were subsequently corrected.

2 The *akshara* in the brackets was lost in Kielhorn's time also, and the reading adopted here is as proposed by him.

3 Read बहिष्कृता. The consonant of the second of these *aksharas* is damaged.

4 The bracketed *akshara* is entirely lost.

5 Kielhorn read *-śitaṁ* and corrected the first of these letters to *si*, to give the sense of *āsitaṁ*. But my impression shows a *rēpha* attached to *ś* and thus I take the letter as *śra*.

6 The preceding letter was originally cut as म and later on altered to ग. This verse contains a play on *vritta* meaning (1) round and (2) conduct, and on *guṇa* meaning (1) thread and (2) merit.

7 The *visarga* is omitted here not wrongly, as Kielhorn has observed, but in accordance with the *Vārttika* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3, 36.

8 This refers to the legend according to which Bhīshma was born from the Ganges (*Tridaśa-sarit*) by Sāntanu. See *Mbh.*, I, 99, 47; *Mēdinī*, 118, 81 (*Gāṅgēyaḥ Syāt Pumān Bhīshmē*).

9 The bracketed *akshara* appears to have been changed to *sa*, which suits the sense.

10 There is a pun here on the word *pala*, meaning (1) flesh and (2) a weight (and thus a coin of that weight). Śivi is the well-known mythical king.

11 Kielhorn read this *akshara* as *ti* and corrected it to *ni*, but I do not think that the emendation proposed by him is necessary. *Rājati* is in the *loc. absolute;* the verb is *ubhayapadī*.

12 Read सुधाधवलत्व. The latter *ha*, which was repeated by mistake, has been scored off: but I fail to find the two signs of the *anusvāra* also struck off, as Kielhorn observed.

13 The *prishṭha-mātrā* of द्रो is very thin and the consonant of च in वचां appears to have been corrected. The letter ख is damaged by the crack.

20 दा विद्वेषिणेत्यद्भुतम्[1]॥[३७॥*] कष्टात्षष्टिसहस्रसूनुभि[2]रसूनुत्सृज्य खातः कृतस्तत्पौत्रप्रमुखैः[3] पुन स्त्रिभिरसावंभोभि[रा]पूरितः। वृत्तान्तं सं(स)गरस्य सागरविधावाकर्ण्य तूर्णं सुधीः स्पर्द्धावानधिकं व्यधत्त जलधेर्वै(बै)ल्वं तडागार्ण्णवम्[4]॥[३८॥*] तस्येदं शारदेन्दुद्यु तिं[ख][5]रसि(शि)खरक्षुन्न-(ण्ण)नक्ष[त्र*][6]चक्राच्च[क्र* रक्ष]न्नमु-

21 ष्मादपथयति रथं सारथिः सप्तसप्तेः। यत्कुंभः सा(शा)तकुम्भस्तुहिनगिरिसि(शि)रश्चुम्बिविम्वा-(म्बिबिम्बा)र्क्कतर्क्कं कुर्व्वन्नास्ते समस्तस्तुतमसुररिपोर्व्वेस्म(श्म) वैकुण्ठमूर्त्तेः॥[३९॥*] महावंस(श)-समुत्पन्ना प्रसन्ना [धारि]तावनी। नर्म्मदेवाभवद्देवी पुप्पा[7] तस्य महीपतेः॥[४०॥*] सदानसूया विहितागसेप्यसावरुंधती

22 जीवितमप्युपासिता। व(ब)भौ मदान्धान्दमयन्त्यनिन्दिता मदालसाभून्न पुनः कथंचन॥[४१॥*] सा देवी नरदेवाद्देवाधिपतेः स(श)चीव सच्चरित्रं(तम्)। तस्मादसूत पूतं जयंतमिव [धं]ग-मंगभुवम्[8] ॥४२॥*] यशोदानन्दभा[क्च]क्रे पूतनामा रणक्रियां(याम्)। जातो वृष्णिकुले कंस-रिपोः च्छेत्ता[9] नरोत्तमः॥[४३॥*] तभ्यावसो-

23 मधितक्रोधान्नृसिंहान्नखलाविनः[10]। हिरण्यकशिपुप्राणत्राणं चक्रे न केनचित्॥[४४॥*] देवालोकय कोशलेश्वरमितस्तूर्ण्णं समाकर्ण्यतामादेशः क्रथनाथ सिंहलपते नत्वा व(ब)हिः स्थीयताम्। त्वं विज्ञापय कुंतलेन्द्र वदने दत्त्वोत्तरीयांचलम् (।) त[स्या]स्थानगतस्य[11]

24 वेत्रिभिरिति व्यक्तं समुक्तं वचः॥[४५॥*] का त्वं कांचीनृपतिवनिता का[12] त्वमंध्राधिपस्त्री का त्वं राढापरिवृढवधूः का त्वमंगेंद्रपत्नी [।*] इत्यालापाः समरजयिनो यस्य वैरिप्रियाणां कारगारे

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1 Kielhorn read correctly the first letters of feet 3 and 4 as *tam* and *na* respecively, but finding them indistinct in the impression before him, he suggested *nō* and *sam* instead, without any cogent justification. He also translated the verse accordingly, for which see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 144, *n.* 54. But I prefer to retain both these letters (*tam* and *na*), which are quite clear in my impression. The former of these would mean 'the celebrated (Yudhishṭhira) on the one side, and 'the recognised' (canons of dharma) on the other. Kielhorn's translation 'that Dhritarāshṭra did not oppose Yudhishṭhira' would also factually go against the statement of the *Mbh. viz.* that he actually did so 'when he saw his own race being destroyed', though not after his family was decimated. Thus the figure of speech applied here is what is technically calle *Virōdha* and not *Virōdhābhasa*, as taken by Kielhorn. The reading *na* also brings out the significance of the use of the word *adbhuta* with more force, while its emendation to *sam*, as suggested by Kielhorn, misses the point almost completely.

2 Originally न्नि, later on changed to नु.

3 Some letter was first cut before त्पौ and subsequently was struck off as redundant.

4 Here the reference is to the mythical story of Sagara's sixty thousand sons digging down towards the Pātāla in search of the sacrificial horse and thus extending the boundaries of the ocean. Cf. *R. V.*, XIII, v. 3. The name *Bailva* seems to suggest that the tank was excavated in a spot containing numerous *bilva* (*Aegle marmelos*) trees sacred to Śiva to whom this temple was dedicated.

5 Originally खु, with the *mātrā* erased later on.

6 Kielhorn observed that this *akshara* (*tra*) is probably engraved below the line, but I do not find it in my impression. His restoration of the following ष्मपथयति to ष्मपनयति is not necessary since the reading here gives the sense of 'turning away (from the main path)'. The temple referred to in this verse is obviously the same as described in No. 98, v. 42.

7 Both the letters of the name are partly abraded but the reading is certain. Kielhorn stated that they 'are quite distinct in the best of the impressions'; and, following him, I take it to be the name of the queen. It may also be observed here that generally a lady is compared to Lakshmī; but the comparison of this queen with Narmadā may go to suggest that she came from the region where this river was flowing.

8 Kielhorn has noted that the letter in the brackets is rather वं than धं but the present inscription has a number of instances, *e.g.*, in *ll.* 25 and 26, where the *akshara* can distinctly be read as धं not वं

9 Read रिपोश्छेत्ता. By *ślēsha* this verse is applicable to both Dhaṅga and Krishṇa.

10 The reading of the first *aksharas* of this verse, from my impression, is exactly as given here, of course with the exception that the second of these may also be read as स्मा and also that the third and the fifth appear to be altered. Read तस्मात्समुत्थित.

11 Kielhorn read the bracketed *akshara* as *sya* and restored it to *syā*, but the *mātrā* is marked above the letter, a small trace of which can be seen in the photograph.

12 The *mātrā* is incised above the letter, resembling a *rēpha*.

सजलनयनेंदीवराणां व(ब)भूवुः ॥[४६॥*] का त्वं कस्य किमर्थमत्र भक्ती प्राप्ता शशांको-
ज्व(ज्ज्व)ला सिद्धाः[1]

25 कीर्त्तिरहं वु(बु)धैकसुहृदः श्रीधंगपृथ्वीपतेः। भ्रांत्वा विस्व(श्व)मशेषमागतवती स्फारीभवत्कौतुका
लोकालोक[2]महामहीध्रसि(शि)खरश्रेणिश्रियं वीक्षितुं(तुम्) ॥[४७॥*] मरकतमयं तुंगं लिंगं यदर्च्चितमैश्वरं
त्रिदशपतिना तस्माल्लब्धं(ब्धं) प्रसाद्य किरीटिना। तदवनितलं तेनानीतं युधिष्ठिरपूजितं जयति

26 जगति श्रीधंगेन[3]प्रणम्य निवेसि(शि)तं(तम्) ॥[४८॥*] वेस्म(श्म)न्यस्म(श्म)मयस्तेन भूपालेन प्रतिष्ठितः[4]।
द्वितीयो द्योतते देवः क्लेशपास(श)हरो हरः ॥[४९॥*] तेनायं स(श)रदभ्रसु(शु)भ्रसि(शि)खरः
श्रीधंगपृथ्वीभुजा प्राशा(सा)दस्त्रिदशप्रभोर्भगवतः सं(शं)भोः समुत्तंभितः। यस्याभ्रंकषकालधौतकलसप्रान्त-
[स्ख]लत्स्पं(त्स्यं)दनो मेरोः[5]सृं(शृं)-

27 गमतुंगमेव मनुते चित्रीयमानोरुणः ॥[५०॥*] भक्त्या भवस्य नूनं शिल्पिस(श)रीरेषु कृतसमावेशः।
स्वयमेव विश्वकर्म्मा तोरणरचनामिमां चक्रे ॥[५१॥*] जयति विकटो [व]टोयं[6]हाटककोटीर[नेन]
तुलयित्वा। अतुलेन तुलापुरुषाः स(श)तसो(शो) विश्राणितास्तेन ॥[५२॥*] षट्कर्म्माभिरता[7]रताः
परहिते संसु(शु)द्धव(वं)स(श)[द्वया]-

28 : प्रारव्धा(ब्धा)ध्वरधूमधूम्रवपुषोप्येकान्ततो निर्म्मलाः। तेनैते धनधान्यधेनुवसुधादानेन संमानिताः सौधेषु
स्फटिकाद्रिकूटविकटेष्वारोपिता व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाः ॥[५३॥*] व्र(ब्र)ह्मसु व्र(ब्र)ह्मकल्पेषु येष्वेकत्र
निवासिषु। दक्षिणेन तुषाराद्रिं कल्पग्रामोपरोभवत(त्) ॥[५४॥*] रक्षित्वा क्षितिमंवु(बु)रासि-
(शि)रस(श)नामेतामनन्यायति[8]

29 जीवित्वा स(श)रदां स(श)तं समधिकं श्रीधंगपृथ्वीपतिः। रुद्रं मुद्रितलोचनः स हृदये ध्यायन्ज(ञ्ज)पन्[9]
जाह्नवीकालिंद्योः सलिले कलेवरपरित्यागादगान्नि[र्वृ]तिं(तिम्) ॥[५५॥*] धर्म्माधिकारमनुसा-
(शा)सति सा(शा)न्ततोत्र मित्रे सतां स्फुरितधामनि धर्म्मवु(बु)[द्धौ]। श्रीमद्यशोधरपुरोधसि
वेधसीव सिद्धिं जगाम जगतीपतिकीर्त्तिरेषा ॥[५६॥*] तार्क्किकः प्र-

30 वरसावरवंस(श)जन्मा श्रीनंदनः कविरभूत्कविचक्रवर्त्ती। तस्यात्मजः समजनि श्रुतपारदृश्वा श्रीमांस्तपो-
धिकव(ब)लो व(ब)लभद्रनामा ॥[५७॥*] सूनुः सूनृतगीर्गिरींद्र[10]महिमा भ[द्र]श्य(स्य) तस्याभवद्भूपालैर्भुवि
पूजितांह्रि(घ्रि)रनघः साहित्यरत्नाकरः। श्रीरामो रमणीयशू(सू)क्तिरचनाचातुर्यधुर्यः कृती तेनेयं
विहिता प्रशस्तिर[चना]

31 भ[क्त्याल]ये[11] शूलिनः ॥[५८॥*] न संकीर्ण्णा वर्ण्णाः क्वचिदिह न सापत्न्यकलुषाः स्थिताः कायस्थेन
प्रथितकुलशीलोज्व(ज्ज्व)लधिया। यशः[12]पालेनायं विदितपदविद्येन लिखितः प्रशस्तेर्विन्याशः(सः)

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1 Both the signs for the *visarga* are hollow rectangular marks, as also in the beginning of l. 28, below.

2 This is a mythical range of mountains round the world. The Sun and the moon move along on side of it.

3 The first *akshara* of the name is almost mixed with the preceding one.

4 For प्रतिष्ठापितः which, of course, would not suit the metre.

5 The fabulous mountain round which the planets are said to revolve; it is also said to consist of gold, and thus the idea well suits the description of *kalaśa* made of *kaladhauta*, i.e., gold.

6 The bracketed *akshara* has no top-stroke and thus it appears as *dh*. *Tulā-purushe* used in the same verse (or *tulā-dāna*) means the gift to a Brāhmaṇa (or, Brāhmaṇas) as much gold, jewels or other valuable things as equal of the weight of one's body. For this *mahādāna* see Hēmādri's *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, (Banaras edn.), I, p. 175.

7 The sign of *visarga* was originally incised but later on struck off. For the six duties of a *Brāhmaṇa*, see *M. S.* Ch. X, v. 75.

8 The sign of *anusvāra* is cut before the curve.

9 *Sandhi* is not made here, as it is optional.

10 As *n.* 50, above.

11 The first of the bracketed letters is rather peculiarly formed and the second appears to be corrected from *ta*, which was originally incised.

12 The sign of the *visarga* was incised subsequently, as the upper dot is above the line and the lower one for below.

कृतयुगसमाचारश(स)द्दशः ॥[५९॥*] विज्ञानविस्वकर्त्रा धर्म्माधारेण सूत्रधारेण। च्छि(छि)च्छा[भि]धेन
विदधे प्राशा(सा)दः[1] प्रमथ[न]ाथस्य ॥[६०॥*] यावत्पृथ्वी स-
32 पृथ्वीधरनगरनगा दत्तमुद्रा समुद्रैर्यावद्भ्राजिष्णुरुष्णद्युतिरयममृतस्यंदनः शीतरस्मि(श्मि)। यावद्व्र(द्ब्र)-
ह्मांडभांडस्थितिरियमथवा स्थास्नुतां स्थाणवीयः प्राशा(सा)दस्तावदेष व्रजतु नरपतेर्द्दत्तकैलासहासः[2]
॥[६१॥*] लिपि[ज्ञा]नवि[धि]ज्ञेन प्राज्ञेन गुणसा(शा)लिना। सिंहेनेयं समुत्कीर्ण्णा सद्वर्ण्णा
रूपसा(शा)लि[नी][3] ॥[६२॥*] संवत(त्) १०५९[4] श्रीखर्ज्जू-
33 रवा [ह]के[5] राजश्री[धंग]देवराज्ये देवश्रीमरकतेश्वरस्य प्रस(श)स्तिः सिद्धा॥ उत्खातोच्चमहीभृतो
मसृणिता मत्तद्विपतां[6] पदैर्द्धौताः सं[ग]रसंगभं[गु]ररिपुत्रस्यत्प्रियाश्रूत्करैः। दिग्भित्तीर्ज्जयवर्म्मदेवनृपतिः
कीर्त्यक्षरैर्योलिखत्तेनालेखि पुनः प्रशस्तिरमलैरेषाक्षरैः क्ष्माभुजा ॥[६३॥*] विद्वद्भिर्ज्जयपालशी[7] ।-
34 तकिरणोमू[न्या]दराद्वंदितो गौडः प्रोल्लिखदक्षराणि[8] कुमुदाकाराणि सर्प्पत्करः[9]। कायस्थो
जयवर्म्मदेवनृपतेरीशस्य वि(बि)[भ्र]त्कलाः साहित्यांवु(बु)धिवं(बं)धुरुद्धततमो रुन्धन्ननिंद्यद्युतिः[10]
॥[६४*] संवत् ११७३ वैसा(शा)ख शुदि ३ शुक्रे ॥

No. 115; Plate CVII

KĀLAÑJAR PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1186

THIS inscription was found on a pillar in the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha inside the fort of **Kālañjara,** in the Bāndā District of Uttar Pradesh.[11] It was noticed by General Alexander Cunningham who transcribed and translated it in his *Archaeological Survey Reports,* Vol. XXI (for 1883-84 & 1884-85), p. 34 and Plate x-A. It is edited here from an inked impression which I owe to the kindness of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India.

The record, which consists of five lines, is incised on a shaft, rounded at the top, and below another record separated from it by a space of about 2 cms.[12] It covers a space 28 cms.

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1 Kielhorn read the first *akshara* of this word as प्र but the *mātrā* is marked as a horn above.

2 Above *tē,* and also above the preceding *ra,* the sign for the medial *ē* was first cut and then struck off as unnecessary.

3 Kielhorn doubtfully read the third *akshara* as *nī* and remarked that it might also be read as *nā* or *tā*. But I see a curve representing the medial *ī* which appears to have been either struck off in the original or brushed.

4 The thousand-figure, though damaged, is quite clear.

5 The sign for *ē* (not *i*) before *ha* was originally marked and later on struck off as unnecessary. Kielhorn also remarked the same after studying it from two of the impressions with him. The akshara *ha* which was quite distinct in his time can now be recognised only in traces.

6 Read द्विपानां. The *akshara* प so far as I can make out, had a sign *ā* attached at its top, but it has disappeared now, leaving only traces above. The following *akshara,* as many others in this inscription, has *n* for its consonant.

7 Kielhorn read this *akshara* as सी and corrected it to शी. But the loop at the top shows it definitely as taken here, and the tail is mixed with the horizontal stroke.—The vertical stroke that follows is redundant.

8 For प्रोदलिख *metris caüsa.* To suit the metre it may be restored to प्रालिख.

9 The second *akshara* of this word is engraved as र्प्यं with a small curve representing the superscript of the following letter.

10 From द्युति: up to the end the letters are slightly bigger in form.

11 For the situation and archaeological importance of Kālañjara, see No. 110, above.

12 The inscription above consists of two and a quarter of lines and ends with the usual expression paying obeisance to Nīlakaṇṭha (*nityam praṇamati*). The letters in it are smaller and the palaeography shows them to belong to a slightly earlier time. The technical execution too is crude. For all these reasons I hesitate to agree with Cunningham who took both the records as one.

KĀLAÑJAR PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1186

Scale: Four-seventh

broad by 24 cms. high and is in a fair state of preservation, except one letter each in ll. 2 and 3 where it is slightly damaged, though it can well be made out. The average height of the letters is 3 to 5 cms.

The inscription consists of four lines. The **characters** are Nāgarī. They are beautifully formed and carefully engraved. The vowel *a* which occurs only once, in l. 5, begins with a curve; and among the consonants, *ch* shows its loop triangular in *-nācha-*, l. 4; the joining bar of *s* continues to be a curvature of the lowest extremity of its left limb: see *Saṁgrāmasīha*, l. 3; and *h* has developed a tail as in the same example. *R* shows two different forms in the same word *-pratīhāra*, l. 3. The **language** is Sanskrit, influenced by the local dialect, as we find from the use of *-Sīha* and *-nāchaṇi-*, both in l. 4. The inscription is in prose; and orthographically there is nothing worth noting, except that *m* after *r* is doubled in *-varmma-*, l. 2.

The inscription refers itself to the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Madanavarmadēva,** whose name figures in l. 2. The family to which this king belonged is not mentioned in the record, but the title of the king and the discovery of the inscription at Kālañjara, which was a stronghold of the Chandēlla rulers, leave little doubt that he was no other than the son of Pṛithvīvarman and the grandson of the illustrious Kīrtivarman, as we know from the other inscriptions of the house.

The **date** of the record, as mentioned in numerical figures only, is (Vikrama) **Saṁvat 1186** without further particulars; and the year, if taken as the northern Vikrama *expired,* corresponds to **1129 A.C.** In the absence of the necessary details the date cannot be verified.

Opening with the year and mentioning the name of the king, the inscription introduces the *mahā-pratīhāra* (the great personal attendant of the king) of the name of Saṁgrāmasiṁha and the great (court) dancer Padmāvatī. The **object** is not stated therein but the record appears to mention some benefactions made to the deity by both these persons. The last two names Lāshu and Auji appear to represent those persons who engraved the record; or these names may have been written some time subsequently and have no concern with the main record. We have nothing to ascertain either of the views.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it furnishes the earliest year for the reign of Madanavarman.

The **geographical name** mentioned in the record is that of **Kālañjara,** which is the well-known fort as we have often seen.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम्[2][।*] सं[3]११८६ महाराजा[4] श्री-
2 मदनवर्म्मदेव(वः) ॥ महा-
3 प्रतीहारसंग्रामसीह(सिंहः) ।
4 महानाचणि[5]पद्मावति(ती) ॥
5 लाषुः औजि[:] ।

No. 116; Plate CVIII-A

KĀLAÑJAR PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1187

THIS inscription was brought to notice by General Alexander Cunningham, who published his transcript thereof, in Roman characters, with an English translation and a small-scale lithograph in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI (1883-1885), p. 34 and Plate X-B. The inscription is edited here from the same plate.

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[1] From an impression which I owe to the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] This is a contraction of संवत्.
[4] Read either राजश्री or राज्यश्री देवस्य, dropping the *daṇḍas*.
[5] A colloquial word in the sense of 'dancer'.

The record is inscribed on a piece of a broken stone pillar which Cunningham found at the police station in the town of **Kālañjar,** and was reported to have been brought from the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha, inside the fort at that place.[1] As the pillar was broken, the record is incomplete. The preserved portion contained four lines of writing of almost equal length, the dimensions of which are not recorded.

The **letters** which are carelessly incised belong to the twelfth century A.D. The **language** is incorrect Sanskrit, as will be known from corrections made in the following transcript. From the point of palaeography it is worth noting that whereas the letter *k* has assumed the modern form, *j*, *r* and *s* are older ; see *kāliñjara-*, l. 3, and *su* in *sudi*, l. 1. The preserved portion is all in prose. **Orthographically,** we may note that the letter *ma*, ending the name of the king in l. 2, has been doubled.

The **purpose** of the record is not to be found in the existing portion ; it is probably to record some benefactions made by one Śrī-Trisalka during the reign of the illustrious madana-varmadēva, who is evidently the Chandēlla king (*c.* 1129-1163 A.D.).

The **date** of the record, which is mentioned only in figures, is **the ninth of the bright fortnight of Jyēshṭha of the (V.) year 1187.** It cannot be verified, but taking the year as the Northern *expired*, it corresponds to Sunday, 18th May, 1130 A.C.[2]

TETX[3]

1 स(सं)वत्[4] ११८७ जे(ज्ये)ष्ठ सुदि ९
2 श्रीमद्(मन्)मदनवर्म्मदेव(वः) ॥
3 कालिंजराद्री(द्रि)[5] श्रीवि[6]-
4 सल्क*टि*[7]रातनश्री........[8]

No. 117 ; Plate CVIII-B

KĀLAÑJAR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1188

THIS inscription is incised on a rock to the left of northern side of the gateway of the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha in the fort of **Kālañjar** in the Bāndā District of Uttar Pradesh. The record was first transcribed and translated into English by Lieut. F. Maisey in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society,* Vol. XVII (1848), pp. 321 f., and subsequently it was published, with a fresh transcript and a small-size photozincograph, by General Cunningham, in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports,* Vol. XXI (1883-85), pp. 34-35 and plate x-C. It is edited here for the first time from an impression which I owe to the kindness of the Chief Epigraphist.

The inscription contains nine lines of writing which covers a space 46 cms. broad by 33·5 cms. high. The first three of the lines form one group, and, after leaving some space which is more than the ordinary distance requires, the third line is followed by three pairs of two lines

[1] Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 34, *n.*

[2] For the Northern V. currect, the date would be equivalent to Wednesday, 29th May, 1129 A.C.; and for the Southern V. *expired*, to Thursday, 7th March, 1131 A.C.

[3] From Pl. x-B in Cunningham's *A. S. I. R.*, Vol XXI.

[4] Cunningham read *Aum* (*Ōṁ*) before *Saṁvat* but I do not find the symbol in the plate. It is not known if it has disappeared.

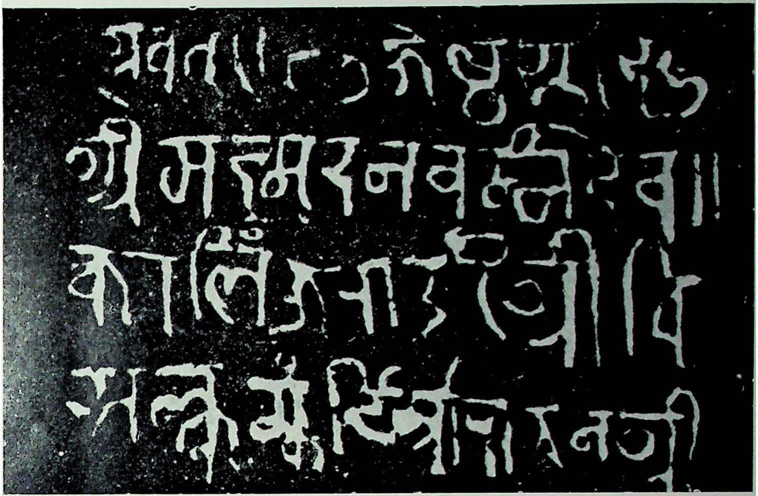
[5] This word is used without any case-ending. Read द्रौ.

[6] The 'reading of this *akshara* is doubtful; it may also be read as त्रि.

[7] The asterisk is put here to denote that one letter is illegible here. Cunningham read the second of the letters as *ā* and omitted the rest.

[8] The inscription is incomplete.

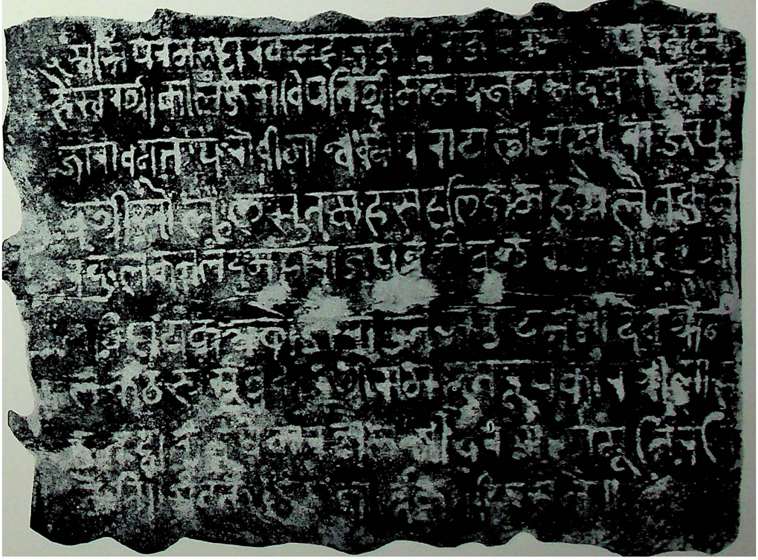
KĀLAÑJAR PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1187



From Facsimile

PLATE CVIII-B

KĀLAÑJAR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1188



each. The size of the letters ranges between 2 and 3 cms.; some of them are bigger than others, causing confusion in the reading. The record has also suffered from weather and some of the letters are damaged.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the twelfth century A.D. With respect to palaeography, attention may be invited to the form of *ch* with an angular loop, see *charaṇa-*, l. 2; to the form of *ṇ* in the same example; to that of *dh* which has developed a horn on its left limb, as in *sūtradhāra*, l. 7; to *r* which generally ends in a sharp tail, as in the same word; and finally, to the mediaeval *ū* attached to *r* below, *e.g.*, in *rūpakāra*, ll. 7-8.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and it is entirely in prose, though there are some examples appearing as parts of verses, *e.g.*, *dhīmān-dharmma-parāyaṇō-* in l. 3, which is the beginning of a foot of the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, and *Dēva-Śrī Nīlakaṇṭhasya*, in ll. 6-7, which appears as a complete foot of the *Anushṭubh* metre. With respect to **orthography,** we may note the occasional use of the dental for the palatal sibilant, as in *paramēsvara*, l. 1, but not in *Śrī* throughout; that of the sign for *b* to denote *v* also, as in *-anvuja*, l. 2, the reduplication of a consonant following *r*, *e.g.*, in *-varmma-*, l. 2, and in one example the preceding *t* in -puttra, l. 5. *Sandhi* is not observed in *Śrī-Udana* in l. 6, and the influence of Prakrit while giving the names is also visible, as in *Vachchha* for *Vatsa* in l. 5. It may also be observed here that the person who prepared the draft of the document had a very poor knowledge of Sanskrit; more in this concern will be said below, while studying its contents.

The record refers itself to the illustrious **Madanavarman,** the supreme lord of Kālañjar, who is endowed with the royal titles and is also called to have been a zealous devotee of Mahēśvara. The **object** of it is to record the installation of an image of Nīlakaṇṭha; and the **date,** as given in the numerical figures only, is **the eighth day of the bright half of kārttika of the (Vikrama) era, 1188, on Saturday.** Kielhorn calculated the date and found it equivalent to **31st October, 1131 A.C.** when there was a Saturday.[1] Thus the date is quite regular and the year was Chaitrādi *expired*.

The date of the record has no special interest since we know the Chandēlla Madanavarman to have occupied the throne from 1129 to 1163 A.C. And to summarise the contents of the record, we find that both Maisey and Cunningham expressed a wide difference of opinion, since the language used here is such as not to enable one to interpret the expressions quite satisfactorily, as to be seen below. Here it may also be observed, however, that both these scholars have missed the prominent floral design at the end of l. 5, which affords great help in solving the problem, showing the end of the first or the historical part of the inscription, as we find in several other cases which have often been noted by us. Here is introduced one Vatsaraja of the Kumara family, who is described as a son of *Mahārāja*, a general and a son of Sōlhaṇa. As his father's name is explicitly mentioned to be Sōlhaṇa, he cannot be taken identical with Kīrtivarman's general Vatsarāja mentioned in the Dēogaḍh inscription of the time of the king as a son of Mahīdhara.[2] But from the tenor of the record he appears to have been a military officer under Madanavarman and governing some region around Kālañjar.

Here ends the first part of the inscription, separated by the flowery design, as stated above. But the expression occurring in the second part of it, *viz.*, about the name of the deity whose image was installed and also about the persons who did it have been differently understood by both the above-named scholars. For example, whereas Cunningham took the image as of Lakshmīdhara, Maisey read the name as Varadā; and following the rubbing before me, I agree with Cunningham in this respect, as to be shown below in the text. As for the names of the persons who installed the image, we find that whereas Maisey took them to be two persons, *viz.*, Raja Dēva and Sōluṇa, Cunningham took them more in number. But considering that each of the names has a punctuation mark (*daṇḍa*) at its end, I am inclined to take the names as two, *viz.*, kavi-Ghayaṁka-Achchhōda and the illustrious *Rāūta* Udana. After this the inscription tells us that the image was made by the mason (*rūpakāra*) Lāhaḍa, the son of the illustrious

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[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 23, No. 6.

[2] Above, No. 111, v. 5.

Rāma[1] who made the image of Nīlakaṇṭha.[2] And with the date, as discussed above, the inscription comes to a close.

TETX[3]

1 सिद्ध[4] स्वस्ति [।*] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)र परममा-
2 हेस्व(श्व)रश्रीकालंजराधिपतिश्रीमन्मदनवर्म्मदेवचरणाम्वु(म्बु)-
3 जाराधनतत्परो धीमान्धर्म्मपरायणो[5] महाराजपु[6]-
4 त्रश्रीसो[ल्ह][7]णसुतमह(हा)सहणिकमह(हा)सैलैतकुम[8]-
5 रकुलकमलेंदु[9]महाराजपुत्रश्रीवच्छराजः[10] ॥ ॥
6 [क]विघयंकअछोद[11] राउत[श्री]उदनः[12] ॥ देवश्रीनी-
7 लकंठस्य सूत्रधारश्रीराम[सु]तरूपकारश्रीलाह-
8 ड त[द्भ्रातृ][13]रूपकारश्रीलि[क्ष्मी]धरसां(शां)त्यो[14] मूर्त्तिरेषि-
9 तेति[15] ॥ संवत् ११८८ कार्त्तिकसुदि ८ सनै(शनौ)[16] ॥

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1 It is not known whether the prefix *śrī* is a part of the name.

2 Here too the language is ambiguous, as throughout the inscription. Some of these points will be discussed in the text below. But the record is not of any historial importance. Rāma is the same person as mentioned in No. 110, l. 18, above.

3 From a rubbing.

4 Expressed by a symbol.

5 Cunningham read this *akshara* without the *mātrā* which is clear in the impression before me.

6 There are traces to show that *tra* was first incised at the end of this line but probably scored off and written in the next line.

7 Maisey read and second letter of the name as *lu* but what he took as the sign of the *mātrā* is a badly formed *ha*. We have no *mātrā*-sign of this type throughout the record. See *suta* which is just the next word.

8 The first of the epithets used here is a Prakrit form of *sādhanika* which means a general; and the implication of the second is not known to me, though the reading is absolutely certain. Maisey read माहसिकेन दुःशैलेन but it is not vouchsafed by the rubbing before me. The third *akshara* is *ṇi* and not *si;* for the form of the consonant *ṇ*, *cf. parāyaṇa* in l. 3. It again cannot be definitely said whether the sign denoting the medial *ā* was engraved at the end of the line so as to read *kumāra-*.

9 Cunningham read this *akshara* without the sign of *mātrā* which has faintly come out.

10 The Sanskrit form of this word is Vatsarāja. After this name there is a floral design where Maisey sees letters reading them as *Dēvaśrī*, and following it, his transcript gives नित्यविद्ययैकसच्छ्रे छठः, which I do not find in the rubbing.

11 The first *akshara* in the line has totally disappeared and has been adopted here from Cunningham's reading. Maisey read here *nitya*, as stated in the preceding note, but the space shows that only one and not two letters could have been accommodated here.

12 The reading of the bracketed letter, which also seems to have been *ja*, is uncertain. In that case the name would be Jaüdana. It may also be noted that the names are all without case-ending but they are separated by the *daṇḍas*.

13 The reading of both these *aksharas* is from the traces left and therefore uncertain. Cunningham read both these letters as *Badrī* and Maisey read the whole expression as श्री साहाय्यावबद्धानुरूपकरश्रील: which is merely fanciful.

14 The reading of this and the preceding *akshara* is uncertain. The reading of the name Lakshmīdhara is certain but it is doubtful whether this was the name of the deity or of the mason. The language is very defective here, as stated above. Moreover, it may also be observed that the two deities Lakshmīdhara and Śānti can in no way be connected.

15 Here Maisey read रेषाकारापिता (for कारिता) and this reading may be adopted. But I do not find the space to accommodate the last three letters.

16 The vertical of the *mātrā* of this *akshara* may have been on the original but being lightly engraved, it could not come in the rubbing.

No. 118 ; Plate CIX

AUGĀSĪ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF MADANAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1190

THE copper-plate which bears this inscription was found in the Augāsī[1] *parganā* of the Bāndā District in Uttar Pradesh and was presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, by A. Cadell, then Assistant Magistrate at Bāndā, some time in the eighth decade of the last century. No information is available regarding its original find-spot and of the circumstances in which it was obtained. The inscription engraved on it was brought to notice, in 1878, by the late Babu Rajendralal Mitra, by publishing transcript of it in Nāgarī characters, followed by a translation by Durga Prasad Basu, in the *Journal* of the same Society, Vol. LXVII, Pt. I, pp. 73 ff., and a facsimile facing p. 73 (Pl. VI). In 1887 it was critically edited in the *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. XVI, pp. 202 ff., by F. Kielhorn, who gave his own reading of the text from an inked impression supplied to him by J. Fleet, and who also stated that his own reading of the record 'will be found to differ considerably.' His article is accompanied by a fresh translation and also by an illustration. Some time subsequently, the plate was transferred to the Indian Museum, but as I am informed, it is not traceable there : and also failing to obtain its impression, I edit the record here from the facsimile accompanying Kielhorn's article in the *Ind. Ant.*

It is a **single copper-plate,** inscribed on one side only, and measuring about 41·3 cms. broad by 26·8 cms. high. It is smooth, and all round it there is a flat rim about 1·27 cms. broad and ·64 cms. thick, fastened on very tightly by twenty-one rivets. The plate is not very thick but the letters, being shallow, do not show through on the other side of it.[2] There are nineteen lines of writing, covering a space 37·5 cms. by 23·3 cms. In the middle of the last line is a round hole, 1·2 cms. in diametre, apparently intended for a ring, which, with a seal, if attached to it at all, was never found. In the first four lines the continuity of the writing is disturbed by a rude representation of the four-armed goddess Lakshmī with an elephant on either side, pouring water over her head, with raised trunk. The whole device is enclosed in a rectangular border 5·5 cms. broad and 5 cms. high.

The **writing** is well preserved. The mechanical execution, however, is crude as the letters are not well formed and some of them are out of recognition, rendering it somewhat difficult to be certain about the personal and geographical names occurring therein. The lines too do not run straight, for, after about one-third portion from the beginning, they tend to creep upwards and again come down towards the end, showing a sort of hump in the middle. In the first seven lines the letters are rather slightly bigger and sparsely written.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the twelfth century A.C. As regards the formation of individual letters, the initial *i* appears with two small circles placed side by side with curved or hooked ends turned in opposite directions ; see *ivō-,* l. 1 ; the initial *ē e.g.,* in *ēsha-,* l. 5, completely resembles *p ;* and the conjunct consonant *gg* in *-vinirggata-* l. 12, looks, like *gn,* and *ṇṇ* as *ll ;* cf. *-pūrṇṇimā-,* l. 11. The letters *ch, dh* and *v* are often almost alike in form and can be distinguished only by the sense required ; cf., *e.g., ch* in *chatur-,* l. 9, and *v* in *virōdhi-,* l. 2 where *dh* shows no horn on its left limb but is endowed with a top-stroke. The same letter appears also with a horn on its left limb, as in *vidhivat,* l. 11, and in rare instances as in *dhṛita-,* l. 1, it resembles a taurine. Sometimes no distinction is observed between *t* and *n,* both of which are in their antique and advanced forms — the former with a straight vertical above and a curve below, and the latter as a vertical suddenly ending in a loop with a tail : cf. respectively *-nirmmalī-,* l. 6 and *likhita-* in l. 19. The subscript *th,* as in *sthāvara,* l. 9, is laid flat and the letter *ḍ* is generally engraved as *ḍ,* as in *yadā* and *tadā,* both in l. 19, though it appears in its graceful tail as in *-dēva,* l. 4. *T* as a superscript is engraved only as a horizontal stroke, as in *hutvā* and *snātvā,* both in l. 12. *Y* is occasionally engraved as *p* as in *puṇyāya,* l. 12, but often like *s,* as in

[1] The Augasi of the maps, Lat. 25.24 N.; Long. 80.23 E. The name is also written as Augāsī. It lies on the southern bank of the Jumnā at its confluence with the stream Garara.

[2] These remarks are based on Kielhorn's writing as the original could not be had for study.

pravarāya, both in l. 13. The usual form of *r* appears as a vertical with a horizontal stroke attached to its left in the middle, as in *chatur-*, l. 9 and *-rātma-*, l. 12, but its slightly varying forms are also to be seen in *-māhēsvara*, *Kālañjara* and *-parama-*, all in l. 4. Wrong strokes of the chisel give altogether different forms to this letter at several places, *e.g.*, in *-śirō-*, l. 1, *virōdhi-*, l. 2 and *-vārē*, l. 11. There are several examples of wrong and careless engraving throughout the record, *e.g.*, in *-ktyā-* in l. 2 is incised as *ttshā*, *pra-* in l. 13, as *da*, *bhū-* in l. 19, as *kri*, l. 19 and *-sti*, l. 14, as *sri*.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit; and except for the initial verse as to be found to begin a Chandēlla grant and another at the end, it is all in prose. With respect to **orthography,** we may note that (1) the letter *b* is always denoted by the sign for *v*. as in *-vādhā*, l.17 (2) the dental sibilant is put for the palatal in many cases, *e.g.*, in *visvēsvara-*, l. 1, though *ś* is written in *-śirō-* which immediately follows; (3) a consonant following *r* is doubled as in *-sarvva-*, l. 16; (4) the sign of *avagraha* is employed only once in l. 7, to denote the merging of *a* into *ō*, though there are several other cases of this type; (5) the word *ujjvala*, in l. 1, is wrongly spelt with a single *j*; and local influence is to be seen in the spellings of *punya*, ll. 11-12 and *tru* for *tri* in l. 13; it is also to be found in words like *vāii*, l. 7, *daṁḍaku*, l. 8 and *vṛikshu* and *valmīkū* l. 9, for which Kielhorn has invited attention to Hemachandra's *Prakrit Grammar*, IV 331.

The inscription begins with the oft-quoted verse glorifying the family of the **Chandrātrēya (Chandēlla)** kings, and after mentioning the names of their earliest ancestors **Jayaśakti** and **Vijayaśakti,** it proceeds to give the ancestry of the donor beginning from the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara,* the illustrious **Kīrttivarman,** his successor the *P.M.P.* **Pṛithvīvarman** and his successor the *P.M.P.* **Madanavarman,** who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and the supreme lord of Kālañjara (ll. 2-5). This account is followed by the formal portion of the document (ll. 5-15), the **object** of which is to record the donation of a plot of land by Madanavarman, in favour of a Brāhmaṇa whose name was Rābhala (or Rāsala ?),[3] who was the son of Jāṭa, the grandson of Sānhi (Sātki?) and the great-grandson of Vāpana (Vāmana?). His *gōtra* was Bhāradvāja, and his *pravaras* were Bhāradvāja, Āṅgirasa and Bārhaspatya. The donated land existed in the village **Bamharḍā** in the Sūḍali *vishaya* and its dimensions were as measured (probably to be determined later on) by ten ploughs, *i.e.*, as much as could be ploughed in a day by ten pairs of oxen, as mentioned both in figures and words, and also by the total quantity of $7\frac{1}{2}$ *droṇas* of seed sown.[4] The boundaries of the plot are stated to be as follows: in the eastern direction the boundary-mark of the village Raṇasuā; in the southern direction the village Kamaṇauḍā; in the western direction an ant-hill near a *madhūka* tree; and on the north the boundary-mark of the village Vijaulī.

The king donated the above-mentioned plot of land after performing all the necessary preliminaries, and he also announced the gift in the presence of all assembled in the village. The conditions of the grant are stated in ll. 15-17, according to which, the donee was entitled to enjoy, plough, cause to be ploughed, give away, mortgage or sell the plot, with the ways from it and to it, with all its sap-trees (*āsava*), sugar-cane, cotton, safflowers, hemp, mango, madhūka (*madhuca latifolia*) and other trees, with the treasure in its forests and mines, and together with the other things contained within its boundaries and with the income from within and without.[5] With a request to future rulers to preserve the gift and quoting a well-known verse to the effect (ll. 18-19), the record concludes, stating that it was written by the writer of legal documents (*dharma-lēkhin*) Sūḍha and engraved by the skilful Ūlhaṇa. As we shall presently see, they are respectively the writer and the engraver of the following grant also.

The **date** of the grant is expressed both in words and figures in ll. 10-11. It is **Monday,** the **full-moon day** of the month of **Māgha,** (Vikrama) Saṁvat **1190,** which as calculated by

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[3] The reading of this and some other names that follow is uncertain, as shown below in the text.

[4] The reading here is: *hala* 10 *satka-bhūmir=yatra vāügē*. While editing a grant of Madanavarman's grandson Paramardin, A. Venis takes *vāügē* to be the same as the Prākrit *vaugē*, from the Sanskrit *vāpa-gatyā*, and adds that 'it describes the grain as sown broadcast, *i.e.*. not as sown first in seed and beds and then transplanted' (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, p. 47). While publishing Venis' article the editor quotes some instances to show that land was often measured also by the amount of seed required to sow it; but we have a number of similar instances in the Paramāra epigraphs edited above, as in No. 13, l. 13; No. 45, l. 27; and also in *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, page 191, l. 32 and *n*. Also see No. 131, l. 8, below.

[5] This account is based on Kielhorn's translation. The last expression means, as we have seen in the text below also, 'with internal and external taxes', *i.e.*, on custom and excise duties.

Kielhorn, corresponds to **12th January, 1134 A.C.**: but it was a Friday and not a Monday, and thus the date is irregular.[1]

The importance of the inscription under study lies in the fact that it furnishes an undoubted evidence regarding Madanavarman's political relations with his neighbouring powers in the south and south-west. The grant was issued by him from his camp in the vicinity of Bhāïlasvāmin, which has been identified with the town of Bhilsā (modern Vidishā); from his camp at that place in 1134 A.C. when he donated the land may be interpreted in the terms of his leading an aggressive campaign against his adversary in that direction, who can be no other than the contemporary Paramāra king of Mālava. The history of the royal Paramāra house shows that subsequent to the death of the great king Bhōjadēva in *c.* 1055 A.C., his successors were incessantly in troubles and their military resources were almost exhausted by protracted warfare with their enemies amongst whom the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt were a source of constant menace; and though Bhōja's brother Udayāditya (*c.* 1080-1094 A.C.) had succeeded reviving the glory of the house, the latter's son Naravarman (*c.* 1094-1133 A.C.) and his son Yaśōvarman (*c.* 1133-1142 A.C.) suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Chaulukya king Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (*c.* 1094-1142 A.C.), who is known to have annexed the kingdom of Mālwā.[2] And the year of the present inscription, that is 1134 A.C., which was incidently the first regnal year of the Paramāra Yaśōvarman also, tends to show that Madanavarman had definitely extended his dominions further in the south, gaining victory over the Paramāra king who was then hard-pressed.

The expressions of the Khajurāhō inscription *viz.*, that Dhaṅgadēva was like a death to the Mālavas and that his kingdom in the west extended so far as Vidishā on the Mālava-nadī,[3] are only of a general type; and of equally indefinite nature is the account of the victory of Kīrttivarman's general Vatsarāja who claims to have constructed the fort of Kīrttidurga in the Bētwā region.[4] The statement of the Ajaygaḍh rock inscription of V.S. 1317 about Sallakshaṇavarman, that he took away the fortune of the Mālavas,[5] is also not explicit on the point and what is more is that it is a later report; and hence the record under notice which definitely shows Madanavarman's sway over a part of the Bētwā valley near Vidishā is of great significance. It may also be noted here that the present charter was issued about 82 years after V.S. 1108, the year when Dēvavarman issued his Charkhārī grant. And the absence of any copper-plate issued during this long period by the Chandēlla house may be explained by supposing that either we have not so far found them or they were not at all issued, as the rulers were constantly busy establishing peace and order in the State from the time of Kīrttivarman who revived the glory of the house which had been eclipsed by the Kalachuris, as already seen above.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the present grant, the place where the deity locally known as **Bhilla-svāmin** was worshipped is evidently the modern town of Bhilsā or Vidishā, and the *vishaya* **Sūdali** was the region close to it. The modern name of this place I am unable to find out; and I am also unable to identify the villages **Raṇasuvā** and **Bijaulī** mentioned in the record. Since the donation was made by Madanavarman from his camp near Bhāïlasvāmin, *i.e.*, Bhilsā (modern Vidishā), as we are informed by the inscription, the places occurring in it are to be looked into in the area lying to the east of this town. A village of the name of Bamhari exists about 8 kms. north by east of the Binā Station (near Jhānsī), with another village known as Kamarkheḍī to its south. The names of both these villages suggest their identification respectively with **Bamhaṇauḍā** and **Kamhaṇauḍā** mentioned in the present inscription. Both these

[1] This is what Kielhorn observed while editing the inscription in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, on p. 202. And finding the date to be irregular, he also calculated the details with the month *Mārgga, i.e.*, Mārgaśīrsha (for Māgha) when he concluded that the date works out satisfactorily not for 1190 but for 1192, *expired*, when it was a Monday. See *ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 368 f., No. 187. But the facsimile published with his edition of the inscription shows that the second *akshara* of the month is not *gga* but *gha*, in two instances side by side, in l. 11. My own calculations for the Southern Vikrama, *expired*, shows the equivalent as 22nd January, 1133 A.C., falling not on Monday, as stated, but on Sunday. A satisfactory solution of this irregularity may perhaps be sought in presuming that though the *Purṇimā* really occurred on Sunday, but the donation made or desired to be made on that day was registered the next day (Monday).

[2] As discussed in detail in the section on the Paramāras.

[3] Above No. 98, v. 5.

[4] No. 111.

[5] No. 145, v. 4.

villages are now included in the Khurai *tehsīl* of the Sāgar District, which is separated by the Vetravatī from the Vidishā District. If this identification is correct, it also appears almost certain that the Sūḍali *vishaya*, in which these places are said to have been then included, denoted the region lying to the east of the river and more or less comprising the modern *tehsīl* of Khurai (now in the Sāgar District).

TEXT[1]

[Metre : . Verses 1-2 *Anushṭubh*].

1 सिद्धम्[2] स्वस्ति ॥ जयत्याह्लादयन्विस्वं(श्वं) विस्वेस्व(श्वेश्व)रशिरोधृतः। चंद्रात्रेयनरेंद्राणां वंस(श)श्चंद्र इवोज्व(ज्ज्व)लः। [।१*] तत्र प्रव-

2 र्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभ्राजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्त्यादिवीराविर्भावभास्वरे परमभट्टारकमहारा-

3 जाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्री[3]कीर्त्तिवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीपृ-

4 थ्वीवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)र परममाह[ें]स्व(श्व)रकालंजराधिप-

5 तिश्रीप(म)न्मदनवर्म्मदेवो विजयी ॥ स प(ए)ष दुर्व्विषहतरप्रतापतापितसकलरिपुकुलः कुलव[धू]मिव वसुंधरां निराकुलां य(प)-

6 रिपालयन्नविकलविवेकं(क)निर्म्मलीकृतमतिः ॥[4] सूदलिविषयान्तःपातिवम्हरडाग्रामोपगतान्[5] कुटुंबि(बि)-कायस्थमहत्तरा-

7 दीन् सर्व्वान् समाज्ञापयति [॥*] अस्तु वः संविदितं यथोपरिलिखितेऽ[स्मिन्ग्रामे] हलद[शां]केपि हल १० सत्कभूमिर्यत्र वाउ[गे?][6] कोर-

8 [डे?][7] द्रोणसार्द्धसप्त [।*] यत्राघाटाः पूर्व्वस्यां दिशि रणसुआग्रामदंडकु[8]। दक्षिणस्यां दिशि कमणौडाग्रा[म*]दंडकु। पश्चिमायां दिशि [मधू]क-

9 बृक्षुवल्मीकू[9]। उत्तरे विजौलीग्रामदंडकु। एवं चतुराघाटविसु(शु)द्धा भूमिः ज[डि?]आक्षेत्रेण सह सजलस्थला सस्थावरजंग-

10 मा साधऊ[र्ध्वा] भूतभवि[ष्य]द्वर्त्तमाननिःशेषादायसहिता चास्माभिर्भैलस्वामि समीपावासे [न]वत्यधिकस(श)-तैकोपेतस-[10]

11 ह्स्रतमे संवत्सरे माघे मासि सु(शु)क्लपक्षे पूर्ण्णिमायां सोमवारे अंकतोपि संवत(त्) ११९० माघसु(शु) दि १५ सोमे ॥[11] पुन्यो(ण्यो)दकेन विधिव-

12 त् स्नात्वा देवादीन्संतर्प्य भास्करं भवानीपतिं चाभ्यर्च्च्य हुतभुजि हुत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्या(ण्या)य [ट]कारीग्राम विनिर्ग्गताय[12] वाज-

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[1] From facsimile accompanying Kielhorn's article in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI.

[2] Denoted by a symbol.

[3] The superscript of this letter is so formed as to appear a combination of the palatal and the dental sibilant, and in the subscript of the same letter that follows, it is shown by a serif.

[4] The sign of punctuation is superfluous and the name that follows can also be read as सूडलि.

[5] The consonant of the last *akshara* of the name appears to have been changed subsequently. Looking to other instances in the record we cannot be certain whether it is *ḍ* or *d*.

[6] The whole *akshara* is struck out but it cannot be *dhō* as conjectured by Kielhorn. For वाउगे, see *n*.. above. सत्क means 'belonging to'.

[7] The consonant of this *akshara* can also be read as ड़.

[8] It literally means a pillar (marking the boundary).

[9] This expression, which is an example of *madhyama-padalōpī samāsa* means 'an ant-hill by a *madhūka* tree'.

[10] The first *akshara* of this expression looks the archaic *ta*.

[11] The punctuation-marks are unnecessary, as some others in this and the following lines. They are not marked here. The same we find in the Sēmrā grant, below, No. 126.

[12] The syllable in brackets also looks like *ḍha* but it seems to be intended for *ṭa*, which is all the more certain from a comparison of it in the name *Sūḍha* in l. 19, below, which is so read in the light of the next inscription. Ṭakārī (and not Ḍhakārī) appears as a famous place in some other plates also.

AUGĀSĪ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF
MADANAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1190

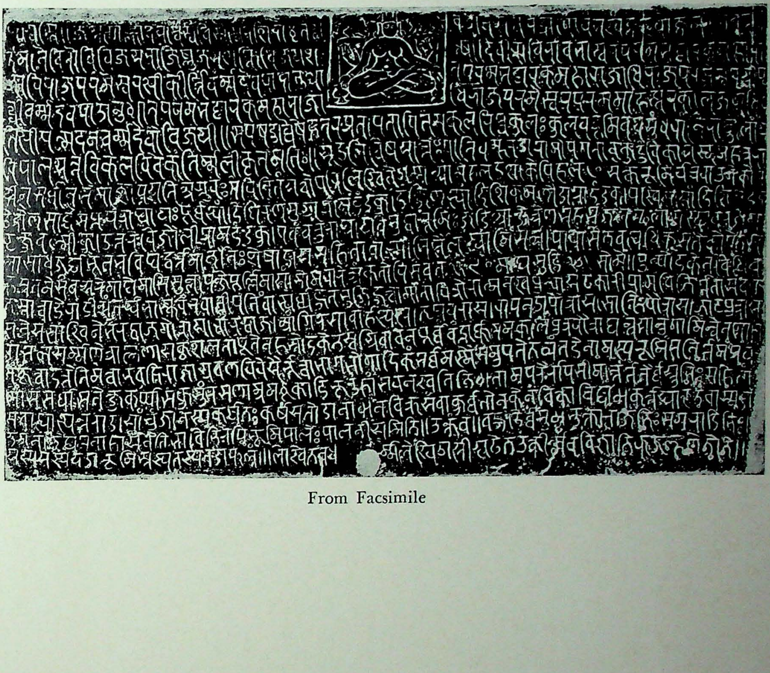

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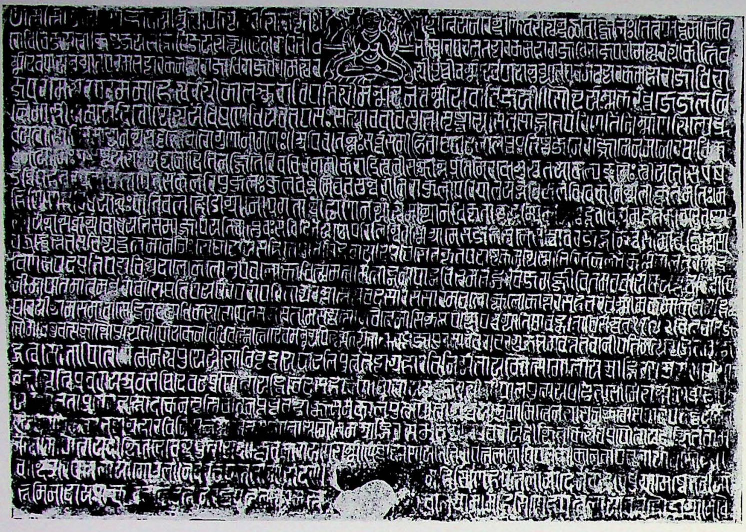
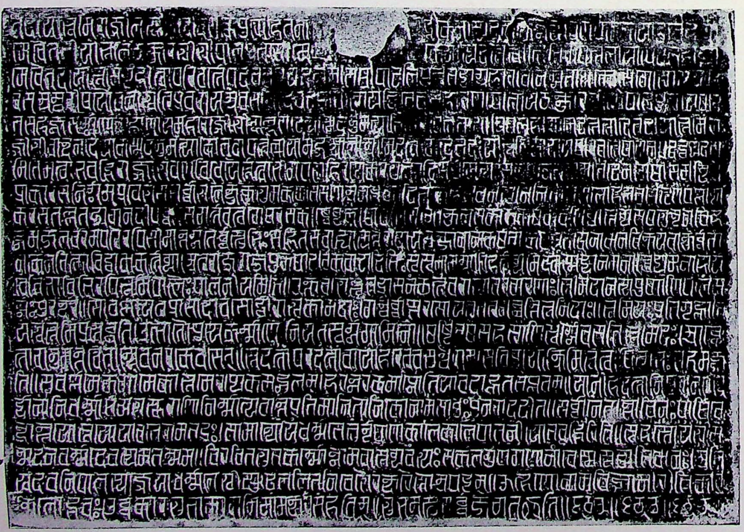
PLATE CX

BHĀRATKALĀ BHAVAN PLATES OF MADANAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1192

i



ii



Scale: Two-fifth

13 सनेयसा(शा)खिने भ(भा)रद्वाजगोत्राय[1]। भारद्वाज। आंगिरस[2]। वा(बा)र्हस्पत्य। तृ(त्रि)प्रवराय वापनप्रपौ-
त्राय। सान्हिपौत्राय [3]। जाटपुत्राय

14 रा[भ][4]लस(श)र्म्मणे व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय कुशलतापूतेन हस्तोदकेन स्व[स्ति]वाचनपूर्व्वं चंद्रार्क्कसमकालं
पुत्रपौत्राद्यन्वयानुगामिन्वे(त्वे)न शास-

15 [नं] कृत्वा दत्तेति मत्वा भवद्भिराज्ञास्र(श्र)वणवि[धे]यैर्भूत्वा भागभोगादिकं सर्व्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं(व्यम्)[।*]
तदेनामस्य भूमिं सनिर्ग्गमप्रवे[5]-

16 सां(शां) ससर्व्वासवेक्षु कर्प्पासकुसुंभस(श)णाम्रमधूकादिभूरुहां सवनख[निनि]धा[ना]मपरैरपि[6] सीमान्तर्त(र्ग्ग-
तैर्व्वस्तुभिः सहितां

17 सवा(वा)ह्याभ्यन्तरादायां[7]भुंजानस्य कर्षतः कर्षयतो दानाधानविक्रयं वा कुर्व्वतो न केनचित्काचिद्वा(द्वा)[धा]
कर्त्तव्या [।*] इ चास्मद्वा-

18 न[म]नाच्छेद्यमनाहार्य [चे]ति भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयमिति ॥ उक्तं च ॥ व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसु[धा]
भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः।

19 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्)॥[२*] लिखित(तं) च धर्म्मलेखिठासी[सुतेन][8][।*]
उत्कीर्ण्णं च विज्ञा[नि]क ऊल्हणेनेति[9] ॥

No. 119; Plate CX

BHĀRAT KALĀ BHAVAN PLATE-INSCRIPTION OF MADANAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1192

THIS inscription is incised on a set of **two copper-plates,** preserved in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, which is now attached to the Hindu University, Vārāṇasī. They are said to have been purchased some twenty years ago, from a dealer of the name of Ṭhākur Dās Jain, a resident of Ṭīkamgaḍh, the chief town of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. No information is available as to the original findspot of the plates or about the circumstances in which they were obtained. Rai Kṛishṇadāsjī, the founder-Curator of the Kalā Bhavan, took immediate steps to bring to light the inscription by lending its pencil-rubbings to Dr. D. C. Sircar who was then the Government Epigraphist for India, in 1955. Dr. Sircar edited the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII (1958-59), pp. 119 ff., with his transcript thereof in Roman characters, accompanied by facsimiles (between pp. 122-23).[10] The inscription is edited here from a set of inked impressions kindly supplied to me at my request by Rai Kṛishṇa Dāsjī who

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1 This letter appears as *hā* but it is *ya*.

2 The *daṇḍa*, which appears as a *mātrā*, is redundant, as others in this line.

3 The reading of the second *akshara* in the name is doubtful.

4 The *akshara* in the brackets may also be read as म.

5 The vowel-mark is faintly visible above.

6 The letter in the brackets is damaged and is read by the sense. This expression also shows the confusion between the formation of *t* and *n*.

7 Both these letters too are mis-formed and look like *ḍāsāṁ*. Kielhorn translates this expression as "with the income from without and within", which can better be explained as 'with external and internal taxes'.

8 Kielhorn read –ठासीसु[तेन]. But in that case the very name of the writer is missing. The inscription is engraved in a slipshod manner; and in the light of the next grant of which the writer was the same, we have to read –नाश्रीसूढेन or ठ। (ठक्कुर)श्री.....

9 The *sandhi* is not made here. Kielhorn read –जल्हणेनेति, but the first *akshara* is clearly *ū* as also shown by the following inscription.

10 Sircar also noticed this grant, along with the other two which are now in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan (our Nos. 134 and 138), in the *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXXIV (1958), pp. 87 ff.

also allowed me to have a look at the plates. Subsequently, I also compared the text from another set of impressions which I owe to the Chief Epigraphist.

As stated above, the set consists of two plates which are thick and heavy, and each of them bears the writing on one side only. Each of the plates measures 45 by 32 cms. and the inscribed portion on each covers a space about 41·5 cms. broad by 29 cms. high. All round the rim of each, flat copper-bands about one cm. broad and two cms. thick are fastened by twenty-two copper-rivets on the inscribed side. The band above the right-hand corner of the second plate is slightly broken. In the middle of the bottom of the first and top of the second plate there are corresponding ring-holes, showing a diameter of about 1·5 cm. and interrupting the writing on both of them. But the ring, which originally held the plates together, is now lost. The continuity of the writing in the first three lines is also disturbed in the middle by a rectangular space about 5·5 cms. broad by 4 cms. high, which occupies the figure of Gajalakshmī seated on a full-blown lotus with an elephant on either side, sprinkling water over her head. The weight of both the plates together is 6·96 kilograms.

The inscription consists of forty-three lines of writing, of which twenty-two are cut on the first plate and twenty-one on the second. The size of the letters varies from 1 to 1·2 cms. The letters are well formed but not so deeply engraved as to show through on the other side. But despite all this care, the interiors of many letters show marks of the working of the tool, *e.g.*, the *akshara pa* in *Parēyī*, l. 14, *pari*, l. 28 ; and *pā* in *pāshāṇa*, l. 31 is engraved as *sh* and *sphuṭa* in l. 42 as *sphuḍha*. Due to wrong engraving the letters *ta, ga, shṭha* and *pā* all in l. 31 appear as *la, chā, shva* and *shā,* respectively. Occasional omissions of parts of letters are also to be noted ; for example, *myāṁ* in *pañchamyāṁ*, l. 14, is cut as *gyāṁ*, omitting the horizontal stroke distinguishing the two letters. The sign of *anusvāra* is often very small, and occasionally it is visible only on the plate. However, the mechanical execution is on the whole much better than that of the Augāsī plate which was written and engraved by the same persons as we shall presently see.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of the twelfth century and show a close resemblance to those of the Augāsī plate of the same king, though more carefully and beautifully formed and engraved. They show that the letters *a, k, ch, dh* and *r* were in a transitional stage in the region, at the time when the present document was written. The initial *a*, which occurs about a dozen times in the record, shows its advanced form beginning with a curve only in two or three instances, whereas it retains its older form beginning with a vertical stroke in others, both the forms being visible side by side in *Aṅgirasa-Amvarīsha* in l. 16, and again in l. 19. The letter *k*, which has assumed its modern Nāgarī form, has in rare cases also retained its form in which the vertical is suddenly bent so as to form the loop, as in *saṁkrāntau*, l. 15. *Ch* also presents two different forms ; the older one with a round loop as in *cha*, l. 6, and the developed one with an angular loop as in *vācha-*, l. 5. The letter *dh* appears at least in three different forms ; *e.g.*, in *-dhi-vijaya*, l. 2, it resembles *v* ; in *dhishaṇē*, l. 5 and *vadhū-*, l. 8, it shows a horn on its left limb ; and in *dharmma-*, ll. 13 and 40, the horn is so formed as also to serve for the top-stroke. *R* presents at least three different varieties, *viz.*, that with a wedge as in *pravara-*, l. 17 ; that with a vertical ending in a hook, as in *paramēśvara*, l. 2 ; and that with a fully developed tail as in *nara-*, l. 1. It is also worth noting that in its subscript form, in which it is shown by a serif attached to the lower extremity of the vertical of its superscript, this letter often appears complete and the superscript is half drawn ; *e.g.*, see *yatra-*, l. 6 and *chaitra-*, l. 14. Of the other letters, *ṅ* has not developed its dot, as in *jaṅgama-*, l. 10 ; the subscript forms of *chh* and *th* are almost alike ; see *-chchhinna-* and *sthāvara*, both in l. 10 ; and the stroke on the left of *bh* is sometimes lengthened so as to make the letter appear as *t*, as in *bhāsvara-* and *bhaṭṭā-*, both in l. 2. Attention may also be drawn to the form of *gg* *vinirggata-*, l. 25, *etc.*, where the subscript clearly appears as *g* and is also endowed with a top-stroke, though there are examples showing it as *gn*, as we also find in the inscriptions of the time.

The **language** is Sanskrit ; and the record is written in an admixture of prose and verses. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities of (1) the use of the sign of v to denote *b* also with a few exceptions where *b* is used, *e.g.*, in *-labdha-*, l. 6 ; (2) the doubling of a consonant following *r*, as in *-varmma* ll. 2-3 ; (3) the occasional use of *s* for *ś*, *e.g.*, in *-vasāt-*, l. 5, and *vice versa* in the only instance of *-kuśuma-*, l. 30 ; (4) the use of *m* in place of an *anuvāra* in *samvatsara-* and *samvat*, both in l. 14 ; (5) incorrect change of an anusvāra to denote *n* in *sankrānta*, l. 7, and the use of *ri* for the vowel *ṛi* in *krimi-* in l. 37. Occasionally, the vertical stroke is engraved in

such a way as to be easily confounded with the sign for medial *ā* or *ē*, and these strokes also are often put to separate the names as in ll. 20-21. *Sandhis* are violated in showing the *gōtras etc.*, in ll. 16-17 and, on the other hand, the *visarga* at the end of v. 11 is changed to *r* in view of the following *i*.

The record belongs to the king **Madanavarman** of the **Chandēlla Dynasty** and the lord of Kālañjara and gives the details of some plots of land granted by him to learned Brāhmaṇas from his camp at Parēyī-grāma. The **date** is mentioned to be **Tuesday, the fifth of the darh half of Chaitra** in the (Vikrama) year **1192** on the **Vishuvat saṁkrānti.** The date, as calculated by Dr. Sircar, corresponds to **24th of March, 1136 A.C.,** if the month is regarded *amānta*.[1] The charter was drafted by the *dharmalēkhin* (writer of legal documents) **Sūḍha** of the Vāstavya family, by the order of the king (v. 12) and he also wrote it on the plates. It was engraved by **Ulhaṇa**[2] who belonged to the brazier (*rītikāra*) family (v. 13).

Opening with an auspicious symbol followed by the customary verse in praise of the Chandrātrēya (Chandēlla) family, the record mentions the name of the *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Madanavarman,** the lord of Kālañjara, who meditated on the feet of the illustrious *P.M.P.* **Pṛithvīvarman** who, in his turn, had meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Kīrttivarman.** This portion of the text is copied *verbatim* from the Augāsī grant issued only a couple of years before. Then we have two new stanzas lavishing praise on the donor, the first of which states that the creator with his ripe knowledge and incessant practice endowed Madanavarman with good qualities such as handsomeness, profundity, might, wisdom and truthfulness, and the second that his liberality put the wish-filling trees on the golden mountain with their bent tops appearing as if they turned their faces to the ground due to shame. Then begins the formal part of the record which states that from his camp at the aforementioned Parēyī-grāma the king bestowed 2¼ *pādas* of land in **Valahauḍā-grāma** in the *vishaya* of **Mahisiṇēha** on the Brāhmaṇa, Paṇḍita Sōmēśarman of the Kautsa *gōtra,* with the three *pravaras* Āṅgirasa, Ambarīsha and Yauvanāśva. He is stated to be the son of the *Ṭhakkura* Śrī-Śrīpāla, grandson of the *Dvivēda* Sahāraṇa and great-grandson of the *Avasathin* Dēvaṭa(?)[3] and his family hailed from the *Bhaṭṭagrahāra* of Pāṭaliputra.

This portion of the charter is followed by the donation of two other plots of land, by the king, in favour of one each of the two Brāhmaṇas, in lieu of those which they had in their possession. This change was made apparently for the sake of convenience. The first of these two Brāhmaṇas was Dīkshita Nārāyaṇaśarman of the Gautama *gōtra* with the Gautama, Āṅgirasa and Āyāsya *pravaras.* He was the son of Dīkshita Dēvēndra, grandson of Dīkshita Vāmanasvāmin and great-grandson of Dīkshita Kēśava, and his family had hailed from the *Bhaṭṭāgrahāra* of Paṇikabhadra. It is stated that instead of the land he possessed in the villages of **Pipalahā** in the **Tintiri-pattalā, Vasauhā** in the **Kōlavā-pattalā, Goùlā** in the **Vāndiuri-pattalā, Dādarī** in the **Navaratha-pattalā** and **Dēnavaḍā** in the **Mahisiṇēha-pattalā,** the king granted him four *pādas* of land in exchange for **Astavāla-grāma** in **Tintiri-pattalā** as well as his land in **Valahauḍā-grāma** in **Mahisiṇēha-pattalā** and **Ḍāvaha** (or **Ḍavēha)-gramā** in **Nandāvaṇa** (or **Nandavēṇa)**[4]**-pattalā** which he had received respectively from Nādūka (or Nādūki ?), the priest attached to the queen Lakhamīdēvī, and Sōmēka, son of *Ṭhakkura* Śrī-Śrīpāla.

The third donee was the Brāhmaṇa Sahajūśarman who was a brother of Sōmēśarman, mentioned above, as we know from his details given in the charter. He received 1¾ *pādas* of land in exchange of that which he possessed in the **Pipalahā-gramā** in the **Tintiri-pattalā** and

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[1] *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XXXII, p. 119. The year was Kārttikadi *expired.*

[2] This person also engraved the Augāsī charter of the same king. In that great the second *akshara* of the name is distinctly *lha,* as also read by Kielhorn who edited it. In the present inscription, however, *ha* is clear and the upper part of what precedes it is bent to the right, showing that it was intended to be *l* and not the medial *ē-sign* as taken by Sircar who read the name *Ūhēṇa.* The name can be read definitely by a comparison of these letters in both the plates.

[3] For the reading of the third letter of the name, see *n.* in the text, below.

[4] In view of the fact that this name is distinct as *Nandāvaṇa* in the Ichchhāvar grant, we must take it to be correct and not the one in the brackets, the confusion being caused by the vertical stroke which is detached from both the *aksharas* before and after it. This inscription contains a number of errors of this type.

in **Mahuāli-grāma** in the **Kōlavā-pattalā,** donated to him previously by the chief queen Vālhaṇadēvī and queen Chāndala, respectively, with the consent of the king.

Lines 29-33 mention the conditions of the grant, which are almost the same as to be found in the other Chandēlla charters. This portion is followed by eight benedictory and imprecatory verses (ll. 34-40); and a prose-passage showing the king's consent. Then the inscription has two verses recording the names of the writer and the engraver, as seen above; and wishing good to all, the grant ends with a symbol between two vertical strokes engraved three times.[1]

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription, **Kālañjara** (l. 4) has often been seen to be identical with the hill-fort in the Bāndā District, and **Pāṭaliputra** (ll. 16 and 25) is the modern Patnā in Bihār. **Parēyi-grāma,** where the king was staying while making the donations (l. 14), cannot be identified for want of details, as also the names of the villages mentioned in the grant. Dr. Sircar located **Nandāvaṇa-pattalā** which is also mentioned in the Ichchhāvar grant of Paramardin,[2] in the Bāndā District and **Navaratha-pattalā** (the *Navarāshṭra-vishaya* of the Charkhārī grant[3] in its vicinity on the Yamunā; and **Ērachha-pattalā** may be taken identical with the modern Erich, about 96 kms. from Mahōbā, as suggested by Hiralal.[4] Sircar also suggested that **Vāndiuri, Tintiri** and **Pipalahā** (ll. 21 and 27) may possibly be the same as the modern Bāndā, Tēonthar and Piplōn-durga. **Kōlavā,** after which the *pattalā* was so known, has so far remained unidentified. It appears to be represented by the modern village of the same name (also spelt as Kōlvā), situated almost 40 kms. due north-east of Vidishā. This suggestion receives strength from the identification of both the villages which are stated to have been then included in it, namely, **Mahuāli** (l. 28) and **Vasauhā** (l. 20), the first of which may have been the same as Mahauli, about 20 kms. straight north of Kōlvā, and the second as Vasaī, about 10 kms. south-east of it.

A consideration of the places mentioned in the inscription makes it evident that Madanavarman's kingdom, which included parts of the modern Hamīrpur, Bāndā and Vidishā Districts and probably extended up to the Yamunā, in the north, also included parts of the former Rewā State (now a district of the same name) to the north of the Kaimūr range as is also known from the discovery of a hoard of his silver coins in the Teōṅthar *tehsīl* of this district.[5]

TETX[6]

[Metres : Verses 1, 4-9, 13 *Anushṭubh;* vv. 2-3 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita;* v. 11 *Śālinī;* v. 12 *Mālinī*].

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[7] स्वस्ति । जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वं विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः । चन्द्रात्रेयनरेन्द्राणां वंशश्चन्द्र इवोज्ज्वलः ॥[१*] तत्र प्रवर्द्धमाने वि-

2 रोधिविजयभ्राजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्त्यादिवीराविर्भावभास्वरे परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-श्रीकीर्त्तिव-

3 र्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा[8]-

4 जपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालञ्जराधिपतिश्रीमन्मदनवर्म्मदेवो विजयी ॥ सौ[न्द]र्[9]यम्म करध्वजे जलनि-

5 धौ[10]गाम्भीर्यमर्यं दिवोप्यैश्वर्यं धिषणे धियं च तपसः सत्यां च वाचं सुते[11] । सृष्ट्वाभ्यासवसा(शा)द्गते-परिणतिं निर्म्माणशिल्पे ध्रु-

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[1] It appears to be intended to be a *chha* as we find at the end of a record to show auspiciousness. A stroke also partly appears inside the loop, to show it to be *chha*.

[2] Below No. 129, l. 8 where it is called a *vishaya*.

[3] No. 108, (*Navarāshṭra-maṇḍala-vishaya*).

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 11.

[5] *J.A.S.B.* (N.S., 1914), pp. 199 ff.

[6] From impressions and the original plates.

[7] Expressed by a symbol.

[8] There is redundant dot on *va* and also on *pṛi* that precedes. Similar redundant dots are to be seen also on some letters below, which are not noted separately.

[9] The latter member of this conjunct resembles *ṭ*; and on *ra* that follows, the sign of *anusvāra* was first engraved and later on erased as redundant, but the mark still remains.

[10] Some other *aksharas* were first cut in place of this and the following *aksharas*.

[11] That is, in Yudhishṭhira.

6 वं यत्रासौ निरमाय्यनन्यसदृशो धात्रा गुणानां गणः ॥ [२*] अपि च। तन्नः सर्व्वसमीहितार्थ-
घटनाल[ब्ध]प्रतिष्ठं[1] जने राज्ञानेन मनोरथाधिक-
7 धनत्यागैः प्रमृष्टं यशः। यद्दानादतिलज्जितैरिव चिरं चामीकराद्रिस्थलीसन्का(संक्रा)न्तप्रतिमैरधोमुखतया
कल्पद्रुमैः स्थीयते। [।३*] स एष
8 दुर्व्विषहतरप्रतापतापितसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवधूमिव वसुन्धरां निराकुलां परिपालयन्नविकलविवेक-
निर्म्मलीकृतमतिः। म-
9 हिसिणेहविषयान्तःपातिवलहौडाग्रामोपगतान्ब्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणानन्यांश्च मान्यानधिकृतान्कुटुम्बि[2]कायस्थदूतवैद्य-
महत्तरान्मेदचण्डा-
10 लपर्यन्तान्सर्व्वान्संवो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति चास्तु वः संविदितं यथोपरिलिखितेस्मिन्ग्रामे सजलस्थले
सस्थावरजङ्गमे स्वसीमा[व]च्छिन्ने सा-
11 धऊर्द्ध्वे भूतभविष्यद्वर्त्त[3]माननिःशेषा[दा][4]यसहिते प्रतिषिद्धचाटा[द]प्रवेशे च क्षतपदाष्टकमध्येस्माभि-
रिभकलभकर्ण्णतालतरलां द्र-
12 विणसंपदं प्रतिपद्य विद्युदालोकलोलुपं च लोकाधि[प*]त्यं मत्वा मत्ताङ्गनापाङ्गविभ्रमभङ्गुरं च जग-
ज्जीवितमवधार्य पर्यन्तपरितापि-
13 नीमापातमात्रमधुरां चाशेषविषयपरंपरां परिभाव्य रम्भास्तम्भवदसारं संसारमवलोक्य लोकान्तरसहचरं
धर्म्ममेकमाकलयद्भिः
14 परेयीग्रामसमावासे द्विनवत्यधिकशतोपेतसहस्रतमे सम्व(संव)त्सरे चैत्रे मासि कृष्णपक्षे पञ्चग्यां(म्यां)
तिथावङ्कतोपि सम्व(संव)त् ११९२ चैत्रवदि ५
15 भौमे विषुवत्संक्रान्तौ पुण्यतीर्थोदकेन विधिवत्स्नात्वा देवमनुप्यपितॄन्संतर्प्य भास्करपूजापुरस्सरं चराचरगुरुं
भगवन्तं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्च्य हुतभुजि
16 हुत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोविवृद्धये पाटलिपुत्रभट्टाग्रहारविनिर्ग्गताय कौत्सगोत्राय आङ्गिरसअम्व-
(साम्ब)रीषयौ-
17 वनाश्वत्रिप्रवराय अवसथिदेव[ट]प्रपौत्राय[5] द्विवेदसहारणपौत्राय ठक्कुरश्रीश्रीपालपुत्राय पण्डितसोमेश्वरशर्म्मणे
व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणा-
18 य कुशलतापूतेन हस्तोदकेन स्वस्तिवाचनपूर्व्वं चन्द्रार्कसमकालं पुत्रपौत्राद्यन्वयानुगामित्वेन शासनं
कृत्वा सपादं पदद्वयं दत्त-
19 म्। तथा पणिकभद्र भट्टाग्रहारविनिर्ग्गताय[6] गौतमगोत्राय गौतमआङ्गिरसआय(या)[स्य]त्रिप्रवराय
दीक्षितकेशव प्रपौत्राय दीक्षितवाम-
20 नस्वामिपौत्राय दीक्षितदेवेन्द्रपुत्राय दीक्षितनारायणशर्म्मणे व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय तितिरीपत्तलायां पिपलहा।
कोलवापत्तलायां वसौहा[7]।
21 वान्दिउरिपत्तलायां गोउला। नवरठपत्तलायां दादरी। महिसिणेहपत्तलायां देनवाड। एषु
ग्रामेष्वेतदीयां

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[1] Sircar read the letter in the brackets as *pdh* and then corrected it to *bdh*. This form of *bdh*, however, began to appear in the inscriptions of this dynasty only slightly earlier, for which see *babhūva* in l. 6 of No. 111, where it shows a slight variation from *p*.

[2] See the preceding *n*.

[3] The superscript of this *akshara* has faintly come out. The consonant of the preceding *vi* is cut as *ch*.

[4] As *n*. 9 on the previous page. It would be better to read ग्रष्टकानां मध्ये, as suggested by Sircar. Mitra read the letters as *Vakshala-*, but they give no meaning. See *E. R. K.*, p. 227, No. 20.
as *Vakshala-*, but they give no meaning. See *E. R. K.*, p. 227, No. 20.

[5] The reading of the *akshara* in brackets is doubtful. It also appears as *ṭa*. The same *akshara* which is a part of a name, is incised as *ha* in l. 26 below. It may also be noted that in this and the other lines giving the names, *etc.*, *sandhi* is not made.

[6] Sircar read the name as *paṇikavaḍa*, but both the last of the *aksharas* are clear, *bh* resembling *t* and the second (द्र) showing a bend like *d* with the subscript *r*. Read also गौतमाङ्गिरसा-.

[7] The reading of *va* is not certain as it also resembles *cha*. The punctuation marks in this and the next two lines are redundant.

22 भूमिमादाय प्राक्परिवर्त्त दत्तमेरच्छपत्तलायामस्तवालग्रामं[1] । महिसिणेहपत्तलायां वलहौडाग्रामे चै-

Second Plate

23 तदीयां भूमिं राज्ञीलखमीदेविं(वी)सत्कपुरोहितनादूकिनास्य[2] दत्त्वत्वान्नन्दावणपत्तलायां डविहग्रा-[3]
24 मे चैतदीयां भूमिं ठक्कुरश्रीश्रीपालपुत्रसोमेकेनास्य दत्तत्वात्तितिरीपत्तलायां पिपलहाग्रा-
25 मे चैतदीयां भूमिं गृहीत्वा परिवर्त्त पदचतुष्टयं दत्तम् । तथा पाटलिपुत्रभट्टाग्रहारविनिर्ग्गताय कौत्सगोत्राय आङ्गि-
26 रसआ(सा)म्बरीषयौवनाश्वत्रिप्रवराय आवसथिदेवहप्रपौत्राय द्विवेदसहारणपौत्राय ठक्कुरश्रीश्री-पालपुत्राय पण्डि-
27 तसहजूस(श)र्म्मणे व्रा(ब्र)ह्मणाय महाराज्ञीश्रीवाल्हणदेव्यास्मदनुमत्या तितिरीपत्तलायां पिपलहाग्रामे दत्तत्वादेतदीयां भूमिं रा-
28 ज्ञीश्रीचान्दलदेव्या[4] चास्मदनुमत्या कोलवापत्तलायां महुआलीग्रामे दत्तत्वादेतदीयां भूमिमादाय परिवर्त्त पादोनपदद्वयं दत्त-
29 मिति मत्वा भवद्भिराज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा भोगपशुहिरण्यकरशुल्कादिसर्व्वमेभ्यः[5] समुपवे(ने)तव्यम् । तदेन(त)मे(दे)षां समन्दि[र]-
30 प्राकारं सनिर्ग्गमप्रवेशं ससर्व्वाशने(सवे)क्षुकुशुम(सुम्भ)[का]र्प्पासिसणाम्रमधूकादिभूरुहं[6] सवनखनिनिधानं सलोहतृणपर्ण्णाद्या-
31 करं सतल्लतडागनदीपर्व्वतं[7] सगर्त्तचत्वरोषरं सकाष्ठेष्ट[का]षा(पा)षाणं सगोकुलं सकारुकर्षकव-णिग्वास्तव्यं सपशुमृगविह-
32 ङ्गमजलचरमपरैरपि सीमान्तर्ग्गतैर्व्वस्तुभिः सहित(तं) सवा(बा)ह्याभ्यन्तरादायं भुञ्जानानां कर्षतां कर्षयतां दानाधानविक्रयं वा कुर्व्वतां
33 न केनचित्काचिद्वा(द्बा)धा कर्त्तव्या । अत्र राजराजपुरुषाटविकचाटादभिः स्वं स्वमाभाव्यं परिहर्त्तव्यमिदं चास्मद्दानमनाच्छेद्यमनाहार्यं
34 चेति भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयमिति[8] ॥ उक्तं च । शङ्खं भद्रासनं छत्रं वराश्वा वरवारणाः । भू[मि]मदानस्य पुष्पाणि फलं स्व-
35 र्गः पुरन्दर ॥[४*] सौवर्णा यत्र प्रासादा वसोर्द्धाराश्च कामदाः । गन्धर्व्वाप्सरसो यत्र तत्र गच्छन्ति भूमिदाः ॥[५*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति
36 यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ॥[६*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे वसति भूमिदः । आच्छे-
37 त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[७*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् । स विष्ठायां क्रि(कृ)मिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्ज-

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[1] The word *grāma* is in masculine; probably *gramē* is intended, as in the next instance.

[2] Sircar read *Nādūkēna;* but the curve of the *mātrā* above *k* is clear though faint. Possibly there is also an *anusvāra* on the first of these *aksharas*. Similarly, in the name of the queen in this line the curve of the medial *i* on *mā* was also missed by Sircar, who read the name as *Lakhamā*.

[3] The upper curve of *vi* is certain and I hesitate to accept Sircar's reading of the name as *Davēha*. The previous name may, however, be also read as *Nandavēṇa*, as suggested by him.

[4] Sircar states that the reading may also be the *Chandēla*, but the vertical stroke of the *mātrā* is nearer to the first of the *aksharas* and hence I have adopted the name as given here.

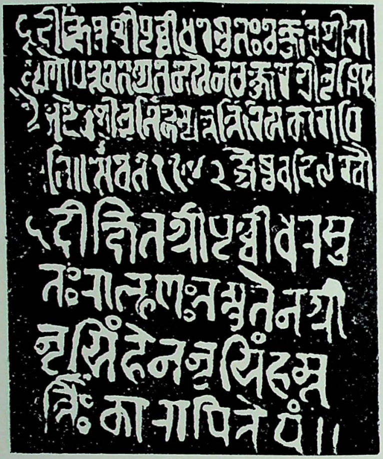
[5] Perhaps the word *bhāga* is omitted before *bhōga* through inadvertence.

[6] In place of these four *aksharas* some others were probably incised originally.

[7] The reading is certain but the word *talla* does not give any sense. Probably *talka*, meaning a forest, is intended.

[8] The upper curve of the *mātrā* is missing in this *akshara* and also in *mi* of *bhūmi* that follows in the same line.

A – KĀLAÑJAR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1192



From Facsimile

38 ति ॥[८*] सुवर्ण्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्येकमङ्गुलम् । हरन्नरकमाप्नोति यावदाहूतसंप्लवम् ॥[९*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रै-

39 र्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्यवान्त प्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥[१०*] सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवे-

40 न्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिरिति-(भवद्भिः॥११॥ इति ।) स्वहस्तोयं श्रीम-

41 न्मदनवर्म्मदेवस्य मतम्मम ॥ विरचितशुभकर्म्मोन्नामवास्तव्यवंश्यः सकलगुणगणानां वे[श्म][1] सूढाभिधानः । अलि-

42 खदवनिपालस्याज्ञया धर्म्म[ले]खी स्फुटललितनिवेशेरक्षरैस्ताम्रपट्टम् ॥[१२*] उल्हणो नाम विज्ञानी रीतिकार-

43 कुलोद्भवः । उच्चकार शुभाकारामिमामक्षरसंहतिम् ॥[१३*] शुभमस्तु सर्व्वंजगत इति ॥६ठुउ॥-६ठुउ॥६ठ[ु उ]॥[2]

No. 120 ; Plate CXI-A

KĀLAÑJAR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1192

THIS inscription was discovered in 1848, by Lieutenant Maisey, at **Kālañjar** in the Banda District of Uttar Pradesh.[3] Maisey briefly noticed the record in the *Bengal Asiatic Society Journal*, Vol. XVII, p. 322, No. 5. His account was generally followed by A. Cunningham, in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, pp. 35 f., and Plate X-D. From the same plate the inscription is edited here.

Cunningham found the record incised on the upper side of a rock beside the figure of Narasiṁha near the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha in the fort. Immediately below it, there is another inscription, which has the same purport and which also has been dealt with here. The present inscription consists of four lines of equal length, the dimensions of which are not recorded. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the twelfth century A.C. But in formation they are more ornamental than those of the other inscriptions found at the place. What is again worth noting is that several of the letters either show a crescent below their top-strokes or begin with a notch, as we find in the Dēogaḍh inscription of the time of Kīrttivarman.[4]

Palaeographically, we may note the formation of *k*, which, as the first member of a conjunct consonant, loses its loop on the left side, as in *Dīkshita* in l. 1 ; *ṭh* is formed as a vertical bar assuming the shape of a loop on the left by the sudden bend of its lowest extremity, as in *Ṭhakkura*, l. 1 ; *th* is represented by two loops placed vertically, as in *Pṛithvīdhara*, l. 1 ; *dh* has developed a horn on its left limb, along with the top-stroke, as in the same example. Attention may also be drawn to the proper sign of *b* as distinguished from *v*, and to the form of *bh*, both in *babhuva*, l. 2 ; to that of *s* in *Nṛisiṁha*, l. 3, and to that of *r* in *Ravau*, l. 4.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, which is generally correct. The consonant *t* in *Saṁvat*, l. 4, is not marked ; and a *kāka-pada* sign appears to have been engraved at the end of line 2.[5]

The **purpose** of the inscription is to record the construction of an image of Nṛisiṁha, the same deity beside which the record was found, by a *Ṭhakkura* whose name was also Nṛisiṁha.

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[1] Originally *sma*, changed to *śma*.

[2] The letters and figures cut here are only to complete the line. What may possibly be guessed here is that the *akshara chha* is intended to show, with a floral design on either of its sides.

[3] For the situation and antiquities of the place, see above, No. 110.

[4] Above, No. 111.

[5] The photograph shows a faint trace thereof.

He was a son of the *Ṭhakkura* Rālhaṇa and a grandson of the Dīkshita Pṛithvīdhara. This shows that the family names were not stereotyped in the locality in the twelfth century A.C., as also in Mālavā, as we have so often seen.

The last line of the record mentions the date, only in figures. It is **Sunday, the ninth day of the dark half of** Jyēshṭha of the (Vikrama) year 1192, which regularly corresponds to **Sunday, the 26th April, 1136 A.C.** for the Southern (Kārttikādi) expired year and the Pūrṇimānta month.[1]

The record below also consists of four lines which are in bigger letters and written in a different hand. These letters do not show ornamentations in their top-strokes, as noted above. But here the noteworthy is the form of *r* as in *Rālhaṇa* in l. 2.

TEXT[2]

Above

सिद्धम्[3] [।।*] दीक्षितश्रीपृथ्वीधरसुतः ठक्कुरश्रीरा[4]-
ल्हणो बभूव[5] [।*] तस्य तनयेन ठक्कुरश्रीनृसिम्-
[हेन][6] देवश्रीनृसिंहस्य मूर्त्तिरियं कारापि-
[ते]ति[7] ।। संवत(त्) ११९२ ज्येष्ठ व दि[8] ९ रवौ [।।*]

Below

सिद्धम्[9] [।।*] दीक्षितश्रीपृथ्वीधरसु-
तः राल्हणः [।*] तत्सुतेन श्री-
नृसिंहेन नृसिंहमू-
र्त्तिः कारापितेयं(यम्[10]।।

No. 121 ; Plate CXI-B

AJAYGAḌH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1208

THIS inscription is incised on a jamb of the Upper Gate of the fort of **Ajaygaḍh**[11] the chief town of a *tehsīl* in the Pannā District of the Vindhya region of Madhya Pradesh. The record was discovered by General Cunningham in 1883-84, and he noticed it, with his own reading of the text and a rough translation thereof, in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports,* Vol. XXI, p. 49 and Plate xii-A. From the same plate it is edited here.

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[1] See *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIX, p. 178, No. 125.

[2] From Plate x-D in Cunningham's *A. S. I. R.,* Vol. XXI.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] Cunningham read the consonant of this *akshara* as *s,* but on the plate is clear as taken here. He has, however, corrected the reading of the preceding title *Thakkura* which was misread as *Sarkhāra* by the editor of the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal.* See his *A. S. I. R.,* Vol. XXI, p. 35, *n.*

[5] In the *J. A. S. B.* these *aksharas* are read as कल्हणोपाभूतस्तदेव. and Cunningham read them as *paruva.*

[6] The letters in the brackets are mutilated. Read नृसिंहेन.

[7] For कारितेति.

[8] Cunningham read this word as *sudi,* but I find the first *akshara* very distinct as taken here. Also see *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIX, p. 178, No. 125.

[9] Expressed by symbol.

[10] As *n.* 6 above.

[11] The antiquites of this place are described by Cunningham in his *A. S. I. R.,* Vol. XXI, pp. 46 ff.

The record occupies an oblong shape, more in height than in breadth, and consists of 18 lines, the last of which is about half in length of the others. Each of the lines contains about ten letters, but in a few instances, this number goes up to fourteen. The dimensions of the writing are not recorded. The inscription is in a good state of preservation.

The characters are of the **Nāgarī** alphabet of the 12th century A.C. Attention may be drawn to the formation of *k* which loses the loop when it is the first member of a conjunct consonant, *e.g.*, in *-kshatriya-*, l. 4 : to the consonant *gg* appearing as *gn*, as in some of the inscriptions of the time, *e.g.*, in *-durggīyē*, l. 2 : and finally, to the form of *dh* resembling *v*, as in *ś(s)ūtradhāra*, l. 18, also showing a curved horn above its left limb, and, not joined to it but to the vertical of the letter, as in *Mahīdhara*, l. 10. Some of the letters cannot be easily recognised and some others are cramped, *e.g.*, the vowel *u* in *-Rāüta-* and the conjunct *grā* in *grāmiya*, both in l. 5. The other instances are drawn attention to in the text and the foot-notes appended to it.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and the record is all in prose. As to the general **orthographical peculiarities,** we may note the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant, as in *sanau*, l. 2, and *vice versa*, in *-Śōmarāja-* for *Sōmarāja*, in ll. 13-14, which is obviously due to the local pronunciation of the name. The record was carelessly drafted : and the vertical bar is used to separate names in ll. 4, 10 and 11. The local influence is throughout visible, particularly in proper names.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the illustrious **Madanavarman,** who is undoubtedly the Chandēlla king bearing the same name and reigning from about 1129 to 1163 A.C. The record opens with the **year 1208** (given in figures only), which must be taken as of the Vikrama era, and the *tithi* was the **15th of Mārga,** *i.e.*, **Mārgaśīrsha, when it was a Saturday.** The date, as calculated by Cunningham himself, regularly corresponds to the **10th November, 1151 A.C.**[1] The year was Northern Vikrama, expired, and the month pūrṇimānta

The **purpose** of the record cannot be definitely made out, but from the expression *pratipādanaṁ kṛitaṁ* in l. 7, and also from the use of the word *kshētra* in l. 16, it appears to mention some donation which was perhaps made in a sham-fight (*krīḍā-yuddhē*, l. 6). The gift was to be enjoyed by the public of the fort of Jayapura, *i.e.*, Ajaygaḍh, where the inscription was found. The donor was the illustrious Rāüta Vēda, who was a Kshatriya by caste, a son of the Rāüta Jauṇapāla and a resident of the village of Kōṭiā. The names of the illustrious *Śrī-karaṇika* and *Ṭhakkura* Ghalēśvara (?), the illustrious *Ṭhakkura* Jālhaṇa, the illustrious *Ṭhakkura* Mahīdhara and the illustrious *Ṭhakkura* Pāsala, and some others are also recorded : possibly these persons were witnesses. In l. 12 the record also shows the figures 13 and 52, the significance of which cannot be made out ; possibly they represent the numbers of persons who were present on the occasion ; and that they were residents of some neighbouring villages, we can make out from Saṅkaliā, figuring as the name of a place in another record also.[2]

It is stated in the last line that the record was engraved by the mason Sūpraṭa. Nothing of importance can be gleaned from the inscription, except that it offers an intermediate date for the Chandēlla king Madanavarman, who was on the throne from about 1129 to 1163 A.C., as already seen above.

As for the **names of the places** occurring in the inscription, **Jayapura** (l. 2) is evidently Ajaygaḍh where the stone was found. This name and not Ajaygaḍh is invariably to be seen in the Chandēlla inscriptions.[3] The villages of **Kōṭiā** (l. 4) and **Saṅkaliā** (l. 12), which appear from the description to have been in its neighbourhood cannot be identified. It may be suggested, however, that about 16 kms. due southwest of the find-spot of the inscription is a village bearing the name Kōrār ; and it is not unlikely that this place may have been intended. The name bears some resemblance to that appearing in the inscription, though philologically it cannot be connected with it. It may also be connected with that of kōṭi-tīrtha, at kālañjar, appearing in No. 108, l. 15.

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[1] *A.S.I.R.* Vol. XXI, p. 49. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 167, No. 85.

[2] See No. 128, l. 10. Cunningham read *Sankali Ajan* but did not explain the expression. Similarly, he was silent about the occurrence of the figures 13 and 52. He took the object of the record as building a (*Sirotha* ?), for which see *n.* on the relevant portion in the text below.

[3] See Numbers 128, 137, 149, *etc.*

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम्[2][।*] संवत(त्) १२०८ मार्ग्ग वदि १५
2 स(श)नौ ॥ जयपुरदुर्ग्गीये स-
3 मस्तलोकानां रा[उ]तश्रीवे-
4 द ।[3] क्षत्रियजातीयकोटिआ-[4]
5 [ग्रा]मीयराउतश्रीजौणपा-
6 लपुत्र अनेन[5] क्रीडायुद्धे[6] सि-
7 रोथयेन प्रतिपादनं कृतं
8 तदनन्तरं[7] श्रीकरणिक-
9 ठक्कुरश्रीधलश्वेरठक्कुरश्री[8]-
10 जाल्हणं[9]। ठक्कुरश्रीमहीधर ।[10]ठ-
11 क्कुरश्रीपासल। वरेठ। लाहड[भ्रा][11]-
12 तिजन १३ संकलिआजन ५२
13 पतैरेनडीय वेट्टकर ॥[12] श्रीशो(सो)-
14 मराजस्य व्यमोवोहितणि[13] ग्रा-
15 मीये भार्गपाथा अद्याहीः[14] शण-
16 सक्षेत्रास्य द्रवाः[15]॥ राज्ये च श्री-
17 मन्मदनवर्म्मणः ॥ठ[16]। श्री।
18 सु(सू)त्रधार सूप्रट[17][॥*]

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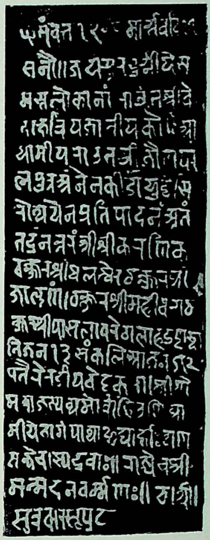
1 From Plate xii-A in Cunningham's *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI.
2 Expressed by a variant of the symbol.
3 The *daṇḍa* here, as in some of the lines below, is used only to separate the names, as in some other records of the house.
4 Cunningham read a superscript *r* on the penultimate letter in this line; but in the plate it is missing on this letter, though in some other instances the *rēpha* is distinct *e.g.* in Nos. 128 and 137, in the fifth line of each.
5 Cunningham read *annēna*, which gives no meaning here. What looks like the sign of *anusvāra* on *a* is merely a fault of the stone, or a scratch, when compared with the other marks throughout the inscription.
6 That is, in sham-fight.
7 Cunningham read *Sirothayena pratipādanam atam Bhadranantam*, which gives no meaning. He also translated a part of the expression as "built a (*Sirotha* ?)". The meaning of this word is still not known, but the third case makes me inclined to suggest that it should be combined with *anēna*.
8 The sign of the medial *ē* on the fourth letter in the name is probably intended for the preceding letter.
9 The sign of *anusvāra* appears to have been wrongly put on this *akshara*. There should be a *visarga*, or the word should not have a *vibhakti*, as the others below. See the next *n*.
10 As stated above, all the names in this line and below, appear without a case-ending and separated by a horizontal stroke.
11 The last two letters in this line cannot be definitely made out, and here I follow Cunningham who took them one and read as given here.
12 The first of the *daṇḍas* is joined to the preceding *akshara*, so as to look as the sign of medial *ā*.
13 The meaning of this expression is not known. The reading too is not certain.
14 As above. The reading of *a* is doubtful. Cunningham took it as *vi* but gave no sense.
15 The third letter in this line appears more likely to be *cha*, followed by a *daṇḍa*; but it gives no meaning.
16 That is, *Ṭhakkura*.
17 Possibly the second letter of the name is *pa*, for which compare *da*, the second *akshara* in l. 8, above.

B – AJAYGAḌH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1208



From Facsimile

Govt. Oriental Manuscripts Madras-600 005

No. 122 ; No Plate

HORNIMAN MUSEUM IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1208

THIS inscription is incised on the pedestal of a Jaina statue which is exhibited in the **Horniman Museum.** It was published by Kielhorn, with a reproduction of the figure, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, for 1898, pp. 101 f., and Plate. The image is of Nēminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, as can be recognised from the cognisance conch-shell, carved on its breast and also on the pedestal ; and the total height is reported to be equal to 91.44 cms., and the width at the base, to 71.12 cms. The inscription is edited here from its facsimile in the photograph accompanying Kielhorn's article.

The record consists of three lines, the first of which is unusually larger than the other two. It is well preserved. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the twelfth century, to which the record belongs. The **language** is Sanskrit, which is grammatically incorrect : and the record is in prose. With reference to **orthography,** we may note the use of the dental sibilant for the palatal, *e.g.*, in *Vaisākha,* and also that of the consonant *m* for the *anusvāra* in *Saṁvat,* both in l. 1.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the installation of the image, on the pedestal of which it is incised, by the *Srēshṭhin* Māhula[1] of the *Grahapati* lineage, and his homage to the deity by him, along with some of the members of his family. The **date,** as mentioned in numerical figures, at the beginning, is **Thursday, the 5th of the dark half of Vaiśākha of Saṁvat 1208.** As calculated by Kielhorn, it corresponds, for the *Kārttikādi* Vikrama year, *expired,* and the pūrṇimāṇta Vaiśākha, to **Thursday, the 27th March, 1152 A.C.,** when the 5th *tithi* of the dark half ended about 5 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise.[2] The date is quite regular.

The original find-spot of the image is unknown, nor is any king named therein. However, a guess in this respect may be hazarded here. The family known as *Grahapati* flourished at Khajurāhō, as we are informed by one of the following inscriptions (No. 124) which bears the date V. 1215, only seven years later than that of the present inscription : and, as noted by Kielhorn, the names figuring in it are similar to those of the Sēmrā grant of Paramardin,[3] showing a very strong possibility that the image under reference was originally found in the Vindhya region, and very probably somewhere in the vicinity of Khajurāhō itself, from where it may have sailed to London, where Horniman purchased it in 1895, as Kielhorn was informed by Quick, the then curator of that Museum.

The family referred to in the inscription belonged to **Maḍilapura.** In the text given by him, Kielhorn[4] corrected this name to Maṇḍilapura : but this correction is not free from doubt for there is also a possibility that the consonant of the second *akshara* may have been intended to be *h,* its left-hand curve being either altogether omitted or engraved so lightly that it could not come out in the photograph.[5] If this be the case, the reading of the name would be Mahilapura, which appears to be identical with Mahēvā, a village about 10 kms. north by west of Chhatarpur and in the very close proximity of Khajurāhō itself, which may have been the original provenance of the statue. Following this line of thought, we may take the image to have been engraved during the reign of the Chandēlla king Madanavarman who was on the throne from 1129 to 1163 A.C.

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1 From the construction it is not clear whether this name is given here only to show the genealogy, or that the person denoted by it was also one of the participaents for setting the image.

2 *J.R.A.S.,* 1898, p. 102. Also see *I.N.I.,* No. 285.

3 Below, No. 126.

4 Kielhorn, *op. cit.*

5 For a parallel case, cf. the incision of the last letter in line 1.

TEXT[1]

1 ओं सम्वत्[2]१२०८ वैसा(शा)ख वदि ५ गुरौ ॥ म[ं]डिलपुरात्[3]
ग्रहपत्यन्वे(न्वये) स्रे(श्रे)ष्ठिमाहुल[:*][4] तस्स सुतः
स्रे(श्रे)ष्ठिश्रीमहीपति[:*] भ्रातु(ता) जाल्हे महीपति
सुत[ाः*] पापे-कूके-साल्हू-हेद्दू[अल्हू ?][5]-
2 विवेके-स्वपते(ताः) सर्व्वे नित्यं
3 प्रणमति(न्ति) स[ह][6]॥

No. 123 ; Plate CXI-C

MAHŌBĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1211

THIS inscription was discovered by Alexander Cunningham in the working season of 1883-84, at **Mahōbā**[7] in the Hamīrpur District of Uttar Pradesh. It is incised on the pedestal of a statue with a shell (conch) symbol, showing the figure to be of Nēminātha, and consists of two lines. Cunningham published an eye-copy of the record, together with an indifferent transcript of the lower line, in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports,* Vol. XXI, p. 73, with Plate xxiii-D. The present whereabouts of the statue, on the pedestal of which the record is incised, are not known, and thus it is not possible to have an impression thereof. Therefore, I edit the inscription here, for the first time, from the eye-copy published by Cunningham.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. The language is Sanskrit ; and the inscription is in prose. It is not known how far the eye-copy published by Cunningham is trustworthy, but we can say that the letter *dh* differs from *v* only in that it is devoid of the top-stroke, as in *sādhu,* l. 1 ; *th* is formed of two loops placed below each other ; cf. *nātha-,* l. 2 ; and *r* shows two different forms in the same word *Rūpakāra,* l. 2. The **orthography** does not call for any special remark, except that *sh* is written in place of *kh* in the name Lākhaṇa. The mistakes of engraving will be noticed in the foot-notes appended to the text.

The inscription mentions the name of the illustrious ruler Madanavarman, who was no doubt the homonymous chandēlla king (1129-1163 A.C.), as also shown by its provenance. Its **object** is to record the dedication of the image of Nēminātha, whose symbol of conch-shell is engraved in the middle of the lines. The image was made by the *Rūpakāra* Lākhaṇa and it was consecrated by Gālhū, the son of *sādhu* Lākhū, who was, in his turn, the son of *sādhu* Sāṭhē.

The **date** of the record, as given only in figures in the second line, is **Saturday, the third day of the bright half of Ashāḍha of 1211** of the (Vikrama) era ; and, as calculated, it regularly corresponds to **Saturday 4th June, 1155 A.C.**[8] The record gives an intermediate date for the king Madanavarman, and thus it is not of any historical importance except that it shows that Jainism was popular among some classes of people at that time.

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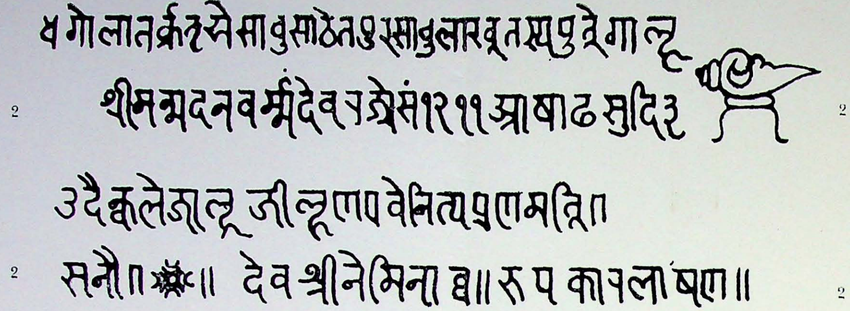
[1] From photograph.
[2] Read संवत्.
[3] I have given here the name as read by Kielhorn. But also see *n.* 5 on the preceding page.
[4] The names are all without the case-suffixes which are marked by me only as could be conjectured.
[5] This possible correction is adopted from Kielhorn's reading.
[6] This word here means 'all together'.
[7] For the situation of the place and its antiquities, see above, No. 113.
[8] See *I. N. I.,* No. 293.

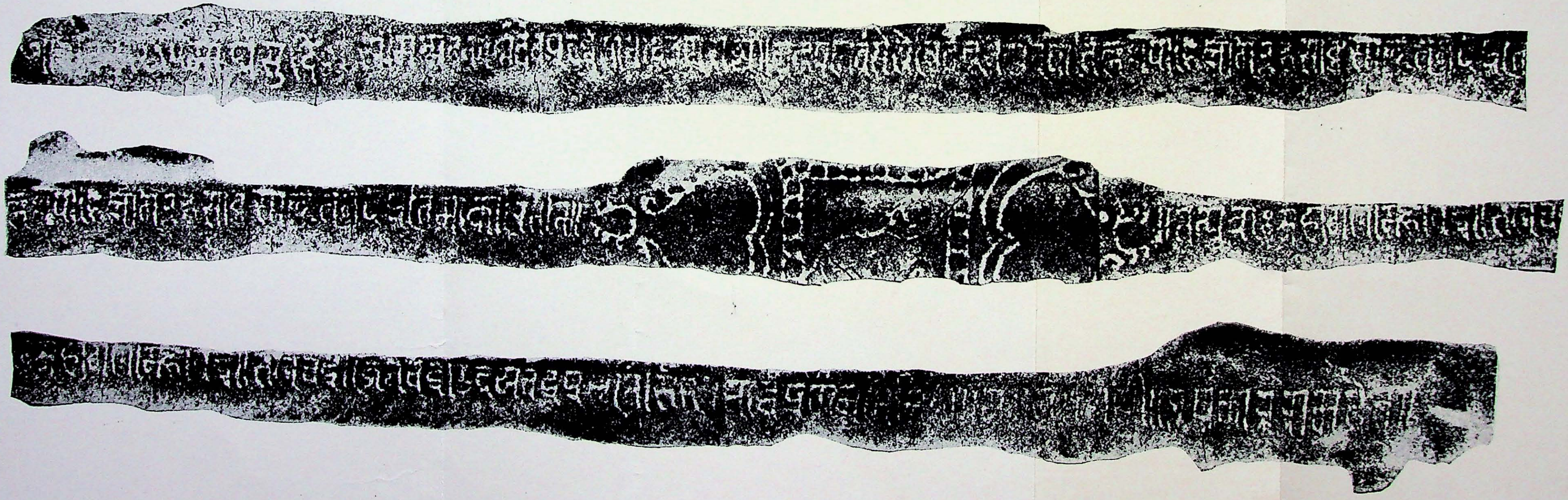
C – MAHŌBĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1211



From Facsimile

KHAJURĀHŌ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1215

PLATE CXII



Scale : Five-sixth

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धिः[2][।*] गोलातर्कतृये[3] साधु साठे तत्पुरसाधुलाखू[4] तस्य पुत्रे(त्रो) गाल्हू उदे[क्ष]लेजाल्हूजील्हणपवे[5] नित्य(त्यं) प्रणमन्ति ॥

2 श्रीमन्मदनवर्म्मदेवर(रा)ज्ये [।*] सं[6] १२११ आषाढ़ सु(शु)दि ३ स(श)नौ ॥[7]॥ देवश्रीनेमिनाथ(थम्) ॥ रूपकार[:*] लाष(ख)ण[:*] ॥

No. 124 ; Plate CXII

KHAJURĀHŌ STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1215

THIS inscription was discovered by Sir A. Cunningham and was first brought to notice by him in his *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India, Vol. II* (1862-65), p. 435. He also pulished its transcript and a specimen of letters employed in it, in *ibid.*, Vol. XXI (for 1883-84 and 1884-85), p. 61, and Pl. xx-D. The inscription was then edited by Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I (1888), pp. 152 f., where he gave his own reading of the text from an impression supplied by the late Dr. Burgess. But the article is not illustrated. The inscription is edited here from an impression placed at my disposal by the Chief Epigraphist for India.[8]

The inscription is incised on the top of the pedestal of a colossal stone image, seated, of the third Jaina pontiff, Saṁbhavanātha, in a small ancient Jaina temple dedicated to Ādinātha at Khajurāhō[9] in the Chhatarpur District of the Bundelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh. The record consists of a single line divided into two parts by a boss showing the seated figure of a horse,[10] to right, in a rectangle of a beaded border, with a petal-like object on either side, the whole design occupying a space 6 cms. broad by 3·5 cms. high. The first part of the writing measures 48·8 cms. and the second 43·4 cms. The average size of the letters is 1 cm. The inscription is in a good state of preservation.

The **characters** belong to the twelfth century A.C., and are precisely of the same type as to be found in the Chandēlla inscriptions of the age. What is worth noting in this respect is that the form of *dh* is devoid of the horn on its left limb, as in *sādhu*, and the form of the subscript *r* is complete, with the former member of the conjunct half-drawn, of which *tat-putra-* is the only instance and *prabhṛiti* is a probable exception. The medial short *u* attached to *r* has the same form as when attached to other letters ; cf. *-ruha*, and this consonant, appearing all the three times in the end, shows a loop with a wedge attached to it.

The **language** is incorrect Sanskrit and the inscription is in prose. In respect of **orthography,** we note the use of *s* for *ś*, only in one instance (*-vaṁsē-*), the doubling of a consonant following *r*, as in *-varmma-*, the medial *ē* denoted both by the *prishṭha-* and the *ūrdhva-mātrā*, the wrong use of an *anusvāra* in the end, and lastly, the use of the local element in the name *Sirichandra* for *Śrī-Chandra*.

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1 From Cunningham's eye-copy (Plate xxiii-D) in *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI.

2 The symbol appears as the letter *dh*, and almost resembles the one in No. 117.

3 What is intended is गोलापूर्व्वान्वये, as it figures in No. 190, l. I.

4 Read तत्पुत्र–.

5 The last two *aksharas* also appear to form a name as some others in this inscription. All the names are without the case-endings.

6 This is, संवत्·

7 There is an ornamentation between the double *daṇḍas*, and a couch after the figures showing the *tithi.*

8 His No. C-1742 of *A. R. Ep.* for 1962-63.

9 For the location and archaeological importance of this place, see No. 97, above.

10 This is the *lāñchhana* of Sambhavanātha.

It is a sectarian inscription ; and the **object** of it is to record the dedication of a statue, on the pedestal of which it is engraved, by Sādhu **Sālhē**, who was a son of Pāhilla of the *grahapati* family and a grandson of *śrēshṭhin* Dēdu. Incidentally, the record also mentions Sālhē's sons *viz.*, Mahāgaṇa, Mahīchandra, Siri (Śrī) chandra, Jinachandra and Udayachandra. The image, as we are also told, was dedicated during the prosperous reign of the illustrious **Madanavarmadēva;** and though the record is silent in mentioning the name of the family of the king, he is evidently the **Chandēlla** ruler of that name, whose inscriptions we have from V.S. 1186 to 1220 or 1129 to 1163 A.C. This view is supported by the find of the inscription in a reign which is known to have been under him.

The **date** of the inscription is stated to be the **fifth day of the bright half of** Māgha(*vasanta-pañchamī*) of **Saṁvat 1215,** which, as a year of the Vikrama era, corresponds to **(1157-58 A.C.),**[1] and fits exactly into the reigning period of Madanavarman.

The chief interest of the inscription lies in its mention of the name Pāhilla and his genealogy for four generations. Dr. D. C. Sircar takes him to be probably identical with the homonymous Jaina minister under Kīrttivarman mentioned in the Darbat inscription dated in V.S. 1132 ;[2] and the present record which was inscribed eighty-three years subsequently and which mentions the dedication of an image by his son goes to confirm the probability. The name Pāhilla we have also met before in a Jaina temple inscription at Khajurāhō, dated V.S. 1011, where he is stated to have been a devout Jaina who was honoured by King Dhaṅga ;[3] but we are unable to say anything about the relationship of both these persons though they appear to belong to the same family. The name of this family also occurs in an inscription from Khajurāhō itself.[4]

TEXT[5]

1 सिद्धम्[6]॥संवत् १२१५ माघ सुदि ५ श्रीमन्मदनवर्म्मदेवप्रवर्द्धमानविज[य]राज्ये ॥[7] ग्रहपतिवंसे(शे) श्रेष्ठिदेदू[त]त्पुत्रपाहिल्लः । पाहिल्लांगरुहसाधुसाल्हे तेनेदं(यं) प्रतिमा कारितेति ॥ ॥[8] तत्पुत्राः महागण । महीचंद्र । सि[रि]चंद्र । जिनचंद्र । उदयचंद्रप्रभृति[9] । संभवनाथं प्रणं(ण)मंति नित्यं(त्यम्) ॥ मंगलं महाश्री[:] ॥ रूपकाररामदेव[:] ॥

No. 125 ; No Plate

MAU STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN

(Fragmentary)

THE stone which contains this inscription is stated to have been found in 1813, "at the foot of a rocky hill in the vicinity of the town of **Mau,** also spelt as Mhau, in the Jhāṅsī District" of Uttar Pradesh. Lieutenant William Price, who discovered it, published a transcript and translation of the inscription in the *Asiatic Researches,* Vol. XII, pp. 357 ff., and

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[1] The date cannot be verified. For the Northern V year, *current,* it would correspond to Thursday, 17th January, 1157 and for the *expired,* to Tuesday, 7th January, 1158 A.C.

[2] Above, No. 109. For Sircar's suggestion, see *I. H. Q.,* Vol. XXX, p. 185.

[3] Above, No. 99, v. 1.

[4] See Kielhorn's article in *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. I, No. VIII. This family is also mentioned in No. 122, above,in *I. N. I.,* No. 99, and in a Kalachuri inscription of 1019 A.C., where the reading is *Grahapati-kulatilaka-śrēshṭhin.* The origin of the name cannot be satisfactorily explained. It signifies the sun, and not the moon, as taken by Mirashi, in *C. I. I.,* Vol. IV, p. 235 and *n.* 11, where it is taken perhaps as a mistake for *Gṛihapati* in the sense of 'a house-holder', or, the 'head of a village'. The word may also be connected with the modern surname Gahōī, members of which family now reside in parts of Bundelkhand.

[5] From a rubbing supplied by the Chief Epigraphist.

[6] Expressed a variant of the symbol.

[7] The *daṇḍas* are redundant.

[8] Between the double *daṇḍas* is engraved the figure of a horse to right, within a design.

[9] Drop the *daṇḍas* separating the names and read प्रभृतय:.

also presented the stone to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which subsequently transferred it to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The inscription was also edited, without any lithograph, by Dr. F. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I (1888), pp. 195 ff. The stone has since then become untraceable, and as an estampage of the inscription is also now not forthcoming, I give below the transcript of it, made by Kielhorn, with minor changes so as to suit to the system adopted here, and also adding my notes to it.

"The inscription, so far as I can judge from the impression, consists of 29 lines. The writing covers a space about 4′0½″ (1·37 metres) broad by 3′ 1″ (1·4 metres) high, and a considerable portion of it is greatly damaged. Thus, the last line is almost completely effaced, and portions of about half the number of lines are "either gone altogether or have become illegible." This damage is of course due to the weather to which the stone remained exposed for long, but probably more due to the fact, as noted by Lt. Price himself, that "the natives were accustomed to sharpen their knives and *talwars* upon it."[1]

The letters, which are of the size of 2·2 cms., were noted to be similar in style to those of the inscriptions from Ajaygadh and Mahōbā, of which photo-lithographs are published in Cunningham's *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, Pls. xv and xxi-xxiii.[2] The present inscription also shares the peculiarity that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the letters *g*, *n* and *m*.[3]

The **language** is Sanskrit, and the existing portion of the record is in verse throughout. It contains 49 verses in different metres, including also the rare *Svāgata* and still more rare the *Aupachchhandasika*. The verses are not numbered. The style is classical, often reminding us of the poets of old and using figures of speech also. With reference to **orthography,** we may note that (1) *b* is denoted by the sign of *v* except in a few instances occurring in ll. 3, 4, 18, 21 and 25 ; (2) the consonant following *r* is not unoften doubled, *e.g.*, in *darppa*, l. 3 ; (3) the sign of *avagraha* is used to show the elision of *a* in the preceding *ē* or *ō*, and occasionally also in *dīrgha-sandhi*, *e.g.*, in *sūnritā-ananta*, l. 16 ; and finally, (4) the dental *n* is used instead of the sign of *anusvāra* in *śubhrānśu*, l. 10, *vanśa*, ll. 11 and 23, *mīmānsaka*, l. 11, and *vajñānśa*, l. 19 ; and the word *ujjvala* appears with a single *j* in ll. 13 and 15 but not in l. 16.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Madanavarman,** (who belonged to the **Chandēlla** dynasty of Mahōbā). The proper **object** of it is to record the construction of a temple of Vishṇu, the building of a tank and the execution of some other works of piety, by one of his Ministers, who appears to have been Gadādhara. The **date** and the names of the poet and the engraver, which may have been given in the concluding lines, appear to be lost.

The inscription is a *praśasti*, and, as customary, may be divided into two parts. The first part, which consists of vv. 1-16, gives an account of the ancestors of Madanavarman, during whose reign the record was incised and put up, and the rest of the record, consisting of verses 17 ff., describes the genealogy of the minister and the object in hand. After two *maṅgala-ślōkas* in praise of Vishṇu, the poet proceeds to state the pedigree of the ruling king Madanavarman, from **Dhaṅga,** who is stated to have defeated the king of Kānyakubja (v. 3). Dhaṅga's son was **Gaṇḍadēva** (v. 4), his grandson, **Vidyādhara** (v. 5) and his great-grandson was **Vijayapāla** (v. 6), whose son, again, was **Kīrttivarman,** who is stated to have vanquished his enemies (v. 8). The names of the enemies are not mentioned here, but this statement probably refers to his defeat of the Kalachuri Karṇa, as seen above.[4] Dēvavarman, who was the elder brother of Kīrttivarman, is not mentioned in the present inscription, as he was a collateral. Kīrttivarman's son was **Sallakshaṇavarman** (vv. 9-10), and the latter's son was Jayavarman (v. 11), who was succeeded by his younger brother **Prithvīvarman.** The last named king was again succeeded by his son, Madanavarman, who, as stated in the present inscription, defeated the kings of Chēdi and Mālavā, and "through dread of whom the king of Kāśī passed his time in friendly behaviour."

The Chēdi or Kalachuri king, referred to as defeated by Madanaverman, appears to be no other than his contemporary Gayākarṇa who was ruling from *circa* 1123 to 1153 A.C. A hoard of Madanavarman's silver coins found at Panwar in the Tēonthar *tehsīl* of the former Rewā State and now a district of the same name[5] may be taken to suggest that Gayākarṇa, who had

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[1] Quoted by Kielhorn in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 195.
[2] Nos. 150, 113 and 136, respectively.
[3] As we generally find in the copper-plates engraved by Pālhaṇa, for which see below, Nos. 126, 129-132 and 134.
[4] See above, No 113.
[5] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. X (N.S.), pp. 199 f. This, of course, is not a strong evidence.

held the region around Tēonthar, lost it to the Chandēlla king; and thus the claim stated in favour of Madanavarman in the present inscription may be supported. About his conflict with the king of Mālava, reference may be invited to the former's Augasī grant, edited above,[1] where we have seen that the Paramāra king vanquished by the Chandēlla ruler was no other than Yaśōvarman, the son of Naravarman.

The king of Kāśī, who too is referred to in the present inscription, is evidently either Gōvindachandra of the Gahaḍavāl dynasty, the dates of whose reign range from 1114 to 1154 A.C., or his son Vijayachandra (1154-1170 A.C.). Both these rulers were contemporaries of Madanavarman; and the statement of the inscription, as rightly pointed out by Dr. S. K. Mitra, merely goes to suggest that the Chandēlla and the Gahaḍavāl rulers realised the strength of each other and may have formed a sort of alliance for mutual peace.[2]

The second part of the inscription, which commences with v. 17, gives the genealogy of the person who constructed the temple and also made some other benefactions. This account is traced back to the creator of the world, *i.e., Brahmā,* whose son was Aṅgiras; and in his lineage was born the holy sage Gautama, also known as Akshapāda, who is credited with expounding the Nyāya system of philosophy (vv. 18-19). In course of time, in this family was born Prabhāsa, who was held in high esteem, as the holy shrine at Prabhāsa (v. 20). He was the chief minister of Dhaṅga and Gaṇḍa (vv. 20-22). His son was Śivanāga, who resembled Bṛihaspati and who was the minister (*sachiva*) under Vidyādhara (vv. 23-24).[3] His son was Mahīpāla who was chief minister under Vijayapāla (vv. 25-26). From Mahīpāla were born Ananta and Yogeśvara; and the former, who was the master of elephants and horses, was appointed minister by the king Kīrtti-varman (vv. 27-32). Mahīpāla had two wives—Āsarvā was one of them, and the other's name is lost in v. 34. He had many sons. Mahīpāla continued as minister under Sallakshaṇavarman also. One of his sons, Vatsa by name, was appointed *Pratīhāra* by Jayavarman (v. 40), and another son, probably Gadadhara by name, was the chief minister of Pṛithvīvarman and continued in the same position under Madanavarman (vv. 41-42) also.

All the persons mentioned above are highly eulogised in the present record, but the description is entirely conventional, hardly furnishing any historical information. It may also be noted here, that the names of the kings are repeated in the present record in the same order in which they appear in the earlier part thereof. After describing this long line of the hereditary ministers and other officers, and also mentioning two of Gadādhara's sons, *viz.,* Śrīdhara and Vidyādhara, in v. 45, the inscription goes on to narrate his (Gadādhara's) charitable deeds. Besides constructing the temple of Nārāyaṇa in v. 46, which stood apparently at the place where the stone was originally found, he is also credited with building a tank with broad stones (v. 47), a cistern (?) with dressed stones on the boundary of the village Dēddu (v. 48), and a stepped well in the vicinity of a place, the name of which appears to be Kēṇḍī (v. 49). The rest of the inscription is lost.

Of the **geographical names** figuring in the inscription, **Antarvēdi** (v. 38) is the region between the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, and **Prabhasa** (v. 20) is the famous place of pilgrimage, at Vērāval in Saurāshṭra, as also noted by Kielhorn. The villages **Dēddu** and **kēṇḍī** as already suggested by the same scholar, must have been somewhere in the vicinity of the find-spot of the inscription. I am, however, unable to identify them.

[1] Above, No. 118.

[2] *E. R. K.,* pp. 116 f.

[3] It may be noted here that v. 17, which begins the account of the ancestors of Gadādhara, uses the word *mahāmātya* which denotes a chief minister.

TEXT[1]

[Metres: Vv. 1, 40 and 46 *Mandakrāntā* ; vv. 2, 8, 10, 15-16, 30, 41-42 and 47 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 3 and 6 *Mālinī* ; vv. 4, 27-28, and 34 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 5, 12, 22, 45 and 49 *Āryā* ; vv. 7 and 48 *Aupachhandasika* ; vv. 9, 18, 20, 29, 31-32, 36, 39 and 43 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 11, 23 and 37 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 13, 24-25 and 44 *Sikhariṇī* ; v.14 *Pushpitāgrā* ; vv. 17 and 35 *Gīti* ; v. 19 *Svāgatā* ; v. 21 *Upajāti* ; v. 26 *Drutavilambita* ; and vv. 33, 38 and 49 either *Āryā*, or *Gīti* or *Upagīti*, as the fourth foot is lost and no definite number of the *mātrās* in it can be ascertained].

1 – – – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑
⏑ ⏓ :: श्रीव[त्सा]ङ्कं दधदपि वपुर्द्दिव्यमव्यक्त एव । मायाजालैर्यमितभुवनोऽप्येकहेतुर्व्विमुक्ते,
– – – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏓ ॥[१॥*] – –
– – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑[3]

⏑ – – ⏑ पत्रावली[नां भं]गिः प्रोद्य[स्त]ल[क्ष्मी]कुचकल[श]तटाद्वक्षसि श्रीधरस्य । संक्रान्ता
पातु युष्मानतिविशदलिपिर्द्दर्शनीया शिलाभे विन्यस्ता मन्मथेनोन्मदसुरतविधि[व्यञ्जि]केव
प्र[श]स्तिः ॥[२॥*] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏓; ⏑
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ नामा नरेन्द्रः[।][4]

⏑ ⏑[नि]खिल[नृपं] यः कान्यकुब्जं नरेन्द्रं समरभुवि विजित्य प्राप साम्राज्यमुच्चैः ॥[३॥*]
दर्प्पकण्डू[ग्र]दोर्द्दण्डद्विषत्खण्डनपण्डितः ।[5] गण्डदेवोऽभवत्तस्माच्चतुर[न्ता]वनीश्वरः ॥[४॥*]
तस्मादशेषनरपतिमौलिषु विश्रा[न्त]कान्तपदकमलः । श्रीविद्याधरदेवः ·[6][वा]सवो
जज्ञे ॥[५॥*]

4 ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –[लः] स्फारकीर्त्या विशालः [शुभ]चरितपवित्रस्तस्य राज्ञः सुपुत्रः ।
क्षपितनिखिलदुष्टः प्रीणिताशेषशिष्टः कृतकलि[युगभङ्गः ?] क्षोणि – – ⏑ – ⏓॥[६॥*]
भुवनत्रयगीतपुण्यकीर्त्तिस्तनयोऽस्याजनिकीर्त्तिवर्म्मदेवः । ⏑ ⏑ –[7][कलि][कल्मषं विहंतुं ?]
⏑ ⏑ – धर्म्म इ[वात्र ? योऽवतीर्ण्णः ॥७॥*] जिग्ये

येनारिवर्ग्गः [कि]ल सममरि[भिः] षड्भिरेवान्तरङ्गैः सार्द्धंधर्म्मण नीतान्यनुदिनमधिकं[8] वृद्धिमङ्गानि
सप्त[8] । उच्छिन्नः कण्टकौघो जगति कलिमल[ाधीनवै ?]रेण साकं [स्वाज्ञा] सञ्चारिता
चाजलधिपरिसरं [स्फार]कीर्त्या सहैव ॥[८॥*] – – – ⏑ ⏑ –[स्व]विक्रमभर-
प्रोन्निद्रितारिः सदा श्री-

6 [स]ल्लक्षणवर्म्मदेवनृपतिस्तस्यात्मजोऽ[भू]त्प्रभुः [।] धौरेयः श्रुतशालिनाङ्गुणवतां व(ब)न्धुः कलानां
निधिः सद्वृत्तस्य च सद्म कल्पविटपी निः[शेषपुष्य]र्थिनां(नाम्) ॥[९॥*] ये[ना]च्छिद्यारिलक्ष्मी-
मखिलकु[लज]ने यच्छतांच्चैर्न्निर[स्ता सा]कष्टा दुःख[वृत्ति] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – –
[श्रि ?]ये किञ्च यस्य । राज्ञां सेवागतानां क-

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[1] From Kielhorn's transcript in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, pp. 197 ff.

[2] Kielhorn has noted that this verse is preceded by traces of about twelve *aksharas* and that one should expect here ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय, or some similar phrase.

[3] It is impossible to say exactly how many *aksharas* are effaced at the end of this and the beginning of the next line (K.).

[4] The name missing here before *nāmā* may have been ध्रंग. Similarly, the first two *aksharas* in the next line may have been जित. The lost portion of this verse may conjecturally be restored as भुवन-विदितचन्द्रात्रेयवंशे प्रसूतो भुजबलविजितारिर्धङ्ग.

[5] From the back of the impression before him, Kielhorn was certain that the first letter is द, and not म.

[6] The gap may be filled in by सुमनःपति-, which suits the sense and also the metre. Similarly, one would expect something like अजनि विजयपा at the beginning of the next verse and पान्तो वरिष्ठ at its end.

[7] My conjectural suggestion for the *aksharas* missing here is प्रविन्नं or निर्व्विन्नं and भुवने in the lacuna that follows.

[8] Kielhorn remarked that अधिकं should be कां here. He has also noted that the internal enemies are *kāma* (desire), *Krōdha* (wrath), *lōbha* (covetousness), *mōha* (bewilderment), *mada* (pride) and *matsara* (envy); and the seven constituent parts of the kingdom are: the king, his minister, capital, realm, treasury, army and ally. Cf. *Manu*, IX, 294.

7 न[क]मणिमयोद्भासिनेपथ्यसाम्यादन्येषां चाश्रितानां सदसि किमपि नाभूद्विशेषोपलम्भः ॥[१०॥]
[औदार्य]सत्यनयशौर्यनिवासभूमिस्तस्याजनिष्ट तनयो जयवर्म्मदेवः। यस्य प्रतापतपनाभ्युदयेन भूपा दीपा इव[क्षत?]⏑ –: ⏑ ⏑ –[1] न रेजुः ॥[११॥] श्रीसल्लक्षणवर्म्मक्षोणीनाथस्य सोदरोव-

8 रजः। अथ पृथ्वीवर्म्मनृपः कुलराज्यधुरान्दधौ धुर्यः ॥[१२॥] अशिष्टेषु द्वेषो भृशमभिरतिः पात्रनिवहे जिघृक्षा न्याय्येऽर्थे विधिवदथ तीर्थे वितरणं(णम्)। परा [रक्षा भूतेष्व]पि च विनयादानपरता वितेने येनेत्थं कृतचरितमुच्चैरिह कला ॥[१३॥] अजनि मदनवर्म्मभूमिपालस्त्रिभुवनविश्रुत-विक्रमोऽथ तस्मात्।

9 भुजव(ब)लमवलोक्य यस्य [मे]नेऽद्भुतव(ब)लभीमकथा जनैरमिथ्या ॥[१४॥] द्राग्विद्रात्येव चैद्यः समरभरजितो यस्य नाम्नापि नित्यं कालं सौहार्द्दवृत्त्या गमयति सततं त्रासतः काशिराजः। येनौद्धत्यं दधानः स च सपदि समुन्मीलितो मालवेशस्तन्वन्तो यत्र भक्ति परमवनिभुजः स्वास्थ्यमन्ये न भेजुः ॥[१५॥]

10 कृष्टायां वेगवल्गत्तुरगखुरपुटैर्व्वैरिकण्ठावमुक्तैः सिक्तायां रक्ततोयैः समरभुवि भृशं तेन शुभ्रान्शु(भ्रांशु)-गौरं(रम्)। मुक्तावीजं यदुप्तं रिपुकरिशिरसां कीर्त्तिवल्ली ततोऽ[भू]त्तत्यागाम्भःप्रसेकात्कमल-भवसभामण्डपं व्यानशे सा[2]॥[१६॥] अथ नृपतीनामेषां ये राज्यधुरन्धरा महामात्याः। अभव-

11 न्विशुद्धचरितास्तद्वन्शः(द्वंशः) कीर्त्यतेऽधुना वन्द्यः ॥[१७॥] सूनुर्व्विश्वसृजः समस्तभुवनैर्यो माननीयोऽ-ङ्गिरास्तद्वन्शे(द्वंशे) भगवानजायत मुनिर्व्विद्यानिधिर्गौतमः। द्राग्मीमान्स(मांस)करूपिणा प्रकटिते भालेक्षणे शम्भुना रोषाद्वादविधौ निजे पदतले येनाक्षि संदर्शितं(तम्)[3]॥[१८॥] न्यायदर्शनविकासनद-

12 क्षः सोऽक्षपाद इह कस्य न वन्द्यः। प्रत्यतिष्ठिपदपास्य कुतर्क्कानीश्वरस्य महिमातिशयं यः ॥[१९॥] तस्योदग्रतपःप्रभाववसतेर्गोत्रे विवृद्धे क्रमात्पु[ण्यै]कायतनं गुणौघसदनं जज्ञे प्रभासः सुधीः। अत्युद्दामसरस्वतीविलसितेनोद्भासितं सादराः प्राभासं कृतिनः सुतीर्थमिव यं द्रष्टुं ययुः श्रेयसे ॥[२०॥]

13 सर्व्वोपधाशुद्धिमतान्धुरीणो[4] धङ्गेन गण्डेन च भूभृता यः। नयप्रयोगे गहने सुदक्षः परीक्ष्य चक्रेऽखिलमन्त्रिमुख्यः ॥[२१॥] सुदृढतरव(ब)द्धमूलः समेधितस्तनयाम्वु(म्बु)सेकेन। राज्यतरुरभ-वदनयोस्त्रिवर्ग्गफलदः सदा नृपयोः[5]॥ [२२॥] वु(बु)द्ध्या श्रुतेन व(ब)हुना धिषणायमानश्चन्द्रा-तपोज्व(ज्ज्व)लयशोभृतदिग्वितानः। आजौ विपक्षनिवहैरवि-

14 षह्यधामा तस्मादजायत कृती शिवनागनामा ॥[२३॥] अभिष्टोतुं शक्यं कथमिव गुणास्तस्य सुमतेर्य एकः सद्वृत्तः सचिवपद[मास्थाय] न चिरं(रम्)। क्रमाद्राज्यं विद्याधरनरपतेर्न्नित्यकरदीकृताशेषोर्व्वीशं व्यधित भुवि सर्व्वातिशयितं(तम्) ॥[२४॥] विशुद्धा दुग्धाब्धेर्व्विधुरिव जगन्नेत्रसुभगो-महीपालस्तस्मादभवद-

15 भिरामोज्व(ज्ज्व)लगुणः। गिरं सत्येन स्वां मतिमखिलकार्यैः [सु]फलितैर्य इष्टापूर्त्ताभ्यां श्रियमिव कृतार्थत्वमनयत् ॥[२५॥] अविकलं गुरुकार्यधुराभरं विजयपालनराधिपतेर्द्दधत्। स निरवद्यन-यान्वितविक्रमः सुसचिवेषु बभूव निदर्शनं(नम्) ॥[२६॥] सत्त्वैकधाम सद्भोगनित्योद्भासिवपुः कृ-

16 ती। जगद्भूरक्षमो जज्ञेऽनन्तोऽनन्तगुणस्ततः ॥[२७॥] अभूद्भूरिगुणाधारो यस्य योगेश्वरोऽनुजः।

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[1] The lacuna may conjecturally be filled in by तमः प्रसरा.

[2] Figure of speech: *Rūpaka*. The idea expressed in this stanza is apparently based on *Naishadhīyacharita*, Canto XII, v. 66.

[3] As already pointed out by Kielhorn, it is an allusion to Gautama's other name Akshapāda.

[4] *Upadhā* means test of honesty. Cf. *Dharmōpadhābhir-viprānścha sarvābhiḥ sachivān punaḥ* (*Kālikā Purāṇa*, 3).

[5] *Trivarga* is *dharma* (virtue), *artha* (wealth) and *kāma* (pleasure), as also noted by Kielhorn. The idea expressed in this verse appears to have been borrowed from the *Śiśupāla-vadha*, II, 89.

स रामस्येव सौमित्रि [1]धन[व्रत]॥[२८॥] अत्युच्चैरुदितोदितं कुलमिदं व्रा(ब्रा)-
ह्मण्यमत्युज्ज्वलं वेदस्याध्ययनं श्रुतं च विमलं धीः शिष्टसाधा[र]णी। शौर्यं दुर्व्विषहं रणेषु
सततं सर्व्वत्र वाक्सूनृताऽन-

17 न्तस्यास्य महात्मनः शुभमतेः किं किं न लोकोत्तरम्॥[२९॥] मन्त्री मन्त्राधिकारे सुमहति हृदयं
गूढविश्रम्भकृत्ये नित्यं हस्त्य[श्वनेता ?] रिपुषु [पुर ?]व(ब)लाध्यक्ष एकस्वगोप्ता। निर्ज्जेता
शात्रवा[णाम]⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑[शः] सर्व्ववीरैक[धु]र्यः कार्ये कस्मिन्न सोभूदभिमतसचिवः
कीर्त्तिवर्म्मेश्वरस्य ॥[३०॥] युक्तश्चेत्स-

18 चिवो गुणैरभिजनप्रज्ञा[शुचि]त्वादिभिर्न्नेता स्यान्न त[दा]स्फुटं नृपतिना काचिद्दुरापोन्नतिः। तस्मिन्नेतृ-
वरेऽनुशासति [धरां य]त्कीर्त्तिवर्म्मप्रभुः कीर्त्या स[च्च]रितैः श्रिया च जितवान्धर्म्मात्म[जं[2]
नाद्भुतं](तम् ?)] ॥ [३१॥] – – –ध्वरवह्निधूमनिवहैरत्यर्थमभ्रंलिहैरभ्रभ्रान्तिभृतामशेष-
शिखिनां नृत्त-

19 क्रियाहेतुभिः। – – – ⏑ तलो ⏑ – [पि ?] म[घ]वा यज्ञान्श(ज्ञांश) – –[ष्यते]
धर्म्मस्तस्य गुणोत्तरे हि गणयत्य[ल्पं न दो ?]षं महान् ॥३२॥] आ[स]र्व्वा नाम महार्हव्वन्श-
(वंश)जा पुण्यचरितमहनीया। अनसूयात्रिमुनेरिव ॥[३३॥]
द्वितीयापि च तस्याभूद्भार्या सत्कुलसम्भवा। क्षमाशीलार्ज्ज-

20 ॥[३४॥] [न]मनघं(घम्)। वत्सं
नाम सुधर्म्माधिष्ठितम[भ्यु]न्नतं सुनेत्रमिव॥ [३५॥] – –:[4] स्वच्छ[म]तिर्विशुद्धचरितः
सौजन्यरत्नाकरो वि[ष्णुर्द्दोष]हरश्च शौर्यगरिमव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण्य – – ⏑ ⏓। – – – ⏑
[गदा]धरो गुणनिधिः साधुप्रियो वामनः प्र-

21 द्युम्नश्च [बभूवु ?] – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ॥[३६॥] – –
⏑ – ⏑ [वि ?]भुनातिगुणानुरा[गा]त्सल्लक्षणक्षितिभुजा च परीक्ष्य [सम्यक् ?] सर्व्वेऽ[मुनान्य ?]
⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ रं नियुक्ताः कार्येषु सुज्ञशुचिशूरजनोचितेषु ॥[३७॥] अथ सल्लक्षणवर्म्म-
[प्रभु] पुनः। अन्तर्व्वेदीविषये

22 ॥[३८॥] – – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑
– – ⏑ ⏓ शौर्योद्रेकविनिर्ज्जिता निजविभोः पादावनम्रीकृताः। कृत्वा कण्टकशोधनं
जनपदेऽपास्य प्रजानां भयं ताभ्यः संविदधे च वृद्धिरसमा कोशस्य दण्डस्य च ॥[३९॥]
हित्वा देहन्त्रिदश ⏑ ⏑ – [5] भानुकन्याजला[न्त]ः श्लाघ्योऽनन्ते ⏑

23 ⏑ ⏑ [पर]मं व्र(ब्र)ह्मसायुज्यमाप्ते। शास्तारीणामिति स जयवर्म्मावनीन्द्रेण यत्नादात्मासत्तौ[6] प्रथित-
महिमा प्रातिहार्ये नियुक्तः ॥४०॥] मौलः सद्वन्श(द्वंश)जन्मा शुचिरमलमतिः शास्त्रविद् दृष्टकर्म्मा
वाग्मी दक्षः प्रगल्भः करितुरगरथारोहविज्ञः कृता[स्त्रः]। [मन्त्रे गूढो ?]ऽनुरागप्रभृतिगुणयुतश्चे-

24 ⏑ – – [नुभाव्यः] श्रीपृथ्वीवर्म्मनाम्ना तदनु नृपतिना मन्त्रिमुख्यश्च चक्र ॥[४१॥] सर्व्वैरङ्गैः
समृद्धं व्यधित निपुणधीस्तस्य राज्ञोऽथ राज्यं साचि[व्यं] बिभ्रदुच्चैस्तदनु च मदनक्षोणिपालस्य
सोऽयं(यम्)। षाड्गुण्यादिप्रयोगैः [स]मयसमुचितैः प्रह्वभावं नरेन्द्रान्नीत्वा सर्व्वान्क्रमेण व्यतनुत
वसुधैश्वर्यमेकात[पत्रम्] ॥[४२॥]

The letters omitted here in Kielhorn's reading may have been -स्तन:सत्य-, or similar to them. He also takes स रामस्य as one word but it cannot be construed in the verse.

[2] That is, Yudhishthira. The first three *aksharas* of the next stanza may conjecturally be supplied as प्रारब्धा(ब्धा).

[3] The missing *aksharas* may be conjecturally restored as पतिव्रता तस्य दयिताभूत्

[4] Metrically प्राज्ञः would suit here.

The three missing *aksharas* here may have been तटिनी.

[6] This foot shows wrong pause by separating the first three aksharas from the fourth of the name.

[7] Cf. *Śiśupāla-vadha*, II. 93

25 – – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ क्षमोपि विविधैर्युक्तो गुणौघैरपि श्रीमान्नोद्धतिमान्गदाधर इति व्रू(ब्रू)तं
जनोऽयं [स्वयं(यम्) ?]। गाम्भीर्येण पयोनिधि ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – –
[प्यसौ] वु(बु)द्ध्याधःकृतवान्गुरुं ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – [केनो]न्नतिर्भूयसी[1]॥४३॥ कलत्रं
सन्तत्यै श्रुतमपि सदाचा[रवि]धये म[हीभू]त्यै वेदा वसु सकललोको[पकृतये ?]
26 ⏑ – – – – – [प्रव]णमनसस्तस्य चरितैः कलिस्तं प्रत्यस्तंगत इव स मेने खलु जनैः
॥[४४॥] पुत्राः श्रीधरविद्याधराद[यो] यद्गुणैर्ज्जगज्जयिनः। तस्याभूव[न्स]ततो धुरि स्थितः
सर्व्वपुत्रवतां(ताम्) ॥[४५॥] इष्टापूर्त्तप्रचुर[सु]कृतारम्भनित्यादृतेन प्रासादोऽयं ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
युतस्तेन निर्म्माप्यते स्म। प्रत्य – – ⏑ ⏑
27 ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – – [2]यणोऽस्मिन्देवः सोऽयं वसु हि महतां पुण्यकर्म्मोपयोगि
॥[४६॥] किञ्चात्यर्थं विशुद्धै[र्व्व]सुभिरतिमहान्कारितस्तेन यत्ना[द्दे]द्ग्रामस्य सीम्नि
प्रचुरपृथुशिलाव(ब)न्धरम्य[स्तडा]गः कूलेऽभेद्य[न्तदन्यो]पलमयरचना – ⏑ – – ⏑ – ⏑;
– – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ – –
⏑ – ⏑ ॥[४७॥]
28 ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ –; ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ णप्रदेशे।
घटिताश्मकदम्व(म्ब)केन व(ब)द्धो ⏑ [र]णः[3] कारित इ[न्दु]गौरनीरः ॥[४८॥] [कें]डीना[म]
· · · · · · · ग्रामस[न्नि]धाने [च]। कृतिना जनोपकृतये · · · · · [4] [सज्जला वापी] ॥[४९॥]
29 · · · · · · ·

No. 126 ; Plate CXIII

SĒMRĀ COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF PARAMARDIDĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1223

THE plates on which this record is engraved are said to have been found in September 1892, at **Sēmrā**,[6] a village in the former State of Bijāwar which is now the chief town of a *tehsīl* in the Chhatarpur District of the Bundelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh. The actual circumstances of their discovery are not known, but it is stated that the plates were presented to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, by the Chief of Bijāwar, through the Political Agent at Nowgong. The inscription was brought to notice by A. Führer who took impressions, and sent the same to Professor Bühler; and from these impressions the record was edited by W. Cartellieri, with facsimiles of the first two sides out of four in all, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV (1896-97), pp. 153 ff. The inscription is edited here from two sets of impressions prepared and made

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[1] This verse appears to have a pun in the word Gadādhara, also meaning Vishṇu, but unfortunately it is much lost.

[2] It is easy to conjecture the two *aksharas* -नारा- here so as to complete the verse.

[3] The first *akshara* appears to have been *jha* in view of the following.

[4] As for these *aksharas* Kielhorn noted that they may possibly be read on the original, but in the absence of it, I suggest स्वनिता वित्त here, which also suit the metre.

[5] Kielhorn has noted that at the end of l. 28 some of the *aksharas* are completely lost and it is not possible to know whether there was more writing after l. 29. But I think the poet's name and the year of the record may have been given here, as is usually the case.

[6] The village lies in the extreme south-west borders of the *parganā*, about 32 kms. south-west of Bijāwar. It is about 15 kms. west of Shāhgaḍh, a Police-station in the Sāgar District, and about 50 kms. south-east of Lalitpur, a *tehsīl* in the Jhānsī District and a station between Vidishā and Jhānsī on the Central Railway.

over to me, at my request, by the Director of the Museum at Lucknow, to whom my thanks are due.

The record is on three massive plates of copper, large in size, each measuring about 65·75 cms. broad by 19·50 cms. high. All round the rims, flat bands apparently of copper and about 1 cm. broad, are fastened, by rivets, on the inscribed side of each of them, so as to approach quite close to the writing and occasionally hiding a part of a letter here and there. Each plate contains a hole, 2 cms. in diameter and interrupting the continuity of writing in the middle of two or three lines on each, at the top or bottom, apparently for a ring to pass through and hold them together.[1] The writing is also interrupted by a rectangular space, measuring 7 cms. each side and carved in the middle of the first five lines, containing a representation of the goddess Lakshmī, seated on a lotus and being sprinkled with water by an elephant on either side, as to be found generally on Chandēlla charters.

The second of the plates, which is full of verdigris, is inscribed on both the sides and the rest two on the inner side only. The height of the individual letters is about 1 cm. The record consists of one hundred and twenty-four lines, twenty-nine of which are engraved on the first plate, thirty-one on the first side of the second, and the rest are equally distributed on the other side of the second and on the third plate. All the three plates together weigh 5 kgms. and 600 gms.

The writing is in a state of good preservation, except that one *akshara* here and another there is wholly or partially lost, though it can be supplied from the context. The letters on the middle portion of ll. 67-77 (on the reverse side of the second plate) are either slightly rubbed or are not deeply carved, probably in view of the fact that it bears letters on both the sides. The letters are well formed but not carefully cut, as to be shown below.

The characters are Nāgarī of the twelfth century A.C., resembling those of the Mahōbā inscription of the time of Kīrtivarman, as already observed by Cartellieri, and as we may also note, those of the Bhārat-Kalā-Bhavan grant of Madanavarman, which was engraved about 30 years prior to the present inscription.[2] As regards the individual letters, attention may be drawn to the two forms of the vowel *a*, one, *e.g.*, in *Ajai-*, l. 74, and the other in *Asadhara-*, l. 75, to the formation of *k* which is sometimes in ligature, *e.g.*, in *-daśaka*, occurring thrice in l. 7, to that of the conjunct *gg* engraved as *gn*, as in *Bhārggava*, l. 29, and to that of *ch* and *v*, both of which are almost similar, *e.g.*, in *vācha-*, l. 5, where we have both these *aksharas* quite alike. Whether *ṅ* had developed a dot or not cannot be clearly known : it however appears possible that the dot was marked in the original, but was engraved so lightly that it could not come out in the impression, as some other signs and parts of letters also. *Dh* is in a transitional state, sometimes appearing without a horn so as to resemble *v*, *e.g.*, in *sādha-*, l. 10, whereas in a few instances it is engraved with a horn on its left limb : the horn is often slanting, as in *-dhvajē*, l. 4, but occasionally it is curved and is either joined to the top of the vertical of the letter, *e.g.*, in *-adhi-*, l. 4, or to that of the *mātrā* attached to it, *e.g.*, in the same prefix in l. 2. The subscript form of this letter, however, is always devoid of the horn. *Bh* often resembles *t*, of course by a wrong stroke, as in *bhūta-bhavishyad-*, l. 10. *R*, which has generally assumed its modern Nāgarī form, is often confounded with *v-*, *e.g.*, in *-mahēśvara-*, l. 4 : sometimes it ends in a wedge, as in *-gōtra*, l. 31, and occasionally, it is only a vertical line with a stroke attached to its middle, on the left, as in *Visvarūpa-*, l. 40. The subscript *r* shows the full form of the letter with its superscript half-drawn, cf., *e.g.*, *Chandrātrēya-*, l. 1. It may also be noted here that some of the numerical symbols bear top-strokes as the *aksharas*. And lastly, a final consonant in some instances is either not clearly marked or is indicated by its smaller size.

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[1] Cartellieri observed that the plates were 'joined by a plain ring'. But I am informed by the Director of the Museum at Lucknow that the ring is missing. To give some more details which I noted in my personal examination of the plates, I found that strips of copper, 0·8 to 1 cm. broad, are fastened to each of the inscribed sides, with ten nails of copper, on each of the horizontal, and seven on each of the vertical sides, so as to show the thickness of the strips in the case of the first and the third plate to be 0·5 cm. each and in case of the second plate, which is inscribed on both the sides, it is almost double of this. All the rivets are still intact. The letters are fairly deep but do not show through on the back of the plates which are sufficiently thick.

[2] In V.S. 1192. Above, No. 119.

Cartellieri has already drawn attention to the 'uncouth' forms of some of the *aksharas*; *e.g.*, *ēsha-* with the following *daṇḍa* in ll. 6 and 73, is engraved as *pakā*; *k* is occasionally engraved as *p*, *e.g.*, in *Kuladhara*, l. 93, and *p* as a perfect rectangle in *pada-*, l. 31. Instances of occasionally omitting limbs of letters are common, *e.g.*, in *Dāmōdara-*, l. 110, *m* is cut as *g*; in *padārddham*, l. 58, *m* is engraved as *n*, and in *Vasishṭha*, l. 57 and in some other instances below (in ll. 115 and 116) the slanting stroke of *sh* distinguishing the letter from *p* is omitted, and in l. 123, *alikhat* appears as *ālakhat*, without the curve of the *mātrā* on the second of these *aksharas*. The signs of *anusvāras* and of the superscript *r* are often omitted; and all such flaws make it difficult to ascertain the exact forms of the proper names which are numerous in the record and in which the influence of local elements is also throughout noticeable. To give one example only, in ll. 48 and 56 the consonants of the letters giving a name are so formed as to make it read as *Dhāvaṇa*, *Vāvaṇa*, *Vāchaṇa* and *Rāvaṇa*, *etc.*; and this sort of sloven engraving is also responsible for the reading *Vāsē-gōtra* in place of *vatsa-* the letter *t* appearing as a *pṛishṭha-mātrā*, as actually taken by Cartellieri without noticing the flaw.

The **language** is Sanskrit, which is occasionally incorrect, particularly in the long list of names of the donees which are all in their local forms,[1] and also in the names of the villages. The record is in prose, except for the initial verse as to be found to commence the Chandēlla grants, one verse eulogising the donor in ll. 4-6, and five verses towards the end in ll. 120-24. The verses are not numbered. As regards **orthographical** peculiarities, we notice (1) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well, *e.g.*, in *-vōdha-*, l. 9; (2) a confusion between the dental and the palatal sibilant as in *vaśundharā-*, l. 6, and *śākhā*, l. 15; (3) occasional reduplication of a class-consonant following *r*; see *-Paramarddi-*, l. 4, but also *-chandrārka-*, l. 16; (4) The wrong change of *anusvāra* to *m*, as in *samvat*, l. 13; and finally, (5) the use of a *pṛishṭha-mātrā* with a few exceptions as in *Kēśava* and *gōtra*, both in l. 82. The *pṛishṭha-mātrā* is often confounded with the vertical stroke, which is also used to show that the letter preceding it is a concise form (of a surname), and also confounded with the sign for medial *ā*; *e.g.*, in l. 59, we cannot make it certain whether the name is *Jahēḍa* or *Jāhaḍa*; (6) the *daṇḍa* is also often superfluous, *e.g.*, after *sē* in *vasēt*, l. 13; *sandhis* are generally neglected in the formal portion of the record which abounds in names; and we have examples of wrong *sandhis* also, *e.g.*, in *chaturihānsa*, ll. 36, 39, 40 and below; and in *maṅgalan-mahāśrīḥ* in the end; (7) The Prākrit word *satka* in the sense of 'belonging to' is used more than once, *e.g.*, in l. 7 and below, besides some other Prākrit words as *pañchēla* in l. 8 and *Laṭiā* in l. 12, which are also occasionally to be seen; and, last of all to mention, (8) that the local element throughout prevails, not only in the names but also in some other instances, *e.g.*, in the spellings of names as in *Dharmmāṇaṁda* in l. 116, *rishi* for *ṛishi* in ll. 33 and below, *sāmi* for *svāmi* in l. 44, *Yayurvvēda* for *Yajurvēda* in l. 62, and *krimi* for *kṛimi* in l. 121. All these and such other errors have also been drawn attention to in the text that follows, in addition to the cases of scratching or scoring off the original writings and also over-writing that we find occasionally.

The plates were issued by the *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Paramardidēva** of the royal house of the **Chandēllas**. The object is to record the confirmation of a grant, from his camp at **Sōnasara**, for the sake of the increase of his own and his parents' merit and fame, of the villages which had already been donated to certain Brāhmaṇas by his grandfather, the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* **Madanavarman**, from his camp at **Vāridurga** on the **fifteenth of the dark half of Māgha, Thursday, of the (Vikrama) era 1219**. The day and the date correspond to Thursday, the **15th of February, 1162 A.C.**, taking the month to be *amānta*; but, as already aptly remarked by Cartellieri himself, the solar eclipse mentioned in the inscription did not take place on that day but on the preceding new-moon day, the 17th

[1] Some of these names can be traced to their original Sanskrit forms, *e.g.*, *Pajūna*, ll. 39 and 94, to Pradyumna, *Tīkama*, l. 21 and *Tīkava*, l. 25, to Trivikrama, and Vīṭhu, l. 96, to Viṭṭhala. But the names like *Asadhara*, l. 63, create a difficulty to ascertain whether it is a corrupt form of Aśvadhara or Āśādhara. It may be noted here that the suffix *ka* is often added to a name not ending in *a*, to form the genetive, *e.g.* in l. 31 we read not only *Pālhū-putra* but also *Pālhūkasya*, clearly showing an addition. The other examples of this type are *Risūkasya*, l. 22, *Dēlhākasya*, l. 25 and *Rilhēkasya*, l. 38.

January, and was visible all over India.[1] Thus the reckoning was according to the *pūrṇimānta* month, but according to it, the week-day was Wednesday. The date of the grant confirmed by Paramardin is stated in figures only: it was **7th of the bright half of Vaiśākha, Thursday, 1223 of the (Vikrama) era,** which, following the southern *expired* year, regularly corresponds to **27th of April, 1167 A.C.**[2]

After the auspicious symbol followed by the verse eulogising the royal Chandēlla house and generally occurring at the commencement of the inscriptions of the house, the present grant gives the pedigree of the donor, introducing the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Prithvīvarman,** his successor, the illustrious *P.M.P.* **Madanavarman,** and the latter's successor, the illustrious *P.M.P.* **Paramardidēva,** and says that he was a devout worshipper of Siva, and the sole lord of Kālañjara. Then, we have a verse which conventionally glorifies Paramardin and states that he excelled Cupid by his handsome form, the ocean by depth (soberness), the Sun by his lustre, Brihaspati by his wisdom and Yudhishṭhira by his truthfulness. This verse is an exact copy of the one occurring in the corresponding portion of Madanavarman's Bhārat-Kalā-Bhavan grant.[3] With reference to the genealogy occurring in the present grant, we have to observe that the names of the first two of the rulers mentioned here are already known from the other records of the house, and the present inscription supplements our knowledge by stating that Paramardin was the grandson of Madanavarman.[4] The latter's son was **Yaśōvarman,** whose name occurs only in the Baṭēśvara stone inscription of Paramardin; and whether he ruled or not will be seen while dealing with that inscription where there is a proper place for it.

The necessity for Paramardin to confirm the grant which was made by his grandfather Madanavarman in V.S. 1219, suggests that the latter may have died soon after the grant was made and it could not possibly be stabilised. Indeed, we have no record to show Madanavarman's name after this date. And the suggestion made here receives a strong corroboration from the fact that Madanavarman's last known year is V.S. 1220 or 1163 A.C.;[5] and during his last days his attention may have been constantly required in driving off the Chaulukya army which under Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (1094-1143 A.C.) had already annexed the Paramāra dominions and began to invade the territories of the Chandēllas, as we have already seen in the political history of the house.[6]

The **villages** which were donated are mentioned in ll. 7 ff. They are:

(1) In the district (*vishaya*) of Vikraura, Khaṭauḍā-12, Ṭāṇṭa-12, belonging to Rālha, and Hāṭa-18, and Sēsayi-grāma.

(2) In the district (*vishaya*) of Dudhai, Pilikhiṇi-*pañchēla* (group of five?) and Iṭāva-*pañchēla*.

(3) In the district (*vishaya*) of Vaḍavāri, Isarahara-pañchēla, Uladaṇa and Kakaradaha.

(4) In Gōkula (?), Hathidahā ll. 7-8.

The mention of the procedure of sanctioning the grant begins in l. 10; it is all common, as stated in the other grants of the house and need not be repeated here. It is also stated here that the king donated all these villages with the exception of the following:— The town of Madanapura and the ground belonging thereto, (*viz.*,) Gaḍḍarakula, and the glorious deity Sōmanātha, further, the villages of Vaḍavāri and Dudhai, the property belonging to Liṅgiā and Jalhuā connected with the town of Madanapura, and also a plot of land in it, measuring four ploughs which is the property of the Laṭiās and is connected with the Ajayasāgar (ll. 11-12).

The **donees** are mentioned in ll. 17 ff. Their total number was 309 and they had immigrated from the various *agrahāras* of learned persons (*bhaṭṭāgrahāra*) and belonged to the various

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 156. It may be remarked here that the charity in honour of a lunar eclipse is given actually on the next day when the eclipse is over. Also see *I. N. I.*, No. 313. *n.*

[2] See *I. N. I.*, No. 325.

[3] Above, No. 119, text ll. 4-6. It may be observed here that the present grant copied many of its expressions from the same.

[4] By the use of the expression *'asmat-pitāmahēna'* in l. 13.

[5] Vide the Mahōbā Jaina Image inscription, Cunningham's *A. S. I.*, Vol. II, p. 448, No. 25. It is not traceable now.

[6] Also see the Kālañjara stone instription of Vīravarman (undated), No. 148, below, which claims that Madanavarman defeated the king of Gūrjara (*i.e.*, Jayasiṁha).

gōtras. It is interesting to note that this list also includes a general and a *pratīhārī* (ll. 19-20), who appear to have been Brāhmaṇas like the others. Most of the Brāhmaṇas were also distinguished by their surnames which were subject to change from father to son in the period to which the grant belongs.[1]

The names of the donees are arranged according to their Vēdas, *gōtras*, fathers' names with their surnames given in an abbreviated form, followed by their own names with surnames in the abbreviated form, each of these being separated by a vertical stroke, and in the end is the mention of the share *(pada)* which he received. This procedure is occasionally deviated, *e.g.*, in l. 74, where more than one donee is mentioned together, and also in ll. 113 and 115 where their names are jointly mentioned with the expression *samāsatvē*. Another point that is worth noting here is that in l. 113 the number of the Brāhmaṇas mentioned in a group is written 82, in figures, and after the use of the expression *samāsatvē*, the shares which were really 41, as each of them was to receive a half, are mentioned to be 43, both in figures and words. It is thus evident that the remaining two shares consisted of land to be left fallow between the two adjoining fields.[2]

The gift was perpetual and was to be enjoyed by the donees and their sons and grandsons, in their turn. The conditions of the grant are mentioned in ll. 117-120; they are all usual, as to be found in the other Chandēlla grants. Following this, we have four benedictory and imprecatory verses in ll. 120-22, and then the **sign-manual** of the king in l. 123. This is followed by a verse giving the name of Prithvīdhara who wrote the document 'with distinct and elegantly formed characters and under the order of the king.' Pṛithvīdhara is stated to have belonged to the Vāstavya family of the exalted name, who had performed meritorious acts and possessed all good qualities and who was the writer of religious documents. A prose portion in the end states that the grant was incised by the brazier Pālhaṇa;[3] and with the expressions meaning "auspiciousness, great fortune," the inscription comes to a close.

Most of the **place-names** occurring in the present inscription have already been identified. **Vikaura,** which is probably the same as Vikrauṇī of the Garrāḥ plates of Trailōkyavarman,[4] is Beekore of the maps, situated in N.L. 24° 13′ and E.L. 78° 41′ in Sāgar District. It is about 6 kms. south-west of Madanapur. **Khataudā** (Khutourea) and **Sēsayī** (Sajee ?), as noted by Cartellierie, lie south-east of Beekore. **Dudhai,** mentioned as the principal town of another territorial division of the grant, is the modern place retaining its name in the form of Dudāhī (N.L. 24° 26′: E.L. 78° 27′) and the find-spot of the inscriptions of Krishṇapa, Dhaṅga's brother.[5] **Itāva** as suggested by Cartellierie, is the modern Etāwah (N.L. 24° 12′; E.L. 78° 16′). While proposing this identification he had some doubt, but his conjecture is justified by the consideration that the place lies about 30 kms. south-west of Dudāhī i.e., the modern Bīnā, a railway junction between Bhōpāl and Jhāṅsī and is known by its complete name Binā-Etāwa, in the khuraī *tehsīl* of the Sāgar District. **Vaḍavāri,** still another district mentioned in the inscription, is probably represented by the modern Bērwārā (N.L. 24° 30′; N.L. 78° 41′); and **Uladana** has been identified with Ooldana-khurd, about 12 kms. north-east of Madanapur but a place more appropriately falling in the *vishaya* in which it is stated to have been then included, is Uldan (24° 00′ N.; 78′ 45 E.), situated about 15 kms. south by east of Baṇḍā, the headquarters of a *tehsīl* in the Sāgar District. This place is on the junction of the rivers Dhasan and Bhander and a legend is associated with it.[6] **Patha,** as read by Cartellieri in ll. 8-9, has been identified by him with the modern place of the same name lying about 6 kms. east of Bērwārā.

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[1] For example, in l. 41, the father of Ālhū who was a *Chau.* i.e., Chaturvēdin, is mentioned as *dvivēdin*, and in the line that follows, the father is mentioned as *Paṁḍita* but the son as *Ṭhakkura*. For similar examples, see above, No. 60.

[2] For another instance of the kind, see above, No. 51.

[3] It may be noted that Nos. 129-130 were also written and engraved respectively by the same persons. Pālhaṇa also engraved Nos. 129-132, 134.

[4] Below, No. 141. The name of the place is spelt as Bikaura by Cunningham, who noticed some small temples there. See his *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 175.

[5] Above, Nos. 101-106.

[6] See *Gaz. of Sāgar Dist.*, 1965, p. 549; *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 173 f.

Kakaradaha, another village situated in the Vaḍavārī *vishaya*, appears to be identical with Karhaiyā, lying about 55 kms. south-southwest of Lalitpur. This place is also mentioned in the grant of Trailōkyavarman, as to be seen below. **Madanapura,** which still retains its old name, is the find-spot of Prithvīrāja's inscriptions[1]: it is about 38 kms. to the south-east of Dudāhī. **Sōnasara,** which is stated in the grant to have been the camp of Madanavarman, has not been previously identified. It appears to be identical with Saunsar, the headquarters of a *tehsīl* in the Chhindwāḍā District of Madhya Pradesh. The rest of the localities cannot be traced. It may, however, be stated here that a study of all these place-names reveals that Paramardin's kingdom comprised, besides his main dominions in Bundelkhand, the whole of the present Lalitpur division of the Jhānsī District stretching to the west up to the Bētwā and to the south up to some parts in the Chhindwāḍā District

APPENDIX

As prepared by Cartellieri (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 170 ff).

A. *List of Names of gōtras*

Atri, ll. 59, 68, 79 (twice).
Bābhravya, l. 23.
Bandhula, ll. 38, 95, 112.
Baudhāyana, l. 80.
Bharadvāja, ll. 18, 20, 23, 24, 45, 51, 61, 62 (twice), 63 (twice), 64, 65, 71, 73, 75, 76 (twice), 77, 79, 87, 91, 92, 95, 97, 98, 100, 102, 105, 106, 107, 108 (twice), 111 (twice), 112 (twice), 113, 114. Bhāradvāja, ll. 85, 86.
Bhārgava, ll. 21, 29, 43 (twice), 44, 46, 47, 48, 50, 51, 53, 56, 78, 92, 112.
Chandrātrēya, ll. 37, 53, 66 (twice).
Darbhi, l. 94 (three times).
Dārḍhyachyuta, ll. 51, 52.
Dhaumya, ll. 52, 53, 57.
Garga, ll. 95, 100, 106, 107 ; Gārgya, ll. 47, 59.
Gautama, ll. 17, 18, 22, 27, 29, 36 (twice), 38, 39 (twice), 44, 49, 52, 57, 65 (twice), 76, 84, 87, 96, 97, 109 (twice), 111, 114, 115. Gōtama, ll. 25, 95.
Jātūkarṇa, l. 104.
Jīvantāyana, ll. 89, 109.
Kaśyapa, ll. 17, 21, 23, 24, 25, 31, 32, 33 (twice), 34, 35, 38, 41, 42, 48, 49, 54, 55, 56 (twice), 60, 62, 63, 68, 74, 75, 82, 83, 84, 86, 88 (twice), 91, 92, 96, 98, 99, 100, 101, 104 (twice), 107, 109, 110, 112, 113.
Kātyāyana, l. 102.
Kauṇḍinya, ll. 34, 80, 81.
Kauśika, ll. 30, 61, 67, 78, 82, 83, 85 (twice), 104, 105 (three times).
Kautsa, ll. 27, 40, 64, 97.
Krishṇātrēya, ll. 20, 21, 25, 28, 32, 37 (twice), 40, 58, 89, 103, 110, 116.
Kutsa, ll. 44, 58.
Laugākshi, l. 91.
Māhula, l. 70.
Māṇḍavya, l. 32.
Maudgalya, ll. 73, 85, 88, 107.
Mauna, ll. 86, 97, 103 (twice).
Pāṇini, ll. 41, 42.
Parāśara, ll. 28, 30, 31, 34, 35, 55, 64, 69 (twice), 71, 75, 77, 80, 81, 83, 84, 87, 93, 101, 102, 115, 116 (twice).
Sāṁkritya, ll. 18, 22, 33, 72, 87, 98, 101, 102, 106, 114.
Śāṇḍilya, ll. 22, 45, 49, 50, 60, 78, 81, 89, 90 (twice), 96, 100.
Sauśravasa, l. 27.
Sāvarṇya, l. 99.
Traikāyaṇa, ll. 19 (twice), 43, 54, 66, 67.
Upamanyu, ll. 17, 47, 48, 76, 96, 111.
Vasē, l. 106.
Vasishṭha, ll. 26 (twice), 30, 35, 41, 42, 54, 55, 57, 58, 59, 69, 71, 72, 108 (twice), 110.
Vatsa, ll. 36, 40, 68, 70 (twice), 74, 77, 82, 83, 99 (twice), 101.
Vishṇuvṛiddha, l. 93.

B. *List of Names of Men.*

Ābhaṭa, l. 106.
Abhinanda, l. 66 (twice).
Ajai, l. 74.
Ajau, l. 101.
Ajayapāla, ll. 19, 20, 67 (twice).
Ālhaṇa, ll. 23, 33, 55, 63, 77, 107, 111.
Ālhī, l. 90 (twice).
Ālhū, l. 108. Gen. Ālhūkasya, ll. 35, 41.
Āmadēva, ll. 45, 102, 112, 114.
Ānanda, ll. 20, 62, 93, 94.
Aṇatapāla, l. 55.
Asadhara, ll. 53, 63, 64, 75, 111.
Avasara, l. 24.

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[1] Cunningham, *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 173-174.

Bahudhara, l. 114.
Bāhula, l. 24.
Bahuladēva, l. 51.
[Bhābhū], Gen. Bhābhūkasya, ll. 77, 84.
Bhadrēśvara, l. 110.
Bhānika, l. 71.
Bhāskara, ll. 32, 52, 81, 84.
Bhavanasāmi (perhaps Bhuvana), l. 44.
Bhāvaśarman, l. 84.
Bhāyila, l. 53.
Bhōgāditya, l. 48.
Bōdhanē, l. 17.
Brahman, ll. 43, 47, 77, 110.

Chakrasvāmin, ll. 82, 101.
Chandrāditya, l. 60.
Chaturbhuja, l. 32.
Chaubhuja, l. 65.
Chhītū, l. 101.

Dāmara, ll. 80, 89.
Dāmōdara, ll. 29, 30, 31, 32, 72, 109, 110.
Dāū, l. 100.
[Dāyī], Gen. Dāyīkasya, l. 29.
Dēda, l. 112.
Dēdē, ll. 104, 108.
Dēdi, l. 116.
Dēhula, l. 33.
Dēlha, l. 90.
[Dēlhā], Gen. Dēlhākasya, l. 25.
Dēlhaṇa, ll. 21, 44, 98.
Dēlhū, l. 35. Gen. Dēlhūkasya, l. 21.
Dēū, ll. 97, 114. Gen. Deūkasya, ll. 36, 57, 72, 92.
Dēvadatta, ll. 34, 42.
Dēvadhana, l. 105.
Dēvadhara, ll. 95, 96, 113.
Dēvahara, l. 105.
Dēvanābha, ll. 87, 104.
Dēvarshi, ll. 48, 73.
Dēvaśarman, ll. 17, 41, 62, 74, 75, 87, 102.
Dēvavrata, l. 33.
Dēvēśvara, ll. 56, 86.
Dēvīsa, l. 115.
[Dhāndhē], Gen. Dhāndhēkasya, l. 18.
Dhānū, l. 72.
Dharaṇīdhara, ll. 26, 28, 70, 74, 79, 85, 86, 101, 102, 103, 113.
Dharmadhara, l. 112.
Dharmānanda, l. 66. Dharmāṇanda, l. 116.
Dēlhaṇa, l. 23.
Dinakara, l. 105.
Divākara, ll. 58, 81, 83.

Gadādhara, l. 100.
Gāgē, ll. 78, 92 (?); Gen. Gāgēkasya, l. 66.
Gāgū, ll. 43, 74, 92 (?); Gen. Gāgūkasya, l. 87.
Gālhaṇa, ll. 23, 75.
Galhē, l. 94.
[Gālhē], Gen. Gālhēkasya, l. 32.
[Gālhū], Gen. Gālhūkasya, l. 80.
Gāmē, l. 100.
Gaṅgādhara, ll. 23, 29, 35, 54, 59, 95, 99 (twice), 111.
Gāṅgū, ll. 57, 102.
Gāsala, ll. 62, 63, 71.
Gautama, l. 24.
Gayādhara, ll. 26, 69, 73, 100, 104, 115.

Gōdhaṇa, l. 94.
Gōhaḍa, ll. 82, 83.
Gōlhē, ll. 36, 110.
Gōpati, l. 91.
Gōsē, l. 91.
Gōṭha, ll. 70, 86.
Gōvinda, ll. 18, 27, 39, 46, 49, 55, 57, 93, 101, 114.

Hāla, l. 60.
Hari, ll. 24, 41, 45, 104, 112.
Haridatta, l. 78.
Haridhara, l. 99.
Hariśarman, ll. 36, 116.
Hīrāditya, l. 97.
Hiraṇya, l. 99.

Jāḍū, l. 42.
Jagaddhara, ll. 26, 56.
Jāgarshi, ll. 108, 110
Jagasīha, l. 101.
Jagē, l. 27.
[Jāgū], Gen. Jāgūkasya, l. 78.
Jāhaḍa, ll. 59, 61, 79, 115.
Jāhula, l. 38.
[Jaitē], Gen. Jaitēkasya, l. 36.
Jaitanābha, l. 88.
Jālhaṇa, l. 68.
[Jālhē], Gen. Jālhēkasya, ll. 27, 33.
Jālhū, l. 52. Gen. Jālhūkasya, ll. 77, 87.
Jayadratha, ll. 109, 112.
Jayāṇanda, l. 93.
Jayaśarman, ll. 62, 71, 84, 116 (twice).
Jayasīha, l. 110.

Kadū, l. 37.
Kamalāsana, l. 70.
Kāmē, l. 42.
Kanāditya, l. 106.
Kanasāmi, ll. 36,39.
[Kāndū], Gen. Kāndūkasya, l. 23.
Kapilēśvara, l. 51.
Kēśava, ll. 17, 46, 52, 60, 62, 82, 85, 92, 100, 102, 106, 114.
Kīlhaṇa, ll. 19, 72, 108.
Kīrtidhara, l. 83.
Kīrtinābha, l. 104.
Kīthaṇa, l. 69.
Kōkā, l. 40.
Krishṇa, ll. 100, 113.
Krishṇaśarman, l. 71.
Kūkē, ll. 95, 114.
Kuladhara, ll. 19, 93.
Kulāditya, l. 63.
Kulē, l. 111.
Kūlhaṇa, l. 112.
Kumāraśarman, l. 96.
Kunḍaṇa, l. 97.

Lāhaḍa, ll. 28, 51, 86, 87, 93, 98, 103.
Lakhaṇa, l. 79.
Lākhaṇa, l. 93.
Lakhaṇāditya, l. 72.
[Lākhū], Gen. Lākhūkasya, ll. 20, 39, 50, 54.
Lakshmīdhara, ll. 21, 22, 28, 37, 47, 61, 74, 77, 98, 108, 109.
Lālē, ll. 70, 110. Gen. Lālēkasya, l. 84.

Lōhaḍa, l. 18.
Lōlika, l. 106.
Mādhava, ll. 45, 87, 93, 111.

Mādhū, ll. 91, 92.
Madhuka, l. 80.
Madhusūdana, ll. 43, 49, 57, 59 (twice).
Māgha, l. 107.
Mahādēva, l. 106.
Mahāṇanda, ll. 41, 42.
Mahārāja, l. 67.
Mahāsāṇa, l. 47.
Mahāśarman, ll. 48, 67, 115.
Mahasū (?), l. 73.
Mahēśvara, ll. 87, 108, 112.
Mahīdhara, ll. 29, 50, 68, 77, 78, 88.
[Mahilū], Gen. Mahilūkasya, l. 61.
Mahindasvāmin, ll. 37, 39 (twice).
Mahīpāla, l. 61.
Mahula, l. 69.
Mālādhara, ll. 68, 81, 89, 96, 98.
Mālhā, l. 37 (twice).
Mālhaṇa, ll. 69, 90.
Mālhē, l. 34.
Mālhū, ll. 101, 109. Gen. Mālhūkasya, ll. 53, 63, 83.
Manāditya, l. 71.
Manōratha, l. 38.
Manu, l. 105.
[Mīlū], Gen. Mīlūkasya, l. 73.

Nāgaśarman, ll. 27, 30, 88, 111, 115, 116.
Nāhila, l. 36.
Nāmadēva, l. 49.
Narasiṁha, ll. 20, 62.
Nārāyaṇa, ll. 24, 26, 30, 32, 38, 42, 56, 58, 61, 77, 79 (twice), 86 (twice), 94, 103, 113.
Narōttama, l. 75.
Nāṭa, l. 35.
Nāṭē, l. 76.
Nīlakaṇṭha, l. 72.
Nimbadēva, l. 18.
Nimbaratha, l. 103.

Padmākara, ll. 80, 81.
Padmanābha, l. 31.
Padmasvāmin, l. 103.
Padumē, l. 106.
Pajjūna, ll. 39, 94.
Pālhaṇa, ll. 64, 75.
[Pālhē], Gen. Pālhēkasya, l. 21.
Pālhū, ll. 31, 80, 85. Gen. Pālhūkasya, ll. 25, 31, 58.
Pāṇini, l. 54.
Pāpā, l. 22.
Parāśara, l. 59.
Paraśurāma, l. 47.
Pariṇāha (? Pavaṇāha), ll. 23, 76.
Pīthana, ll. 52, 64, 69, 75, 95.
[Pīthū], Gen. Pīthūkasya, ll. 28, 37, 50, 82, 91.
Pīthuka, l. 76.
Prabhākara, l. 51.
Prithvīdhara, l. 65.
Purushōttama, ll. 24, 57, 65, 109.

Rāghava, l. 99.
Raidhē, l. 98.
Rājē, l. 104.
[Rālhē], Gen. Rālhēkasya, l. 92.
Rālhū, l. 107. Gen. Rālhūkasya, l. 54.
Rāma, ll. 34, 100, 109, 114.
Rāmachandra, l. 58.
Rāsala, ll. 89, 103.
Ratana, l. 111.
Ratnēśvara, l. 68.
Rāvaṇa, ll. 48, 56, 73.
[Rīlhē], Gen. Rīlhēkasya, l. 38.
[Rīlhū], Gen. Rīlhūkasya, ll. 35, 91.
Rīsaḍa, l. 40.
Rishi, ll. 33, 48 (twice), 57, 89.
Rishika, Gen. Rishikasya, l. 26.
Rishikēśa, ll. 52, 60, 99.
[Rīsū], Gen. Rīsūkasya, l. 22.
Rudra, ll. 101, 107.

Sābhū, l. 98.
[Sahajē], Gen. Sahajēkasya, l. 22.
Sahāraṇa, l. 104.
Śakunāditya, l. 107.
[Salakhaṇē], Gen. Salakhaṇēkasya, l. 68.
Sālhaṇa, ll. 90, 97, 108.
Sālhē, l. 96 (twice).
Sāṁgama, l. 83.
Sāṁtaṭa (? Sāṁbhaṭa), l. 97.
Śarmāditya, l. 60.
Sarvadhara, l. 41.
Śatānanda, l. 96.
Sīdhana, l. 103.
Sīhaḍa, l. 44.
Sīlaṇa, l. 45.
Sīlē, l. 95 (twice), 112.
[Sīlū], Gen. Sīlūkasya, l. 64.
Sīrī, ll. 19, 51. Gen. Sīrīkasya, l. 78.
Siū, l. 107.
Śivāditya, l. 82.
Sōla, l. 40.
Sōmadatta, l. 64.
Sōmadēva, ll. 53, 78.
Sōmarāja, l. 20.
Sōmē, ll. 99, 100. Gen. Sōmēkasya, l. 64.
Sōmēśvara, ll. 82, 83, 93.
Sōnaḍa, l. 89.
Sōṭē, l. 99.
Śrīdhara, ll. 34, 35, 76, 79, 80, 91.
Śrīkara, l. 105.
Śrīnivāsa, l. 65.
Śrīpāla, l. 96.
Śubhāditya, l. 90.
Śubhākara, l. 54.
Śubhaṁkara, ll. 41, 43, 52, 85.
Sūḍha, l. 76.
Sūhila, l. 110.
Suja, l. 65.
Sūlhaṇa, ll. 84, 97.
Sūpaṭa, ll. 65, 70 (twice), 104.
Surōttama, l. 74.
Svāṁbhū, l. 107.

Tālhū, l. 111.
Thānū, l. 102.
[Thēḍū (?)], Gen. Thēḍūkasya (?), l. 42.
Tīkama, ll. 21, 85.
Tīkava, ll. 18, 20, 25, 45, 50, 102.

Tilhū, l. 68.
Trilōchana, ll. 49, 55.

Udayanābha, l. 105.
Ūhaḍa, l. 74.
[Ūlhē], Gen. Ūlhēkasya, l. 85.
Uttarāditya, l. 98.

Vāchchha, ll. 22, 40, 106.
Vachchharāja, ll. 43, 67.
Vāchchhila, l. 70.
Vāchchhū, l. 108. Gen. Vāchchhūkasya, ll. 27, 45.
Vālhaṇa, ll. 31, 94.
Vālhē, l. 28. Gen. Vālhēkasya, ll. 47, 89.
[Valhū], Gen. Valhūkasya, ll. 26, 56, 84.
Vāmadēva, ll. 61, 82.
Vāmana, ll. 18, 33, 38.
Varāha, l. 38.
Vāsadhara, l. 58.
Vasū, l. 76.
Vāsudēva, ll. 34, 10, 46 (twice), 58, 94, 115.
Vāsuki, l. 67.
Vasūpāla, l. 54.
Vatsa, l. 88.
Vatsarāja, l. 107.
Vāū, l. 97.
Vāyī, l. 52.
Vēda, l. 59.
Vēdaśarman, l. 98.
Vēdū, ll. 73, 103.
Vidyādhara, ll. 31, 44, 56, 60, 81, 86, 88, 95, 108, 114.
Vidyānanda, l. 66.
Vijayasīha, l. 55.
Vīkaya, l. 82.
Vilhaṇa, l. 116.
Vīlhū, l. 85.
Vimalāditya, l. 25.
Vishṇu, ll. 17, 46.
Vishṇuśarman, l. 105.
Viśvarūpa, ll. 30, 40, 49, 50 (twice), 83.
Vīṭhu, l. 96. Gen. Vīṭhukasya, l. 53.

Yajñadhara, l. 44.
Yaśōdēva, l. 100.
Yaśōdhara, l. 91.

ABBREVIATIONS OF SURNAMES USED IN THE INSCRIPTION

A. or *Agni*	= Agnihōtrin.
Chau	= Probably, Chaudhuri, also figuring in No. 131, below.
Dī	= Dīkshita.
Dvi	= Dvivēda, or Dvivēdin.
Nā	= Nāyaka, found in some other Chandēlla records also.
Paṁ	= Paṁḍita, *i.e.*, Pandit.
Rā	= Rāüta (Rājaputra), or, Rājānaka.
Tri	= Trivēda, or Trivēdin.

Note :—The letters *Dvi, Tri,* and *Dī* are occasionally so formed as they could not be distinctly made out even on the original.

TEXT[1]

[Metres: Verses 1, *Anushṭubh*; v. 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 6 *Śālinī*; and v. 7 *Mālinī*.]

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[2]॥ स्वस्ति । जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वं विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः । चन्द्रात्रेयनरेन्द्राणां वंशश्चन्द्र इवोज्ज्वलः ॥[१] तत्र प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिवि-

2 जयभ्राजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्त्यादिवीराविर्भावभास्वरे परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वी[व]-

3 र्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रो[म]दनवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि-

4 राजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालञ्जराधिपतिश्रीम(न्म)त्परमर्द्दिदेवो[3] विजयी [।] सौन्दर्यम्मकरध्वजे जलनिधौ गा-

5 म्भीर्यमर्य्ये दिवोप्यैश्वर्य(र्यं) धिषणे धियं च तपसः सत्याञ्च वाचं मुते।[4] सृष्ट्वाभ्यासवसा(शा)द्गते परिणति(तिं) निम्मा(र्म्मा)णशिल्पे ध्रु[वं][5]य-

6 त्रासौ [नि][6]रमाय्यनन्यसदृशो धात्रा गुणानां गणः ॥[२] स एष दुर्व्विषहतरप्रतापतापितसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवधूमिव वशु(सु)न्धरान्निराकुलां

7 परिपालयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्म्मलीकृतमतिः । विकौरविषये खटौडाद्वादशक । तथा राल्हसत्कटां[ट]द्वादशक । तथा हाटाष्टादशक । तथा से-

8 सयीग्राम । दुधैविषये पिलिखिणीपञ्चेल । तथा इटावपञ्चेल । वडवारिविषये इसरहरपञ्चेल । तथा उलदण ।[7] ककरदह । गोकुलेन सह हथिदहा । ए-

9 षां[8] ग्रामाणामुपगतान्ब्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणानन्यांश्चमान्यानधिकृतान्कुटुम्वि(म्बि)कायस्थदूतवैद्यमहत्तरान्मेदचण्डाल-पर्यन्तान्सर्वान्संवो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति चा-

10 स्तु वः संविदितं यथोपरिलिखिताः । ग्रामाः [स][9]जलस्थलाः सस्थावरजङ्गमाः स्वशी(सी)मावच्छिन्नाः साधऊर्द्ध्वा भूतभविष्यद्वर्त्तमाननिःशेषादायसहिताः

11 प्रतिषिद्धचाटादिप्रवेशाः । मदनपुरपत्तन । तथैतत्संव(ब)द्ध तलशी(सी)मा । गडुरकुल[10]। देवश्रीसोमनाथ । तथैतत्संव(ब)द्धलिङ्गिआजल्हुआकयोर्वडवारिदुधैग्रा-

12 म । अजयसागरसंव(ब)द्धलटिआनां हलचतुष्टयावच्छिन्ना मदनपुरे भूमिः । एतत्सर्व्वं वहि(बहिष्)-कृत्यास्माभिः सोनसर[स]मावासे । सम्वत(संवत्) १२२३ वैसा(शा)ख शुदि ७

13 गुरुवारे । पूर्व्वं महाराजाधिराजश्रीमन्मदनवर्म्मदेवेनास्मत्पिता[म][11]हेन वारी(रि)दुर्ग्गसमावासे सम्वत-: (संवत्) १२१९ माघ वदि १५ गुरुवारे पुण्यतीर्थोद-

14 केन विधिवत्स्नात्वा देवमनुष्यपितॄन्संतर्प्य भास्करपूजापुरःसर(रं) चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य हुतभुजि हुत्वा राहुग्रस्ते दिवाकरे मा-

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[1] From impressions. Subsequently I have compared the reading from the original plates, placed at my disposal by the Director of the Provincial museum at Lucknow, to whom my thanks are due.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] The bracketed *akshara* is redundant. It seems to have been cut while copying the draft of a grant of Madanavarman and was not struck off even after it was known to be superfluous.

[4] This punctuation mark, as many others below, is joined to the following letter so as to appear as a *mātrā*.

[5] Originally the sign of *visarga*, which was subsequently altered.

[6] The consonant of this *akshara* appears as *m*.

[7] This punctuation mark is quite close to the letter that follows, which may also be read as *kē*.

[8] Cartellieri (denoted as C, below) read these two *aksharas* as *patha* by similarity of forms, but it is not suitable here. He also divided the previous portion of the text as गोकुले नसहहथिदहा; but I hesitate to agree with him as the name नसहहथिदहा is rather too long.

[9] The horizontal stroke of this letter is missing, and consequently, it appears as *rā*.

[10] This word is not known to me.

[11] The horizontal stroke of the bracketed *akshara* was not cut.

15 तापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोविवृद्धये। नानाभट्टाग्रहारविनिर्गतेभ्यो नानाप्रवरेभ्यो नानासा(शा)-
खाध्यायिभ्यो नानानामभ्यो

16 व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्यः कुशलतापूतेन हस्तोदकेन स्वस्तिवाचनपूर्व्वं चन्द्रार्कसमकालं पुत्रपौ[त्र]ाद्यन्वयानुगामिन्याः
संकल्पितभूमेः सम्व(ग्ब)न्धे शासनीकृत्य प्र-

17 दत्ताः। मध्ये॥ ऋग्वेदचरणे॥ कश्यपगोत्र चौ। वाधाने[1]पुत्र चौ। विष्णोः पदमेकम्॥ उपमन्युगोत्र द्वि।
देव[श]र्म्मपुत्र द्वि॥ केशवस्य पदमेकम्[2]। गौतमगोत्र द्वि।

18 लोहडपुत्र द्वि। नीम्व(निम्ब?)देवस्य पदमेकम्। भ(भा)रद्वाजगोत्र[3] द्वि। तीकवपुत्र द्वि। धांधेकस्य
पदमेकम्। गौतमगोत्र द्वि गोविंदपुत्र द्वि। वामनस्य पदमर्द्धम्। शां(सां)कृ-

19 त्यगोत्र द्वि। सीरी(वी ?)पुत्र द्वि। कुलव(ध ?)रस्य पदमेकम्। त्रैकायन(ण)गोत्रसेनापतिअजयपालस्य
पदमेकम्। त्रैकायन(ण)गोत्रसेनापति-[4]

20 अजयपालपुत्रराउतसोमराजस्य पदमेकम्। कृष्णात्रेयगोत्र चौ। नरसिंहपुत्र पं। आनंदस्य पदमेकम्।
भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि। तीकवपुत्र द्वि। लाखूकस्य

21 पदार्द्धम्। कश्यपगोत्र अ। देल्हणपुत्र द्वि। पाल्हेकस्य पदार्द्धम्। भार्ग्गवगोत्र द्वि। तीकमपुत्र
द्वि। देल्हूकस्य पदार्द्धम्। कृष्णात्रेयगोत्र द्वि लक्ष्मीधरपुत्र

22 द्वि सह[जे][5]कस्य पदार्द्धम्। गौतमगोत्र द्वि। पापापुत्र द्वि। रीसूकस्य पदाद्ध(र्द्ध)म्। शाण्डिल्य-
गोत्र द्वि। लक्ष्मीधरपुत्र द्वि। वाछूकस्य पदार्द्धम्। शां(सां)कृत्यगोत्र द्वि।

23 पवणाहपुत्र[6] द्वि। गङ्गाधरस्य पदार्द्धम्। कश्यपगोत्र अ। गाल्हणपुत्र श्री[7] कान्हूकस्य
पदार्द्धम्। वाभ्रव्यगोत्र। पं। आल्हणपुत्र द्वि। वे (धे ?)ल्हणस्य पदार्द्धम्। भ (भा)-

24 रद्वाजगोत्र द्वि। पुरुषोत्तमपुत्र द्वि। हरेः पदार्द्धम्। भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि। अवसरपुत्र चौ [।][8]
गौतमस्य पदार्द्धम्। कश्यपगोत्र द्वि। नारायणपुत्र चौ[9]। वा-

25 हुलस्य पदार्द्धम्। कश्यपगोत्र द्वि [।] विमलादित्यपुत्र द्वि। पाल्हूकस्य पदार्द्धम्। कृष्णात्रेयगोत्र
द्वि। तीकवपुत्र चो(चौ)। देल्हाकस्य पदार्द्धम्। गौतमगो-

26 त्र द्वि। गयाधरपुत्र चौ। धरणीधरस्य प[दा]र्द्धम्। वसिष्ठगोत्र द्वि। जगध(द्ध)रपुत्र चौ।
वाल्हूकस्य प[दा]र्द्धम्। वसिष्ठगोत्र द्वि। नारायणपुत्र द्वि। रिसिकस्य प-

27 दार्द्धम्। [कौ][10]त्सगोत्र द्वि। जगेपुत्र अ। वाछूकस्य पदार्द्धम्। सौस्र(श्र)वसगोत्र द्वि [।]
गोविंदपुत्र द्वि। जाल्हेकस्य पदार्द्धम्। गौतमगोत्र द्वि। नागश-

28 र्म्मपुत्र चौ। धरणीधरस्य पदार्द्धम्। परासर(पाराशर)गोत्र द्वि। लाह[ड]पुत्र[11] द्वि। पीथूकस्य
पदार्द्धम्। कृष्णात्रेयगोत्र द्वि। वाल्हेकपुत्र द्वि। ल-

29 क्ष्मीधरस्य पदार्द्धम्। गौतमगोत्र द्वि। गङ्गाधरपुत्र द्वि। दा[यी ?]कस्य पदार्द्धम्।
भार्ग्गवगोत्र द्वि। दामोदरपुत्र द्वी(द्वि)। मही-

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[1] The reading of this name is uncertain due to the similarity of the forms of *dh* and *v*. The stroke here, as also below, is probably used to show that the letter preceding it is a concise form of a word denoting a surname.

[2] The consonant *m* is not marked below, here and in most of the instances, below; but it is not everytime shown in the transcript.

[3] The first syllable of a word showing *gōtra* is changed here to *bhā* (from *bha*), which is really the first letter of the *gōtra* which traces descent from the sage Bhāradvāja.

[4] The *sandhi* is not observed here, as also in almost all the cases below. Similarly, the *vibhaktis* too are missing, and no corrections have been shown in the transcript, to minimise the numbers of footnotes. So also with the redundant insertions of the punctuation marks.

[5] A *mātrā* also above this letter was originally cut, and later on erased.

[6] C. observed that this name is perhaps *Pariṇāha*, but it can also be a corrupt form of Padmanābha.

[7] The curve of the *mātrā* above this letter is not visible.

[8] The *daṇḍa* is so placed as to appear as a punctuation mark or a *mātrā*-sign of the next letter. There are many cases of this type, below.

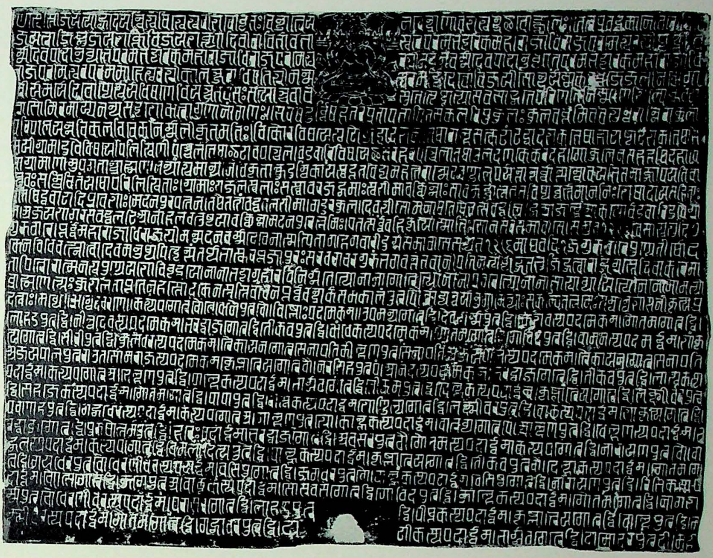
[9] The consonant of this *akshara* can also be read as *dh* or *v*.

[10] By a wrong chisel stroke, this *akshara* looks like *chau*.

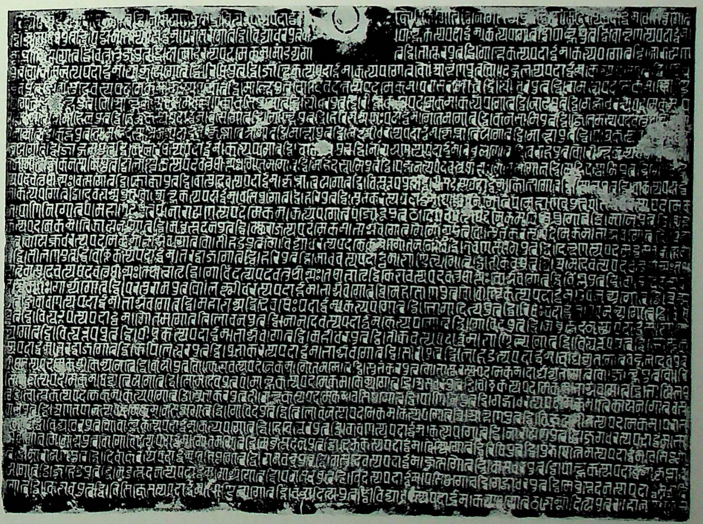
[11] The letter in the brackets is mutilated and may also have *ṇ* before it.

SĒMRĀ COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF PARAMARDIDĒVA
VIKRAMA 1223

i



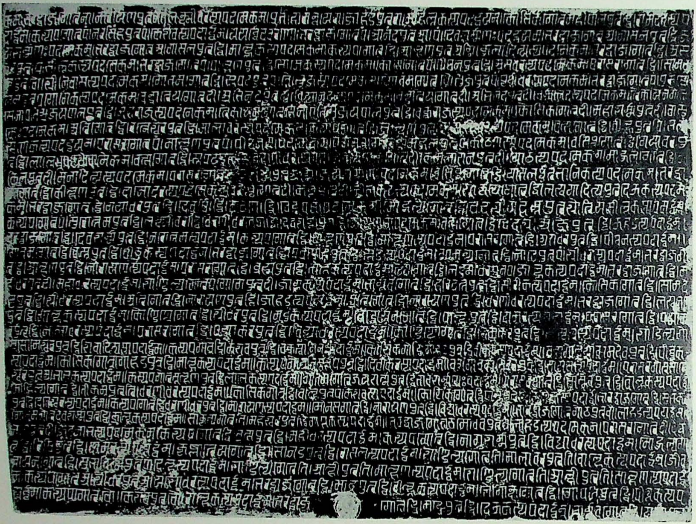
ii a



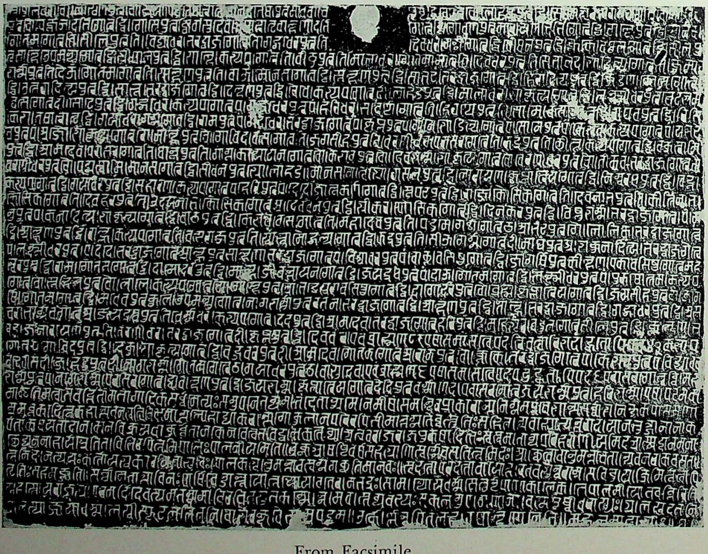
From Facsimile

SEMRĀ COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF PARAMARDIDEVA VIKRAMA 1223

iib



iii



From Facsimile

Second Plate : First Side

30 घरस्य पदार्द्धम् । परास(पाराश)रगोत्र द्वि । नारायणपुत्र द्वि । विश्वरूपस्य पदार्द्धम् ॥ कौशिकगोत्र द्वि । नागशर्म्मपुत्र द्वि । दामोदरस्य पदार्द्धम् । वसि[ष्ठ]गोत्र

31 द्वि । दामोदरपुत्र द्वि । पद्मनाभस्य पदार्द्धम् । परास(पाराश)रगोत्र द्वि । विद्याधरपुत्र चौ । पाल्हूकस्य पदार्द्धम् । कश्यपगोत्र द्वि । पाल्हूपुत्र द्वि । वाल्हणस्य पदार्द्धम् ।

32 कृष्णात्रेयगोत्र द्वि । चतुर्भुजपुत्र द्वि । दामोदरस्य पदमेकम् । मांडव्यगोत्र द्वि । भास्करपुत्र द्वि । गाल्हेकस्य पदार्द्धम् । कश्यपगोत्र द्वि । नारायण-

33 पुत्र चौ । वामनस्य पदार्द्धम् । शां(सां)कृत्यगोत्र द्वि । रि(ऋ)षिपुत्र द्वि । जाल्हेकस्य पदार्द्धम् । कश्यपगोत्र चौ । आल्हणपुत्र चौ । देहुलस्य पदार्द्धम् । कश्यपगोत्र द्वि । देव-

34 व्रतपुत्र द्वि । वासुदेवस्य पदमेकम् । काश्यपगोत्र द्वि । माल्हेकपुत्र चौ । देवदत्तस्य पदमेकम् । परास(पाराश)रगोत्र द्वि । श्रीधरपुत्र द्वि । रामस्य पदमेकम् । कौण्डि-

35 ण्य(न्य)गोत्र द्वि । देल्हूपुत्र । चौ । आल्हू[1]कस्य पदमेकम् । एक[2] । वसिष्ठगोत्र द्वि । श्रीधरपुत्र द्वि । रील्हूकस्य पदमेकम् । कश्यपगोत्र द्वि । नाट[3]पुत्र द्वि । गङ्गाधरस्य पदमेकम् । प-

36 राशरगोत्र द्वि । नाहिलपुत्र द्वि । देऊकस्य पदार्द्धम् । वत्सगोत्र द्वि । गोल्हेकपुत्र द्वि । हरिशर्म्मणः पदार्द्धम् । गौतमगोत्र द्वि । कनकसा(स्वा)मिपुत्र द्वि । जैतेकस्य पदचतुर्थान्सः(र्थांशः) । गौ-

37 तमगोत्र द्वि । कदूपुत्र चौ । महिंदस्वामिनः पदार्द्धम् । कृष्णात्रेयगोत्र द्वि । माल्हापुत्र द्वि । लक्ष्मीधरस्य पदार्द्धम् । कृष्णात्रेयगोत्र द्वि । माल्हापुत्र द्वि । पीथूकस्य पदार्द्धम् । चन्द्रा-

38 त्रेयगोत्र द्वि । जाहुलपुत्र द्वि । मनोरथस्य पदार्द्धम् । कश्यपगोत्र द्वि । वामनपुत्र द्वि । नारायणस्य पदार्द्धम् । वंधु(बन्धु)लगोत्र द्वि । वराहपुत्र चौ । रील्हेकस्य पदार्द्धम् । गौ-

39 तमगोत्र द्वि । कनसामिपुत्र द्वि । लाखूकस्य पदचतुर्थान्सः(र्थांशः) । गौतमगोत्र द्वि । महिंदस्वामिपुत्र द्वि । पजूनस्य[4] पदचतुर्थान्सः(र्थांशः) । गौतमगोत्र द्वि । महिंदस्वामिपुत्र द्वि [।*] गोविंद-

40 स्य पदचतुर्थान्सः(र्थांशः) । वत्सगोत्र द्वि । कोकापुत्र द्वि । वासुदेवस्य पदार्द्धम् । कृष्णात्रेयगोत्र द्वि । विस्व(श्व)रूपपुत्र द्वि । रीसडस्य[5] पदार्द्धम् । कौत्सगोत्र द्वि । सोलपुत्र द्वि । वाछ्स्य पदार्द्ध-

41 म् । कश्यपगोत्र द्वि । देवशर्म्मपुत्र चौ । आ[ल्हू]कस्य[6] पदार्द्धम् । वसि[ष्ठ]गोत्र द्वि । हरिपुत्र द्वि । सु(शु)भंकरस्य पदार्द्धम् । पाणिनिगोत्र पं । महाणं(नं)दपुत्र पं । सर्व्वधरस्य पदमेक-

42 म् । पाणिनिगोत्र पं । महाणं(नं)दपुत्र पं । नारायणस्य पदमेकम् । कश्यपगोत्र पं । जादूपुत्र ठ । [देवदत्त]स्य पदमेकम् । वसिष्ठगोत्र द्वि । [थेडू][7]-

43 कस्य पदमेकम् । त्रैकायन(ण)गोत्र द्वि । मधुसूदनपुत्र द्वि । वछराजस्य पदमेकम् । भार्ग्गवगोत्र चौ । गागूपुत्र चौ । सु(शु)भंकरस्य पदमेकम् । भार्ग्गवगोत्र चौ । व्र(ब्र)[ह्म]-

44 पुत्र चौ । य[ज्ञ]धरस्य[8] पदमेकम् । भार्ग्गवगोत्र चौ । सीहडपुत्र चौ । विद्याधरस्य पदमेकम् । गौतमगोत्र द्वि । भवणसामिपुत्र[9] द्वि । देल्हणस्य पदमर्द्धम् [।] कु[त्स]गो-

45 त्र द्वि । सीलणपुत्र द्वि । वाछूकस्य पदार्द्धम् । भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि । हरिपुत्र द्वि । माधवस्य पदार्द्धम् । शाण्डिल्यगोत्र द्वि । तोकवपुत्र द्वि । आमदेवस्य पदचतुर्थान्सः(र्थांशः) [।*] तथा

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1 This syllable is cut as *ldga.*

2 Both these *aksharas* are unnecessary. Moreover, the last *akshara* of the preceding name appears to have been engraved as *kka,* and *k* (one of the consonants) was later on scored off.

3 The reading of this letter is uncertain. It is so formed as also to be read as *ḍha,* as also both the consonants in टंट in l. 7, above.

4 That is, *Pradyumnasya.*

5 The reading of the first letter of this name is uncertain.

6 The *akshara* in the brackets looks like *lhla,* and the *shṭha* of *Vasishṭha* as *shu.*

7 The first of these *aksharas* is crisped, and the consonant of the second appears also as *d.*

8 The superscript of the bracketed *akshara* is cut as *k.*

9 C. suggests that it is perhaps Bhuvanasvāmin.

46 भ्रातृवासुदेवस्य पदचतुर्थान्सः(र्थांशः) । तथा भ्रातृ द्वि । गोविंदस्य पदचतुर्थान्सः(र्थांशः) । तथा भ्रातृद्वि [।*] केशवस्य पदचतुर्थान्सः(र्थांशः) । भार्ग्गवगोत्र द्वि [।*] विष्णुपुत्र द्वि । वासुदेवस्य प-

47 दार्द्धम् [।।:][1] गार्ग्यगोत्र द्वि। परसु(शु)रामपुत्र चौ। लक्ष्मीधरस्य पदार्द्धम्। भार्ग्गवगोत्र व्वि(द्वि)। महासाण(सेन ?)पुत्र चौ वाल्हेकस्य पदार्द्धम्। उपमन्युगोत्र द्वि। व्र(ब्र)ह्म-

48 पुत्र द्वि। वावणस्य[2] पदार्द्धम्। भार्ग्गवगोत्र द्वि। महाशम्म(र्म्म)[पुत्र* ?] द्वि [।*] देवर्षेः पदार्द्धम्। कश्यपगोत्र द्वि। भोगादित्यपुत्र द्वि। रि(ऋ)षेः पदार्द्धम्। उपमन्युगोत्र द्वि। रि(ऋ)षि-

49 पुत्र द्वि। विश्वरूपस्य पदार्द्धम्। गौतमगौत्र त्रि[3]लोचनपुत्र द्वि। नामदेवस्य पदार्द्धम्। कश्यपगोत्र द्वि। गोविंदपुत्र द्वि। मधुसूदनस्य पदार्द्धम्। शाण्डि-

50 ल्यगोत्र द्वि। विश्वरूपपुत्र द्वि। पीथूकस्य पदार्द्धम्। भार्ग्गवगोत्र द्वि। महीधरपुत्र द्वि। तीकवस्य पदार्द्धम्। शाण्डिल्यगोत्र द्वि। विश्वरूपपुत्र द्वि। लाखूक-

51 स्य पदार्द्धम्। भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि। कपिलेश्वरपुत्र द्वि। प्रभाकरस्य पदार्द्धम्। भार्ग्गवगोत्र द्वि। सीरीपुत्र द्वि। लाहडस्य पदार्द्धम्। दार्व्य च्युतगोत्रवहुलदेवपुत्र[4]-

52 पीथनस्य पदमेकम्। धौम्यगोत्र द्वि। वा(धा?)यी[5]पुत्र चौ। केशवस्य पदमेकम्। गौतम[गो]त्र द्वि। सु(शु)भंकरपुत्र चौ। भास्करस्य पदमेकम्। [दा]र्व्य च्युतगोत्र[6] चौ। जाल्हुकपुत्र चौ। रि(हृ)-

53 सि(षी)केशस्य पदमेकम्[7]। चन्द्रात्रेयगोत्र द्वि। सोमदेवपुत्र पं। माल्हूकस्य पदमेकम्। धौम्यगोत्र द्वि। असधर[8]पुत्र द्वि। वीठुकस्य पदमेकम्। भार्ग्गवगोत्रा द्व(द्वि)। भायिलपु-

54 त्र द्वि। लाखूकस्य पदके(मे)कम्। कश्यपगोत्र द्वि। सु(शु)भाकरपुत्र दी(द्वि)। राल्हूकस्य पदमेकम्। वसिष्ठगोत्र द्वि। पाणिनिपुत्र द्वि। गङ्गाधरस्य पदमेकम्। त्रैकायनगोत्रवसू[9]-

55 पालपुत्र द्वि। अण(नं)तपालस्य पदमेकम्। वसिष्ठगोत्र द्वि। गोविंदपुत्र द्वि [।*] त्रिलोचनस्य पदमेकम्। कश्यपगोत्रव्वि(द्वि)। आल्हणपुत्र द्वि। विजयसी(सिं)हस्य पदमेकम्। परास(श)-

56 रगोत्र द्वि। विद्याधरपुत्र चौ। वाल्हूकस्य पदार्द्धम्। कश्यपगोत्र द्वि। देवेश्वरपुत्र द्वि। वावणस्य[10] पदार्द्धम्। कश्यपगोत्र द्वि। नारायणपुत्र द्वि। जगध(द्ध)रस्य पदार्द्धम्। भा-

57 र्ग्गवगोत्र चौ। गांगूपुत्र चौ [।*] गोविंदस्य पदार्द्धम्। [गौ]तमगोत्र[11] द्वि। [मधु]सूदनपुत्र द्वि। देऊकस्य पदार्द्धम्। धौम्यगोत्र द्वि [।*] रि[ऋ]षिपुत्र द्वि। पुरुषोत्तमस्य पदार्द्धम्। वसिष्ठगो-

58 त्र द्वि। नारायणपुत्र द्वि। दिवाकरस्य पदार्द्धम्। वति(सि)ष्ठगोत्र द्वि। रामचन्द्रपुत्र द्वि। वासुदेवस्य पदार्द्धम्। कुत्सगोत्र द्वि। वासधरपुत्र द्वि। पाल्हूकस्य पदार्द्धन(म्)। कृष्णात्रे-

59 यगोत्र द्वि। जहेडपुत्र[12] द्वि। मधुसूदनस्य पदार्द्धम्। गार्ग्ययो(गो)त्र द्वि। परास(श)रपुत्र द्वि। वेदस्य पदार्द्धम्।[13] वसिष्ठगोत्र द्वि। गङ्गाधरपुत्र द्वि। मधुसूदनस्य पदार्द्धम् [।*] अत्रि-

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1 Delete what is within the brackets, as already noted by C.

2 C. observed that probably *Rāvaṇasya* (or *Vāmanasya* ?) is intended here. But the name cannot definitely be made out as the consonants of the first two *aksharas* are similar in form. The first, of course, cannot be *r*.

3 Either there is no mention of *dvi* after *gōtra* and the name begins with *tri*, or it may be that the father Lōchana was *Trivēda* and the son was *Dvivēda*.

4 The surname is omitted here.

5 This name also figures in another grant of the king and hence the first of its letters is read as *dh*. See No. 134, l. 12.

6 Originally *vā*, changed to *dā*.

7 Originally *sh*, changed to *ch*.

8 He may have been Aśvadhara or Āśādhara, also mentioned in l. 64 below.

9 These two letters may also be read as *Vastu*. Here too the surname is not mentioned.

10 See *n*. on l. 48, above.

11 The bracketed *akshara* looks like *gpai* ; and the two letters *madhu*, that follow, are crudely engraved.

12 The reading of the first two syllables is distinct, but the name may also have been Jāhaḍa.

13 This *akshara* was first cut as *pa* and later on altered to *va*. The original sign is still visible. The same is the case with *g* in *gōtra* before it in the same line.

60 गोत्र द्वि । केशवपुत्र द्वि । रिसि(हृषी)केस(श)स्य पदार्द्धम् । शाण्डिल्यगोत्र द्वि । चंद्रादित्यपुत्र द्वि । विद्याधरस्य पदार्द्धम् । कश्यपगोत्र ठ[1] । शर्म्मादित्यपुत्र रा । हालस्य पदमे-

Second Plate : Second Side

61 कम् । भरद्वाजगोत्र ना । नारायणपुत्र ना । लक्ष्मीधरस्य पदमेकम् । प्रतीहारान्वये रा । जाहडपुत्र रा । महिल्लकस्य पदद्वयम् । कौसि(शि)कगोत्रमहीपालपुत्ररामदेवस्य[2] प-
62 दार्द्धम् । कश्यपगोत्र पं । नरसिंहपुत्र पं । केशवस्य पदार्द्धम् । ययु(जु)र्व्वेदचरणे ॥ भरद्वाजगोत्र पं । आनंदपुत्र आ । पं । देवशर्म्मणः पदद्वयम् । भारद्वाजगोत्र अ । गासलपुत्र द्वि । ज-
63 यशर्म्मणः पदमेकम् । भरद्वाजगोत्र अ । गासलपुत्र द्वि । माल्हूकस्य पदमेकम् । कश्यपगोत्र द्वि । आल्हणपुत्र अग्नि[3] । कुलादित्यस्य पदमेकम् । भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि । अस(अश्व or आशा)-
64 धरपुत्र । पं । सील्लूकस्य पदमेकम् । भरद्वाजगोत्र पं । पाल्हणपुत्र द्वि [।] [4]सोमेकस्य पदमेकम् । कौत्सगोत्र पं । पीथनपुत्र द्वि अस(अश्व or आशा)धरस्य पदमेकम् । परास(श)रगोत्र द्वि । सोमद-
65 त्तपुत्र चौ । श्रीनिवासस्य पदमेकम् । गौतमगोत्र द्वि । सूपटपुत्र पं । चौभुजस्य पदमेकम् । गौतमगोत्र चौ [।] सुजपुत्र पं । पृथ्वीधरस्य पदमेकम् । भरद्वाजगोत्र पं । पुरुषो-
66 त्तमपुत्र पं । गागेकस्य[5] पदमेकम् । चन्द्रात्रेयगोत्र दी । अभिनंदपुत्र दी । विद्यानंदस्य पदमेकम् । चन्द्रात्रेयगोत्र दी । अभिनंदपुत्र दी । धर्म्मानद(नन्द)स्य पदमेकम् । त्रैकायन(ण)गोत्र-
67 सेनापतिअजयपालपुत्र द्वि । मह(or हा ?)राजस्य पदद्वयम् । त्रैकायन(ण)गोत्रसेनापतिअजयपालपुत्र द्वि । वच्छराजस्य पदमेकम् । कौसि(शि)कगोत्र दी । महाशर्म्मपुत्र दी । वासु-
68 केः पदमेकम् । अत्रिगोत्र द्वि । रत्नेश्वरपुत्र द्वि । मालाधरस्य पदमेकम् । कश्यपगोत्र द्वि । जाल्हणपुत्र द्वि । महि(ही)[ध]रस्य पदमेकम् । वत्सगोत्र द्वि । तील्हूकपुत्र [पं][6] सल-
69 खणस्य पदद्वयम् । परास(श)रगोत्र पं । महुलपुत्र पं । कीठणस्य पदमेकम् । वसिष्ठगोत्र द्वि । गयाधरपु-
70 त्र द्वि । लालेसूपटयो[:] प[द]मेकम् । वत्सगोत्र द्वि । सूपटपुत्र द्वि । धरणीधरस्य पदमेकम् । वत्सगोत्र दी । कमलासनपुत्र दी । गोठस्य पदमेकम् । माहुलपुत्र द्वि । वा-
71 छिलपुत्र दी । मनादित्यस्य पदमेकम् । परास(श)रगोत्रकृष्णशर्म्मपुत्र । अग्नि । जयशर्म्मणः पदमेकम् । वसिष्ठगोत्र द्वि । [गा]सलपुत्रभानिकस्य पदमेकम् । भरद्वा-
72 जगोत्र द्वि । कील्हणपुत्र द्वि । दामोदरस्य पदमेकम् । वसिष्ठगोत्र दी । धानूपुत्र दी । नीलकंठस्य पदमेकम् । शां(सां)कृत्यगोत्र द्वि । लखगा(णा ?)दित्यपुत्रदेऊकस्य पदमे-
73 कम् । भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि । गयाधरपुत्र द्वि । देवर्षि । द्वि । वावण । द्वि । वेद्दू [।] एषां पदमेकम्[7] । मौद्गल्यगोत्रद्विवेदश्रीमहसूपुत्रश्रोत्रियमीलूकस्य पमर्द्धम्[8] ।
74 कश्यपगोत्र पं । सुरोत्तमपुत्र द्वि । लक्ष्मीधर । द्वि । तथा द्वि । देवशर्म्मपुत्र द्वि । गागू । एषां पदमेकम्[9] । वत्सगोत्रद्विवेदश्रीअजैपुत्र द्वि । ऊहडस्य पदार्द्धम् ।
75 भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि । देवशर्म्मपुत्र द्वि । नरोत्तमस्य पदार्द्धम् । कश्यपगोत्र द्वि । पाल्हणपुत्र द्वि । गाल्हणस्य पदार्द्धम् । परास(श)रगोत्र द्वि । अस(अश्व or आशा)धरपुत्र द्वि । पीथनस्य पदार्द्धम् ।

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[1] C. read this *akshara* as *ṭha* and corrected it to *ra*, possibly in view of the *rā* that follows. But it is not necessary as the surnames were changing in that age, as seen above. The actual name of the donee is not mentioned here.

[2] The consonant of *Rā* may also be read as च.

[3] Here *agni* and not *a* as it is written before. It is an abbreviation of *agnihōtrin*.

[4] This name may be also read as *Sēmēka*, and in that case we have to supply the preceding *daṇḍa*.

[5] This name may also be read as *Gō*, with the supply of the preceding *daṇḍa*.

[6] Here appears a superfluous *daṇḍa*, with its top curved to right so as to appear as *piṁ*.

[7] As C. suggested, read पदमेकैकम्.

[8] Read पदमर्द्धम् or पदार्द्धम्.

76 गौतमगोत्र द्वि । व[सू]पुत्र[1] द्वि । पीठुकस्य पदार्द्धम् । भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि । पवणा(ना)हपुत्र[2] द्वि । मूढस्य पदार्द्धम् । उपमन्युगोत्र द्वि । नाटेपुत्र पं । श्रीधरस्य पदार्द्धम् । भरद्वाजगो-
77 त्रे द्वि । आल्हणपुत्र द्वि । नारायणस्य पदार्द्धम् । परास(श)रगोत्र द्वि । व्र(ब्र)ह्मपुत्र द्वि । भाभूकस्य पदार्द्धम् । वत्सगोत्र द्वि । लक्ष्मीधरपुत्र पं । जाल्हूकस्य पदार्द्धम् । भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि । म-
78 हीधरपुत्र दो । महाधरस्य पदार्द्धम् । शाण्डिल्यगोत्र पं । गागेपुत्र दी । जागूकस्य पदार्द्धम् । भार्ग्गवगोत्र द्वि । हरिदत्तपुत्र द्वि । सोरीकस्य पदार्द्धम् । कौसि(शि)कगोत्र द्वि । सोमदे-
79 वपुत्र द्वि । श्रीधरस्य पदार्द्धम् । अत्रिगोत्र द्वि । नारायणपुत्र द्वि । जाहडस्य पदार्द्धम् । अत्रिगोत्र द्वि नारायणपुत्र द्वि । धरणीधरस्य पदार्द्धम् । भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि । लखनण[3]-
80 पुत्र द्वि । गाल्हूकस्य पदार्द्धम् । कौण्डिण्य(न्य)गोत्र द्वि । श्रीधरपुत्र द्वि । मधुकस्य पदार्द्धम् । वौद्धा(धा)यनगोत्र द्वि । पाल्हूकपुत्र द्वि । दामरस्य[4] पदार्द्धम् । परास(श)रगोत्र द्वि । पद्माक-
81 रपुत्र द्वि । मालाधरस्य पदार्द्धम् । परास(श)रगोत्र द्वि । पद्माकरपुत्र द्वि । विद्याधरस्य पदार्द्धम् । कौण्डिण्य(न्य)गोत्र द्वि । दिवाकरपुत्र द्वि । भास्करस्य पदार्द्धम् । शांडिल्यगो-
82 त्र सोमेश्वरपुत्र द्वि [।*] शिवादित्यस्य पदार्द्धम् । कस्य(श्य)पगोत्र द्वि । केशवपुत्र द्वि । चक्रस्वामिनः पदार्द्धम् । कौशिकगो[त्र*] द्वि । गोहडपुत्र द्वि [।*] वीकयस्य[5] पदार्द्धम् ॥ वत्सगोत्रश्रीधा[6]मदेवपुत्र द्वि । पीथूक-
83 स्य पदार्द्धम् । कौसि(शि)कगोत्र [गौ][7]हडपुत्र द्वि । माल्हूकस्य पदार्द्धम् ॥ कस्य(श्य)पगोत्र विस्व(श्व)-रूपपुत्र द्वि । दिवाकरस्य पदार्द्धम् ॥ व[त्स]गोत्र कीर्त्तिधरपुत्र द्वि । सांगमस्य पदार्द्धम् ॥ परास(श)रगोत्रसोमे-
84 श्वरपुत्र अ । भाभूकस्य पदार्द्धम् ॥ कस्य(श्य)पगोत्र सूल्हणपुत्र द्वि [।*] लालेकस्य पदार्द्धम् ॥ गौतमगोत्र जयशर्म्मपुत्र द्वि [।*] भावस(श) र्म्मणः पदार्द्धम् ॥ परास(श)रगोत्र द्वि । भास्करपुत्रद्वि । वाल्हूकस्य पदार्द्धम् ॥
85 मौदिग(द्ग)ल्यगोत्र द्वि । तोकमपुत्र त्रि । धरणोधरस्य पदार्द्धम् । कौसि(शि)कगोत्र द्वि । वील्हूपुत्र पं । केशवस्य पदार्द्धम् ॥ कौशिकगोत्र द्वि [।*] पाल्हूपुत्र [द्वि] । ऊल्हेकस्य पदार्द्ध-(र्द्धम्) । भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि । सु (शु) भंकर-
86 पुत्र द्वि [।*] देवेश्वरस्य पदार्द्धम् ॥ कस्य(श्य)पगोत्र द्वि [।*] धरणीधरपुत्र द्वि । नारायणस्य पदार्द्ध-(र्द्ध)म् ॥ मौनसगोत्र द्वि । नारायणपुत्र द्वि । विद्याधरस्य पदार्द्धम् ॥ भारद्वाजगोत्र गोठपुत्र चौ ॥ लाहडस्य पदार्द्धम् ॥
87 गौतमगोत्र देवशर्म्मपुत्र द्वि । जाल्हूकस्य पदार्द्धम् ॥ सा(सां)कृत्यगोत्र ति(त्रि ?) महेश्वरपुत्र (।) द्वि [।*] गागूकस्य पदार्द्धम् ॥ भरद्वाजगोत्र ठ । माधवपुत्र ठ । लाहडस्य पदमेकम् । परास(श)रगोत्र दी[8] । देव-
88 नाभपुत्र दो । जैतनाभस्य पदमेकम् । कश्यपगोत्र द्वि । वत्सपुत्र द्वि । महीधरस्य पदार्द्धम् । कश्यपगोत्र द्वि । नागशर्म्मपुत्र द्वि । विद्याधरस्य पदार्द्धम् । मौद्गल्यगो-

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1 The bracketed *akshara* also appears as *stū*.
2 See n. on the same word in l. 23. The *mātrā* of *nyu* that follows is faint.
3 Perhaps *na* is redundant here.
4 Above this letter is a faint slanting stroke appearing as a *mātrā*, erased later on.
5 Probably, *Vikama-* is intended. The first and the third of the letters are misformed.
6 As both the verticals are joined by a stroke, this *akshara* is *dhā* and not *vā* as read by C.
7 The *mātrā* above this letter is faint, and the name may also be read as *Gōhaḍa* with a *daṇḍa* after as in some other cases.
8 C. proposed to correct this letter to *dvi* but it may be taken to denote Dīkshita and the change is not necessary.

89 त्र द्वि । रि(ऋ)षिपुत्र द्वि । दामरस्य पदार्द्धम् । कृष्णात्रेयगोत्र द्वि । सोनडस्य पुत्र द्वि । रासलस्य पदार्द्धम् । शाण्डिल्यगोत्र ति(त्रि)[1] । मालाधरपुत्र ति(त्रि) । वाल्हेकस्य पदार्द्धम् । जीव-
90 न्तायनगोत्र द्वि । मु(शु)भादित्यपुत्र पं । देल्हणस्य पदार्द्धम् । शाण्डिल्यगोत्र ति(त्रि) । आल्हो-पुत्र ति(त्रि) । माल्हणस्य पदार्द्धम् । शाण्डिल्यगोत्र ति(त्रि) । आल्हीपुत्र ति(त्रि) । साल्ह-णस्य पदार्द्ध-
91 म् । कश्यपगोत्र अ । श्रीधरपुत्र अ । यशोधरस्य पदार्द्धम् । भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि । माढ़पुत्र द्वि । रील्हूकस्य पदार्द्धम् । लौगाक्षगोत्र द्वि । गोपतिपुत्र द्वि । पीथूकस्य प-
92 दार्द्धम् । कश्यपगोत्र चौ । केशवपुत्र चौ । गल्हेकस्य पदार्द्धम् । भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि । माल्हूपुत्र द्वि । देऊकस्य पदार्द्धम् । भार्ग्गवगोत्र द्वि । [ग. पुत्र][2]

Third Plate

93 [श्री]कुलधर[3] । चौ । लाखणपुत्र [चौ] । जयाणं(नं)द । तथा भ्रातृआनंद[4] । तथा पुत्रमाधव । विष्णुवृद्धिगोत्र चौ । लाहडपुत्र द्वि । सोमेश्वर । परास(श)रगोत्र चौ । गोविंद-
94 पुत्र चौ । पजून । दर्भिगोत्र द्वि । गोसेपुत्र द्वि । वासुदेव । तथा भ्रातृवाल्हण । दर्भिगोत्र द्वि । गोधनपुत्र मा(ना)रायण । दर्भिगोत्र द्वि । गल्हेपुत्र द्वि । आ[नंद][5] ।
95 गोतमगोत्र ति[6] । सीलेपुत्र ति । विद्याधर । भरद्वाजगोत्र ति । गङ्गाधरपुत्र ति । देवधर । गर्ग्गगोत्र द्वि । पीथनपुत्र द्वि । कूके । वं(बं)धुलगोत्र द्वि । सीलेपु-
96 त्र साल्हे । उपमन्युगोत्र द्वि । श्रीपालपुत्र द्वि । साल्हे । कश्यपगोत्र ति । वीठूपुत्र ति । मालाधर । गौतमगोत्र ति । देवधरपुत्र ति । स(श)तानंद । शांडिल्यगोत्र ति । कुमार-
97 शर्म्मपुत्र ति । देऊ । गौतमगोत्र ति । साल्हणपुत्र ति । वाऊ । मौनसगोत्र द्वि । स्व(सू?)ल्हण-पुत्र द्वि । सां[भ]ट । भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि । हि(ही)रादित्यपुत्र द्वि । कुंडण । कौत्सगोत्र ।
98 द्वि । उत्तरादित्यपुत्र द्वि । साभू । भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि । देल्हणपुत्र द्वि । रेधै[7] । कश्यपगोत्र दी । लाहडपुत्र द्वि । मालाधर । शां(सां)कृत्यगोत्र द्वि । लक्ष्मीधरपुत्र वेदशर्म[8] [।*]
99 वत्सगोत्र दी । सोटेपुत्र द्वि । गङ्गाधर । कश्यपगोत्र पं । गङ्गाधरपुत्र पं । हरिधर । सावर्ण्यगोत्र ति । हिरण्यपुत्र ति [।*] सोमे । वत्सगोत्र द्वि । गघवपुत्र द्वि । रिसि(हृषी)-
100 केश । तथा भ्रातृ द्वि । गयाधर । गर्गगोत्र द्वि । रामपुत्र पं । गदाधर । भरद्वाजगोत्र पं । कृष्ण[9]पुत्र पं । गामे । शांडिल्यगोत्र पं । सोमेपुत्र पं । केशव । कश्यवगोत्र पं । यशदे-
101 वपुत्र[10] पं । अजौ । शां(सां)कृत्यगोत्र चौ । माल्हूपुत्र चौ [।*] गोविद । वत्सगोत्र त्रि । जग-सी(सिं)हपुत्र त्रि । धरणीधर । परास(श)रगोत्र त्रि । रुद्रपुत्र त्रि । छीतू । कश्यपगोत्र द्वि । चक्रस्वामि-
102 पुत्र द्वि । आमदेव । परास(श)रगोत्र त्रि । थानूपुत्र त्रि । गांगू । कात्यायनगोत्र चौ । केशवपुत्र चौ । देवशर्म्म । शां(सां)कृत्यगोत्र चौ । धरणीधरपुत्र चौ । तीकव । भरद्वाजगोत्र चौ [।*]

1 Here, as in some cases below, the subscript of this letter is either faintly visible or is altogether missing. The emendations have all been made in view of this.

2 The lower portions of the last three letters were already lost in the time of C. As also noted by him, the sign of *anusvāra* may be accidental and the first two *aksharas* may be *Gāgē*, *Gāṅgē* or *Gāgū*. On the original, which I subsequently scrutinized, the reading is distinctly Gāṅgū.

3 The bracketed letter is indistinct, and the traces show it to have been *Śrī*, as also suits the context.

4 The *anusvāra* is doubtful. It is clear on the plate, as I noted in my examination subsequently.

5 The *aksharas* in the brackets appear to be overwritten, as also noted by C.

6 This letter is perhaps to be read with a subscript *r*. It is not known whether *iti* is intended here.

7 The reading of the *mātrā* here is doubtful.

8 This *akshara* contains some redundant strokes in its formation.

9 The slanting stroke distinguishing this letter from *pa* is not formed.

10 The Sanskrit word is Yaśōdēva.

103 धरणीधरपुत्र चौ। पद्मस्वामि(मी)। [मौ]नसगोत्र द्वि। सीधनपुत्र। श्री। लाहड। मौनसगोत्र
श्री। रासलपुत्र द्वि। नारायण। कृष्णात्रेयगोत्र द्वि। निम्व(म्ब?)रथपुत्र द्वि। वेदू।

104 कश्यपगोत्र द्वि। गयाधरपुत्र द्वि। सहारण। कश्यपगोत्र पं। हरिपुत्र पं। देदे। जातूकर्णगोत्र
द्वि। सूपटपुत्र द्वि। राजे। कौसि(शि)कगोत्र त्रि। देवनाभपुत्र त्रि। कीर्त्तिनाभ।

105 कौसि(शि)कगोत्र ति। देवहरपुत्र ति। उदयनाभ। कौसि(शि)कगोत्र अ। देवधन[1]पुत्र द्वि।
श्रीकर। कौसि(शि)कगोत्र द्वि। दिनकरपुत्र द्वि। विष्णुशर्म्म[।°]भरद्वाजगोत्र। पं। म-

106 नुपुत्र पं। कनादित्य[2]। शां(सां)कृत्यगोत्र द्वि। वाछपुत्र द्वि। केशव। व[त्स]गोत्र ति। महादेवपुत्र
ति। पदुमे(पद्म)। गर्ग्गगोत्र ठ। आभटपुत्र [चौ]। लोलिक। भरद्वाजगोत्र-

107 द्वि। आल्हणपुत्र द्वि। रा[ल्हू]। कश्यपगोत्र ति। वत्सराजपुत्र ति। स्वां(?)भू। मौद्गल्यगोत्र
द्वि। रुद्रपुत्र ति। सीऊ। गर्ग्गगोत्र दी। माघपुत्र अ। शकुनादित्य। भरद्वाजगोत्र-

108 पं। लक्ष्मीधरपुत्र। पं। देदे। भरद्वाजगोत्र आल्हूपुत्र साल्हण। भरद्वाजगोत्र पं। विद्याधरपुत्र पं।
वाछू। वसिष्ठगोत्र द्वि। जागर्षिपुत्रकील्हण। [एक।][3] वसिष्ठगोत्रमहे-

109 श्वरपुत्र द्वि। राम। गौतमगोत्र द्वि। दामोदरपुत्र द्वि। माल्हू। [जी][4]वन्तायनगोत्र द्वि।
जयद्रथपुत्र पं। दाऊ। गौतमगोत्र द्वि। लक्ष्मीधरपुत्र पं। पुरुषोत्तम। कश्यप-

110 गोत्र चौ। सूहिलपुत्र[5] चौ। लाले। कश्यपगोत्र चौ। गाल्हेपुत्र चौ। भद्रेश्वर। वसिष्ठगोत्र
द्वि। दागो(मो)दरपुत्र चौ। व्र(ब्र)ह्म। कृ[ष्णा][6]त्रेयगोत्र द्वि। जयसी(सिं)हपुत्र चौ। जाग-

111 र्षि। गौतमगोत्र द्वि। माधवपुत्रकुले। उपमन्यु[गो]त्र[7]। नागशर्म्मपुत्ररतन(त्न)। भरद्वाजगोत्र
द्वि[8]। आल्हणपुत्र द्वि। ताल्हू। भरद्वाजगोत्र द्वि। गङ्गाधरपुत्र द्वि। अस(श्व)-

112 धर। भार्ग्गवगोत्र। जयद्र[थ]पुत्र[9] ति। धर्म्मधर। कश्यपगोत्रदेदपुत्र द्वि। आमदेव। भरद्वाज-
गोत्रहरिपुत्र द्वि। महेश्वर। वं(बं)धुलगोत्र[सी]लेपुत्र द्वि। कूल्हण। भ-

113 रद्वाजनारायणपुत्र त्रि [।°] धरणीधर। भरद्वाजगोत्र दी। कृष्णपुत्र द्वि। देवधर। एवं व्रा(ब्रा)-
ह्मण[ा:°] ८२ एषां समासत्त्वे[10] पदत्रिचत्वारिंशद। ङ्कतोपि[11]पद ४३[।°] कश्यप-

114 गोत्र पं[।°] गोविंदपुत्र द्वि। देकु(ऊ)। [शां(सां)]कृत्यगोत्र द्वि। व(ब)हुधरपुत्र दी। आमदेव। गौत-
[म][12]गोत्र अ। रा[म]पुत्र चौ। कूके। भरद्वाजगोत्र पं। केशवपुत्र पं [।°] विद्याधर।

115 वदेरीस दी[13]। जाहडपुत्र दी। नागशर्म्म [ा°]। गौतमगोत्र ठ। गयाधरपुत्र ठ। वासुदेव। एवं
व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण[ा:°] ६ एषां समासत्वे[14] पदप(ष)डङ्कतोपि पद ६ [।°] परास(श)रगोत्र द्वि। महा-

116 शर्म्मपुत्र पं। नागशर्म्म[15]। परास(श)रगोत्र द्वि। वाल्हणपुत्र[16]। द्वि। जयशर्म्म। कृष्णात्रेयगोत्रदेदि-
पुत्रधर्म्माणं(नं)द। परास(श)रगोत्रजयशर्म्मपुत्रहरिशर्म्मपुत्र। हरिशर्म्म। एषां पदमेक-

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[1] The form of this letter is crude and the reading may also have been *-rma*.

[2] C. correctly observed that the consonant of the second *akshara* of the name may have been *l*.

[3] The first of the bracketed letters is engraved as *pa*, and the *daṇḍa* is mingled with the letter that follows it.

[4] Some other *akshara* was originally engraved here.

[5] C. read the first *akshara* of the name as *sa*, but the *mātrā* is distinct.

[6] See *n.* 9 in line 100 above.

[7] The consonant of the bracketed *akshara* is cut as *v*.

[8] Originally *tri-*, with the consonant changed to *dv*.

[9] As also noted by C., the bracketed letter is crudely formed and appears like *tha*.

[10] That is, in aggregation. C., however, proposes to correct the word to *samāṁśatve*, in the sense of equal share.

[11] Read –रिंशत्। अङ्क–.

[12] The *akshara* in the brackets looks like *ka*.

[13] The reading of this *akshara* is uncertain and the name that precedes it is rather curious. Is *Badarīśa* intended ?

[14] Here and below in all such cases read either *-śarmmā* or *-śarman*, as required by grammar.

[15] It cannot be ascertained whether a curve of the medial long *ī* is above *ṇa*.

117 म्[1] । इति मत्वा भवद्भिर्भागभोगादिकं सर्व्वमेभ्यः समुपनेतव्यम् । तदेतान्[ग्]ग्रामानमीषां समन्दिर-
प्राकारान्सनिर्गमप्रवेशान्ससर्व्वाशने[2][क्षु]कर्प्पासशणा-

118 म्रमधूकादिभूरुहान्स[3]वन[खनि][4]निधानान्सलोहाद्याकरान्सगोकुलानपरैरपि सीमान्तर्गतैर्व्वस्तुभिः सहिता-
न्सवा(बा)ह्याभ्यन्तरादायान(न्) भुञ्जानानां क-

119 र्ष(र्ष)तां कष(र्ष)यतां दानाधानविक्रयं वा कुर्व्वतां न केनचि[5][त्का]चिद्वाधा कत्त(र्त)व्या । अत्र च
राजराजपुरुषादिभिः[6] स्वं स्वमाभाव्यं परिहरी(र)णीयमिदञ्चास्मद्दानमना-

120 च्छेद्यमनाहार्यञ्चेति भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयमिति। वुक्त(उक्त)ञ्च। षष्टिं वर्षसहश्रा(स्रा)णि
स्वर्ग्गे वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वस(से)त् ॥[३]

121 मूकि(भूमि)दानस्य यः कर्त्ता यश्च कारयिता शुचिः । पालकश्चानुमन्ता च स्वर्ग्गं गच्छति मानवः ॥[४]
स्वदत्तां परदत्ता(त्तां) वा यो हरेत वशु(सु)न्धराम् । स वि[ष्ठा]यां कि(क्र)मिर्भूत्वा पि-

122 तृभिः सह मज्जति ॥[५] सर्व्वामि(ने)तान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं[7]
धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालमी(नी)यो भवद्भिरिति[8] ॥

123 [9]स्वहस्तोयं राजश्रीपरमर्दिदेवत्य(स्य) मतम्मम । विरचितशुभकम्मो(र्म्मो)न्नाम[10]वास्तव्यवंश्यः सकलगुण-
गणानां वेश्म पृथ्वीधराख्यः । आल(अलि)खदभ(व)नि-

124 पालस्याज्ञया धर्म्मलेखी स्फु(स्फु)टललितनिवेशैरक्षरैस्ताम्रपट्टम् ॥[७) उत्कीर्णञ्च पितल्हारपाल्हणेनेति ॥
मङ्गलम्महाश्रीः ॥ थ ॥

No. 127 : Plate CXIV

MAHŌBĀ STATUE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIDĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1221

THIS inscription was brought to notice by General Alexander Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI (for 1883-1885), p. 74 (No. 7), by publishing a transcript of its text, accompanied by a lithograph, which appears to have been prepared from an eye-copy. The record is stated to have been incised on the pedestal of a broken Jaina statue, found by him at **Mahōbā**[11] in the Hamīrpur District of Uttar Pradesh. Nothing about its exact find-spot is stated in the *Report*, and its present whereabouts are unknown. Thus it

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1 Read कैकम्.

2 Some of these five *aksharas* are mutilated but the reading is certain, as also seen from the plate. In view of this, we cannot agree with H. K. Sastri, who had no opportunity to examine the original and who suggested the reading to be *sa-parṇa-ēkshu-*, which gives no sense. For his suggestion see ***Ep. Ind.***, Vol. XVI, p. 275, *n.* 5. The word *āsana* used here has to be modified to *āsava*, in the sense of (a plant) from which spirituous liquor has to be extracted, as also used in some other grants of the house, for example, in our No. 118, l. 16.

3 This letter is ornamentally formed and looks like *pta*.

4 C. read *śvabhra* here, but it is not suitable to the sense.

5 The top-stroke of this letter is the same as the curve of the medial long *ī* above it. The *rēpha* on र्त्त that follows is distinct on the plate but it is not deeply engraved.

6 The repetition of the two letters is redundant as also in No. 119, above, from where this portion appears to have been taken.

7 *Nyō* is crude. The loop is separated from the horizontal stroke.

8 Read भवद्भिः [॥६*[इति

9 The joining horizontal stroke is either not marked or has not come out in the impression. The letter looks like *rā*.

10 Probably to be read as –कर्म्मा नाम–.

11 For situation and antiquities of the place, see above, No. 113, the inscription is also referred to by Smith, in *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. L, Pt. I (1881), p. 20.

is not possible to obtain an impression, and therefore the record is edited here from the small-scale lithograph published by Cunningham.

The inscription consists of one long line, the length of which is not known. The characters are **Nāgarī** of the twelfth century A.C., to which the record belongs. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is all in prose. The **orthography** does not call for any special remark, even taking the inscription reproduced is a faithful eye-copy.

The record refers itself to the victorious reign of the illustrious **Paramardin,** the sole lord of Kālañjar: and thus he is undoubtedly the homonymous Chandēlla king ruling at Mahōbā from 1166 to 1202 A.C. The **aim** of the inscription is evidently to record the installation of the image of a Jaina pontiff, whose name does not appear in it.

The inscription is **dated in the year 1224,** on **Sunday, the 2nd** *tithi* **of the bright half of Āshāḍha.** The year and the *tithi* are expressed in numerical figures only. The year, as in the other cases, has to be referred to the Vikrama era, and the date, according to Kielhorn's calculations, corresponds to **Sunday, 9th June, 1168** A.C., taking the year 1224 to be the Southern Vikrama, *expired*.[1] The present inscription was thus incised only a couple of years subsequent to Paramardin's accession to the throne, and it speaks of the popularity of Jainism during his reign.

TEXT[2]

1 संवत(त्) १२२४ आषाढ़ सु(शु)दि २ रवौ ॥ ॥[3] काल(लं)जराधिपतिश्रीमत्परमर्द्दिदेवपादाना(नां) महीप्रवर्द्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये[4] [. . . . . . ॥*][5]

No. 128; Plate CXV

AJAYAGAḌH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIDĒVA

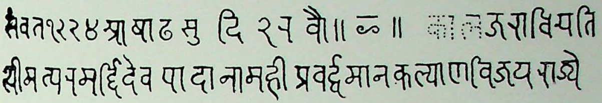
[Vikrama] Year 1227

THIS inscription was discovered by Alexander Cunningham; and a transcript of it with a rough translation and a facsimile was published by him in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI (for 1884-85), pp. 49-50, and Plate xii-B. Subsequently, F. Kielhorn corrected and discussed its date, as to be seen below, but it has not been systematically edited so far. The record is edited here from an inked impression kindly supplied by the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, to whom I am grateful for taking the trouble of preparing it fresh, at my request.

The record is inscribed on a jamb of the upper gate in the fort of Ajayagaḍh, in the Pannā District of Madhya Pradesh.[6] Just beneath it, and as if in continuation thereof, is another inscription which will be edited below.[7] The present record consists of eleven lines of writing, covering a space 26.5 cms. long and 42.5 cms. high. The length of the last of the lines is only about 10 cms. The height of the individual letters varies from 2 to 3 cms. The writing has suffered considerably by exposure to weather, and consequently, one letter at the beginning of l. 10 and probably some more at the end of ll. 9 and 11 are altogether lost. Besides, the portion on which the record was inscribed was not originally well dressed and the technical execution too is most sloven.

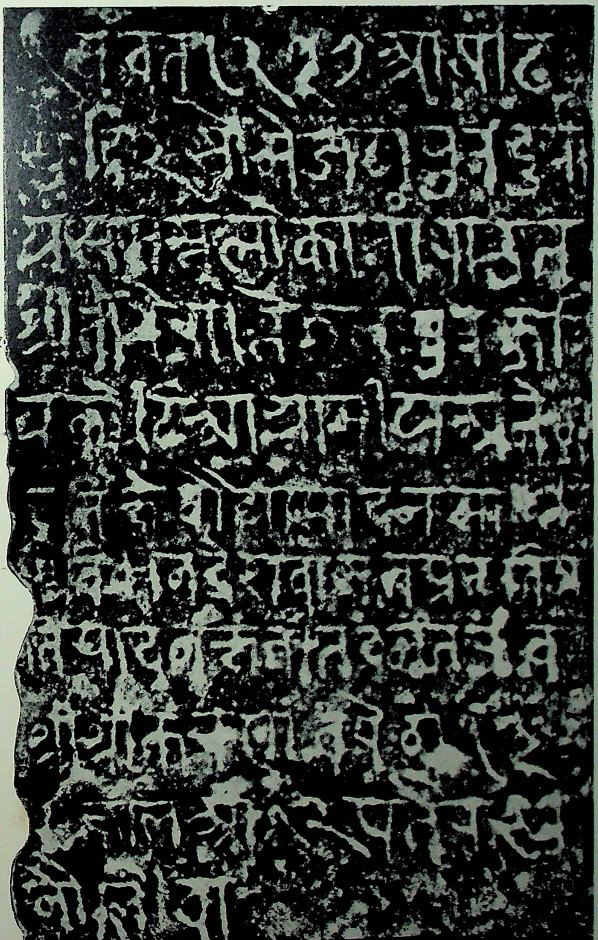
[1] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 36-37, No. 64.
[2] From Plate xxiii-G in Cunningham's *A.S.I.R., Vol.* XXI.
[3] An ornamentation is engvraved between the double *daṇḍas*.
[4] Cunningham read निजयराज्ये which is evidently wrong or a misprint. The inscription appears to be incomplete. In the eye-copy published by him, the consonant of the first *akshara* is clearly व.
[5] The installation of an image appears to have been intended here.
[6] For the situation of the place and reference to its antiquities, see above, No. 112.
[7] No. 137.

MAHŌBĀ STATUE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIDĒVA, VIKRAMA 1224



From Facsimile

AJAYGAḌH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIDEVA, VIKRAMA 1227



Scale : One-half

The inscription is written in the **Nāgarī** alphabet of the 12th century. The initial *a* which occurs twice in *kōṭiā-* and *anēna*, both in l. 5, shows its form slightly different. Attention may also be invited to the initial *u* which has begun to assume the modern form ; see *rāüta-*, l. 3 ; to the loop of *k*, which, when it is the first member of a conjunct consonant or when the medial *ṛi* is attached to it, gives place to a horizontal stroke : see *-bhikshē*, l. 6 and *kṛita-*, l. 8 ; the conjunct consonant *gg* appears as *gn*, as generally in the inscriptions of the time ; cf. *mārgga-*, l. 6 ; and lastly, the letter *r* is represented by a vertical with a slanting stroke attached to its middle on the left, as in *rāüta*, l. 3. **Orthographically** nothing is worth noting, except that a consonant following *r* is reduplicated in *mārgga-* and *durgga-*, respectively in ll. 6 and 2. The *mātrās* of the dipthongs are all marked above.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and it is all in prose. It is full of errors, as will be shown in the foot-notes appended to the text that follows. The inscription has in it a number of local words also. The **purport** of the record is probably to commemorate the construction of a step-well (*bāüli*, l. 11)[1] by the *rāüta* (*rājaputra*) Śrī-Vīra,[2] the son of Tējala who was a Kshatriya of the village of Kōrṭiā, on the road, during the time of famine.

The **date** of the record, as expressed only in figures, is **Monday, the second day of the bright half of Āshāḍha** of the (Vikrama) year, which was read by Cunningham as 1237. But the impression before me shows the decimal figure more similar to two than three, and a careful scrutiny goes to indicate that the curve at the top of the figure has suffered from a slanting stroke which may have been either the original fault of the stone, or a redundant stroke of the chisel, or a later development due to weather or human agency, of course some time before Cunningham discovered the inscription. And here I agree with Kielhorn who took the figure to be 2. Thus according to him the year is **1227** : and the date, as calculated by him, corresponds to **7th June, 1171** A.C., which was a **Monday.**[3]

The record purports to mention some more purposes also, as we can gather from the use of *-pādanaṁ*, appearing twice in ll. 6 and 8, and also from the expression *tadanantaraṁ cha*, after *kṛitaṁ* in l. 8. I am unable to make out this portion.

The inscription does not mention the name of the king, but he was evidently the illustrious **Paramardin** of the royal house of the **Chandēllas** whom we know as occupying the throne from *c.* 1166 to 1202 A.C., and as is also shown by the provenance of the record. As already stated above, the rest of the record is unintelligible to me.

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the inscription, **Jayapura** (l. 2) is the same as Ajayagaḍh : and the village **Kōrṭiā** (l. 5) I am unable to identify.

TEXT[4]

1 सिद्धम्[5] [।*] संवत्[6] १२२७ आषाढ-

2 सु(शु)दि[7] २ सोमे[8] जयपुरदुर्ग्गे-[9]

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[1] And not *nauli*, as read by Cunningham. He did not explain the word.

[2] Here Cunningham read the name as *-Vēra*, but the impression shows the sign of the medial *i* very clearly. It is not known if the *Śrī* was a part of the name.

[3] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 357, No. 162. It may also be noted here that reading the year as 1237 and making his calculations according to it, Cunningham found that the day could not be worked out to be a Monday, as stated in the inscription, but a Wednesday ; and to solve this difficulty, he also observed that the word *sōmē*, in l. 2, may be a mistake of the writer or the engraver for *saumyē*, *i.e.*, Wednesday, as Budha is regarded to be the son of the Moon-deity (Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 50). This ingenious suggestion, however, goes against the poor knowledge of the writer and the engraver.

[4] From an impression.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] The sign marking this consonant is not cut in its proper place and appears as touching the top of the *mātrā* of *sō*, just below it in the next line. For the reading of the year that follows, see *n.* above.

[7] A redundant stroke makes this syllable appear as *dvi* or *ddhi*.

[8] It is probably the original fault of the stone that makes this letter appear as *bhō*.

[9] The last of the verticals of the *mātrā* of *ā* is ornamental, resembling *ra*.

3 यसमस्तलोकानां राउत-

4 श्री [वी]रेण तेजल्पुत्र[क्ष]त्रि-

5 य [:°] कोटिआ[ग]ग्रामीय[1] [:।°] अने[न]

6 दुर्भिक्षे वौद्यापादनं[2] मार्ग्गद (?)-

7 मुत्रिधानद्रेशवा सुतप्रभृति[3] प्र-

8 तिपादनं कृतं(तम्) । तदनंतरं च

9 श्रीश्रीकरणवरे ठ[4] । १३- -

10 [सं]कलिआ[5] १२ पतेरस्य[6]

11 वौ (बौ)लि । चा- . . .

No. 129 : Plate CXVI

ICHCHHĀVAR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARDIDĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1228

THE two copper-plates which bear this inscription are stated to have been found some time in the closing years of the last century, in the ruins on the western side of the modern village of **Ichchhāvar,**[8] which is also known as Nichhāvar and lies in the Pailānī *tahsīl* of the Bāndā District in Uttar Pradesh. The ruins go by the name of Dhanēsar, or Dhānīkhēḍā, and are surrounded by a lake which is called *Bahī Tāl*, and sometimes as the *Madana-Sāgar*, the latter of these names being applied to it in commemoration of the Chandēlla king Madanavarman who was the grandfather of the ruler who issued the present grant. The circumstances under which the plates were obtained are not known : but it is stated that they somehow came in the possession of Dr. William Hoey and appear to have been presented by him to the Provincial Museum at Lucknow, where they are now preserved. Dr. Hoey published his article on the inscription, jointly with V. A. Smith, giving a full summary of the contents of it, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. LXIV, Pt. I (1895), pp. 155-58, with a facsimile Plate (VII), but without a transcript. Subsequently, the record was edited by F. Kielhorn, who transcribed it from the photo-lithograph appearing in the *Journal of the As. Soc.*, and his article, without a facsimile, appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXV (1896), pp. 205 ff. The inscription is edited here from a set of fresh impressions which I owe to the Director of the Lucknow Museum where the plates are now exhibited.

As stated above, they are two copper-plates, each of them measuring about 33·65 cms. in length and 25·5 cms. in breadth. Both the plates are inscribed on the inner side only. For the

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[1] The reading of this letter is not certain but I have adopted Cunningham's reading. The *rēpha* on the second syllable is indistinct, but it is clear on the same letter in No. 137, l. 5, below.

[2] Cunningham read *naiyapadanam*, but the first two of the letters are quite distinct, and the reading as in the transcript appears to be certain. However, with either of the readings the sense is not clear.

[3] The whole line appears to have been intended for सूत्रधारकेशवसुतप्रभृतिभिः.

[4] The reading of this syllable is doubtful. If it is as taken here, this letter is a contraction of *thakkura*. The other possibility of reading it is *ṇa* and taking the whole as *-varēṇa*.

[5] The first letter in this line has disappeared, leaving only a trace. It has been restored here from the same word appearing in the inscription which is edited below, No. 137.

[6] Perhaps it means 'lord of the *Saṁkāliyā*-12, applied to the excavator of the well. See *n.* on the same word on No. 121, above.

[7] Some traces after this word probably indicate that a portion of the inscription is lost in this line.

[8] Situated in Long. 80° 34' E.; Lat. 25° 52' N. The name is also spelt as Ichchhāvar.

protection of the writing, as to judge from the impressions and also from the original plates, their ends were bordered with strips, about 1 cm. broad and obviously of copper, secured by rivets, four on each of the vertical and five on each of the horizontal sides. All the strips are now lost. The plates were originally held together by a ring passing through a hole, which is about two cms. in diameter and bored at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate so as to disturb the writing in two lines in the middle; but the ring is stated to have been lost, presumably also with the seal which may have been originally attached to it. The weight of both the plates together with the existing nails is 3 kgms.

The inscribed surface on each of the plates measures about 30·5 by 23 cms. The first plate contains 17 lines of writing and the second 18 lines of equal length, leaving a fair margin on all the four sides. The top of the first plate shows a crude representation of the goddess Lakshmī, seated on a lotus, and on either of her sides is an elephant sprinkling her with water from a pot held in the trunk. This device, which is usually to be seen on the charters issued by the Chandēlla kings, roughly measures 5·5 cms. long and 5 cms. high and interrupts the writing in the first four lines. The average height of the letters is 1 cm. They are deeply incised but are not seen on the other side of the plates which are thick. They are fairly legible and the writing is in a state of good preservation.

The **characters** are Nāgarī, bearing a close affinity to those of the Semrā grant which was written and engraved only five years before, in V. S. 1223, by the same persons who respectively wrote and engraved the present inscription, *viz.*, Prithvīdhara and Pālhaṇa, who were respectively the writer and the engraver of some other grants of the house also, as to be seen on proper occasions. And though the technical execution is neat, as observed above, the work is not although faultless, for we find throughout the whole inscription the same type of slipshods as in the Sēmrā grant, *e.g.*, deforming some of the letters, omitting their limbs, and also omitting the signs of *mātrās*, *anusvāras* and the superscript *r* above the top-stroke. For example, *m* in *bhūmi-*, l. 27, is engraved as *g*, and in the same word in l-29, and also in *mata-*, l. 33 and *kumuda-*, l. 34, it is cut as *n* the joining horizontal stroke is missing in the first instance, and the vertical stroke in the second. In *vaṁśa*, l. 2, the consonant of the first letter appears as *ch*, and the sign of the *anusvāra* is not marked: in *varsha*, l. 29, and in *pārthiva-*, l. 31, the sign of the superscript *r* is omitted: and in *utkīrṇṇa-*, l. 35, the curve of the secondary *ī* has not come out. There are several such slips in the present and in the other grants engraved by Pālhaṇa.[1]

To note the peculiarity of the individual letters, attention may be here drawn to the slightly varying forms of *a* in *ashṭa-*, l. 12, *atra*, l. 25, and *āchchhēttā*, l. 29: to the occasional ligatured form of *k* in *avikala*, l. 8; to the conjunct *gg* appearing as *gn*, *e.g.*, in *svargga-*, l. 28; to *ṅ* which resembles *d*, as in *vihaṅgama*, l. 24; to *ṇṇ* shown by a cursive bar accross the letter, cf. *suvarṇṇa-*, l. 30; and to *shṇ* engraved as *shl*, as in *Kṛishṇa-*, l. 16. The *aksharas ch*, *dh* and *v* are only occasionally distinguished, *e.g.*, in *charāchara-* and *Bhavānī*, both in l. 15 and in *samvōdha-*, l. 9: but *ch* is often engraved as *v*; *see yāchatē*, l. 32: *dh* is transitional: for whereas in *dharmma-*, l. 32, this letter is devoid of its horn on the left limb, in *vadhū-*, l. 7, the horn is prominent and joined not to its left limb but to the top of its horizontal: in *virōdhi-*, l. 2, it is joined to the curve of the *mātrā*, and in *vidhēya-*, l. 21, to the sign of the *prishṭha-mātrā*. And above all, in *nidhāna-*, l. 23, this letter shows a top-stroke instead of the horn, which is a rare example, if not a mistake. The form of *bh* is occasionally confounded with that of *t*, *e.g.*, in *bhāvi-*, l. 27; and lastly, *r* appears in all the forms as in the Sēmrā grant, *e.g.*, whereas the ordinary form of this letter can be seen throughout in the inscription, it resembles *v* in *narakē*, l. 30, *ch* in *Rāhu-*, l. 14, and its form with a wedge can be seen in *pravara-*, l. 17. The subscript form of this letter is occasionally shown by a double slanting stroke, for which see *grāma-*, l. 10.

[1] Pālhaṇa is known to have engraved as many as half-a-dozen grants, all issued by Paramardin. They are Nos. 126, 131, 132, 134, in addition to the present one; and No. 138 also appears to have been engraved by him, as to be seen on the proper occasion. In the earliest of them he is called a brazier, then in the subsequent records, an artisan (*śilpin*), and in one, the term *vijñānin* (skilful artist) is prefixed to his name; but as Hiralal has already noted, a comparison with the earliest that was engraved by him (No. 126), does not indicate "any marked improvement" in the mechanical execution seen all through these inscriptions.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit : and with the exception of one verse at the beginning and six in the end, the whole record is in prose. The verses are not numbered. As to **orthography,** we note almost the same peculiarities as in the contemporary inscriptions, *viz.,* (1) the use of the sign of *v* to denote *b*, as in *vādhā,* l. 25 ; (2) the reduplication of a class-consonant following *r*, *e.g.*, in *karmma-*, but not in *varṇṇa-*, both in l. 35 : (3) occasionally putting the palatal for the dental sibilant, cf, *-śahaśra-*, l. 12 ; (4) mostly the use of the sign of *anusvāra*, even wrongly at the end of a stich ; (5) sometimes leaving the final consonant unmarked ; (6) the use of the *prishṭha-mātrā* ; and (6) wrong spellings as in *samvatsara-*, l. 12 *etc.*, and wrong *sandhi*, *e.g.*, in *vikrayamvā*, l. 25. Besides these, we also note the confusion between a *prishṭa-mātrā* and a *daṇḍa*, and occasionally the influence of local elements, *e.g.*, in *Nandiṇī-* and *Nandāvaṇa-*, both in l. 8, where we find the lingual nasal instead of the dental. As in the Sēmrā grant, the *daṇḍa* is put to separate the names of the *pravaras* in l. 17.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by the illustrious **Chandēlla** king **Paramardin,** of the village Nandinī situated in the territorial division (*vishaya*) Nandāvana, in order to increase the merit and fame of his parents and himself (ll. 16-21). The donee was the Brāhmaṇa-General Madanapāla, the son of *Thakkura* Mahēśvara, grandson of *Thakkura* Bhōṇapāla (Bhuvanapāla) and the great-grandson of *Thakkura* Tihuṇapāla (Tribhuvanapāla). He was a student of the Chhāndōgya *śākhā* and his *gōtra* was Krishṇātrēya, with the three *pravaras* Ātrēya, Ārchanānasa and Śyāvāśva. He had migrated from the *bhaṭṭāgrahāra* (a village granted to learned Brāhmaṇas) of the name of Naugāva. The gift was made, as expressed both in figures and words in ll. 12-14, on **Sunday, the full-moon day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa** when there was an **eclipse,** in the (Vikrama) year 1228. The date, as calculated by Kielhorn, corresponds for the *Chaitrādi* Vikrama year 1228 *expired*, to Sunday, **the 18th July, 1171** A.C. when there was a lunar eclipse visible in India, 20 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise.[1] The charter was written by the learned Kāyastha Prithvīdhara, by the order of the king (Paramardin) and was engraved by the artisan Pālhaṇa, the son of Rajapāla (vv. 6-7). The engraver can evidently be identified with the homonymous brazier (*pittalahāra*) as mentioned in the Sēmrā grant engraved by him ; and the writer too is the same person who drafted it and also the one that follows.

The inscription begins with a verse in the *anushṭubh* metre in honour of the Chandrātrēya (Chandēlla) race, and referring to its earliest heroes Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, it provides us with the genealogy of the kings born in it for three generations, *viz.*, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka. Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara,* the illustrious **Prithvivarman,** his successor, the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Madanavarman** and the latter's successor, the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Paramardidēva** who is mentioned also as the great **lord of Kālañjara** and an ardent devotee of Mahēśvara, or Śiva, (ll. 3-7). All this portion is *mutatis mutandis* identical with the corresponding portion of the Sēmrā grant and thus we cannot glean from it any new historical information. The chief portion of the document begins in l. 8, stating that while residing at Vilāsapura, Paramardidēva donated the village Nandinī, falling in the territorial division Nandāvana, to the Brāhmaṇa-General Madanapāla, whose ancestry is given above. The details of the grant and the conditions pertaining to it are stated in ll. 21-27, where there is nothing particularly noteworthy. Following this, we have four imprecatory and benedictory verses in ll. 27-32 ; and the next two stanzas (ll. 34-35) state the names respectively of the writer and the engraver of the royal charter, bringing the inscription to a close.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Kālañjara** (l. 6) is, of course, the well-known fort in the Bāndā District, as seen above ; and the village **Nandinī** or Nandinī (l. 9) has with some probability been identified by V. Smith, with the village of Nandandēō or Nandadēō, lying about 16 kms. south-west of Ichchhāvar,[2] the find-spot of the plates. The territorial division **Nandāvaṇa** or Nandāvana (l. 8), in which the gift-village was situated, may be taken to represent the region around it though a name corresponding to it cannot now be traced in its neighbourhood. This division may have extended up to the Jamnā in the north. **Vilāsapura,** from which place the grant was issued (l. 12), seems to be the same, as already suggested,[3] as modern Pachhār, about 20 kms. to the north-east of Jhānsī in Uttar Pradesh.

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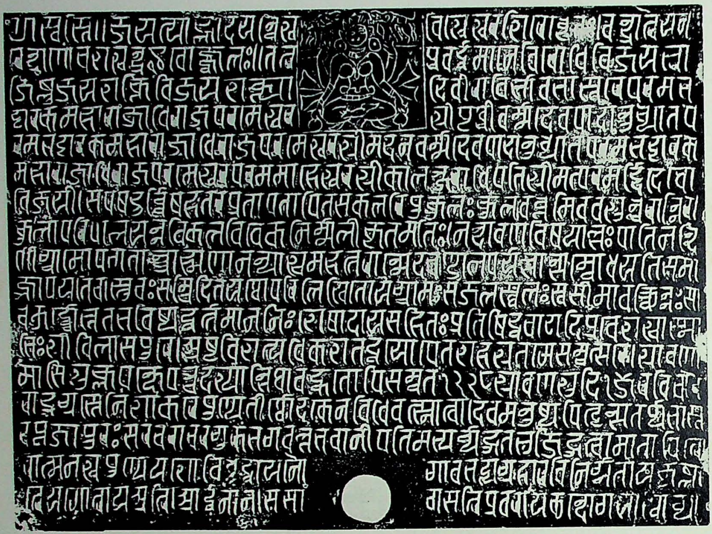
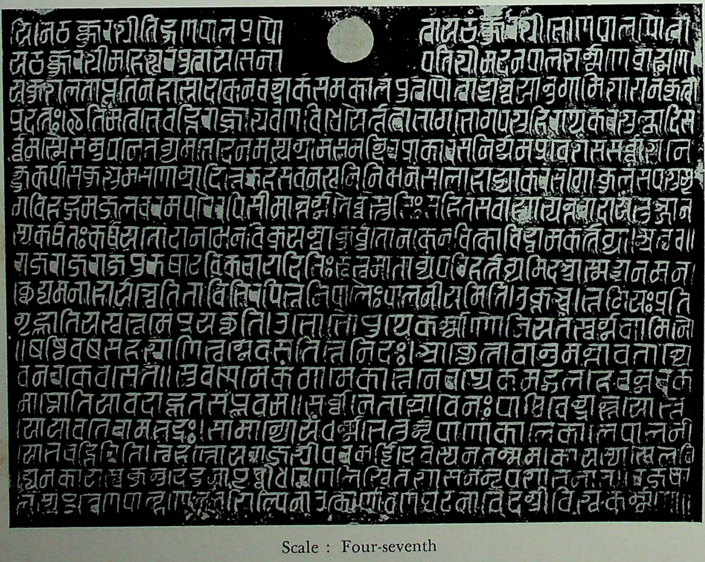
[1] *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XXV, p. 205. Also see *I. N. I.,* No. 351.
[2] *J. A. S. B.,* Vol. LXIV, Pt. I, p. 155.
[3] *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XVI, p. 44.

ICHCHHĀVAR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARDIDĒVA, VIKRAMA 1228

i



ii



Scale : Four-seventh

About the exact location of **Naugāva,** the original place of the donee (l. 16), we can hardly be certain for want of details. However, it may be noted here that one Navagāmva is mentioned in the Māndhātā grant of the Paramāra king Jayavarman II, of V.S. 1317, but there the name appears with the word *sthāna* applied to it,[1] whereas in the present grant it is mentioned as a *bhaṭṭāgrahāra*.

TEXT[2]

Metres : Verses 1-4 Anushṭubh ; v. 5 Śālinī.

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[3] । स्वस्ति ॥ जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वं विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः । चन्द्रात्रेयन-
2 रेन्द्राणां व(वं)शश्चन्द्र इवोज्ज्वलः ॥[१॥*] तत्र प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभ्रा-
3 जिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्त्यादिवीराविर्भावभास्वरे परमभ-
4 ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातप-[4]
5 रमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदनवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारक-
6 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालञ्जराधिपतिश्रीमत्परमर्द्दिदेवो[5]
7 विजयी । स एष[6] दुर्व्विषहतरप्रतापतापितसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवधूमिव वशु(सु)न्धरान्निरा[7]-
8 कुलां परिपालयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्म्मलीकृतमतिः ।[8] नन्दावणविषयान्तःपातिनन्दि-
9 णीग्रामोपता(ग)तान्ब्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणानन्या[ꜗ]श्च महत्तरान्मेदचण्डालपर्य[न्ता]न्सम्बो(म्बो)धयति समा-
10 ज्ञापयति चास्तु[9] वः सम्वि(संवि)दितं यथोपरिलिखितोयं ग्रामः सजलस्थलः स्वसीमावच्छिन्नः सा-
11 धऊर्द्ध्वो भूतभविष्यद्वर्त्तमाननिःशेषादायसहितः प्रतिषिद्धचाटादिप्रवेशश्चास्मा-
12 भिः श्रीविलासपुरे ।[8] अष्टविंशत्यधिकशतद्वयोपेतशहश्र(सहस्र)तमे सम्व(संव)त्सरे ।[8] श्रावणा(णे)-
13 मासि शुक्लपक्षे पञ्चदश्यान्तिथावङ्कतोपि सम्वत(संवत्)१२२८ श्रावण शुदि १५ रविवारे
14 राहुग्रस्ते निशाकरे पुण्यतीर्थोदकेन विधिवत्स्नात्वा देवमनुष्यपितॄन्स(सं)तर्प्य भा[स्क]-
15 रपूजापुरःसरं चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य हुतभुजि हुत्वा मातापित्रो-
16 रात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोवि(वृ)द्धये नौगा[ꜗ]वभट्टाग्रहारविनिर्ग्गताय कृष्णा-
17 त्रेयगोत्राय अत्रि । आर्द्धनान । ससा[वा][10]सत्रिप्रवराय छन्दोगशाखाध्या-

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[1] See No. 60, text, l. 31, and my remarks about the location of the place mentioned in it.

[2] From a set of estampages supplied by the Director, Provincial Museum, Lucknow. After my writing on the record was completed, I have also compared my transcript of this inscription from the original plates in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, for which I am thankful to its Curator Shri V. N. Shrivastava, for placing them at my disposal and giving me all facilities for my work there.

[3] Denoted by a variant of the symbol.

[4] The upper stroke of *th* in *prithvī* is not engraved.

[5] A superfluous stroke makes this *akshara* look like *thō*.

[6] The *ē* resembles *pa* and the lower extremity of the vertical of the following letter is joined to that of its fore-limb.

[7] The vertical stroke showing the *mātrā* is detached from the letter so as to look like a *daṇḍa*. Below are some other instances of the type, which are not noted every time.

[8] The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[9] Read *cha* followed by a *daṇḍa* and then *astu*.

[10] Both these *aksharas* are mutilated and the first of them appears more like *sā* than *śā*. It may also be noted here that the third *pravara* of this *gōtra* is *Śyāvāśva*. Read -गोत्रायार्च्चनानसश्यावाश्वेतित्रिप्रवराय. By wrong strokes of the chisel, *rchchya* appears as *rdha* and *va* in *pravarāya* as *tra*. *Vā* in *-sāvāsa-* also appears to have been tampered.

Second Plate

18 यिने ठक्कुरश्रीतिहुणपालप्रपौत्राय ठक्कुरश्रीभोणपालपौत्रा-[1]
19 य ठक्कुरश्रीमहेश्वरपुत्राय सेनापतिश्रीमदनपालशर्म्मणे व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणा-
20 य कुशलतापूतेन हस्तोदकेन चन्द्रार्कसमकालं पुत्रपौत्राद्यन्वयानुगामि शासनं[2] कृत्वा
21 प्रदत्तः । इति मत्वा भवद्भिराज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा भागभोगपशुहिरण्यकरशुल्कादि स-
22 र्व्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्य[ं*](व्यम्) ।[3] तदेनमस्य ग्रामं समन्दिरप्राकारं सनिर्ग्गमप्रवेशं ससर्व्वाशने-
23 क्षुकर्पासकुशु(सु)मसणाम्राद्दिभूरुहं सवनखनिनिधानं सलोहाद्याकरं सगोकुलं सपशुमृ-
24 गविहङ्गमजलचरमपरैरपि सीमान्तर्ग्गतैर्व्वस्तुभिः सहितं सवा(बा)ह्याभ्यन्तरादायं भुञ्जान-
25 स्य कर्षतः कर्षयतो दानाधानविक्रयम्वा(यं वा) कुर्व्वतो न केनचित्काचिद्वा(द्रा)धा कर्त्तव्या । अत्र च ॥[4]
26 राजराजराजपुरुषाटविकचाटादिभिः स्वं स्वमा[भा]व्यं[5] परिहर्त्तव्यमिदञ्चास्मद्दानमना-
27 च्छेद्यमनाहार्यञ्चेति [भा]विभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयमिति । उक्तञ्च । भूमिं[6] यः प्रति-
28 गृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं[7] प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ[॥२*]
29 ॥ षष्ठि(ष्टिं) वर्षसहश्रा(स्रा)णि[8] स्वर्ग्गे वसति भूनि(मि)दः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-
30 व नरके वसेत(त्) ॥[३॥*] सुवर्ण्णमेकं गामेकां भूने(मे)रप्येकमङ्गुल[ं*](लम्) । हरन्नरक-
31 माप्नोति यावदाहू(भू)तसंप्लवम(म्) ॥[४॥*] सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पा[र्थि]वेन्द्रान्भूयो भू-
32 यो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्न्नृपाणां काले काले पालनी-
33 यो भवद्भिरिति[9] । [।५॥*] स्वहस्तोयं राजश्रीपरमर्द्दिदेवस्य न(म)तन्मम ।[10] कायस्थाखिलवि[11]-
34 द्येन कायस्थकुनु(मु)देंदुना [।*] पृथ्वीधरेण लिखितं शासनं नृपशासनात(त्) ॥[६॥*] रजपा[12]-
35 लस्य पुत्रेण पाल्हणेन च शिल्पिना [।*]उत्का(त्की)र्णा वर्णघटना वैदग्धी[13]विश्वकर्म्मणा ॥[७॥*]

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[1] The correct Sanskrit form of this name is Bhuvanapāla.

[2] The horizontal stroke of the second *akshara* is missing, making it appear as *rā*.

[3] This *daṇḍa* is rather attached to the following letter and appears as a *prishṭha-mātrā*. The preceding sign of *anusvāra*, as some others below, is so faintly marked as to be visible only on the plate.

[4] The *daṇḍas* are redundant. For राजराज that follows, Kielhorn suggested राजराजकं.

[5] This *akshara* in brackets is engraved as *tā*. Drop *Rāja* at the beginning of this line.

[6] The consonant of this *akshara* is engraved as *g* with the horizontal stroke missing.

[7] The curve above is omitted in the process of engraving.

[8] The superscript *r* is lightly engraved and the medial *ī* sign is detached so as to look like a *daṇḍa*.

[9] Read *bhavadbhiḥ* followed by a *daṇḍa*, and then *iti*.

[10] Read न मम or मतं मम, as in No. 119, l. 41.

[11] Here again the upper curve of *khi* is missing.

[12] This *akshara* is disfigured by some redundant strokes.

[13] The subscript *dh* is only partly engraved and looks like *r* with double strokes, as in *grāmaḥ* in l. 10.

No. 130 : Plate CXVII

MAHŌBĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARDIDĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1230

THE copper-plates which bear this inscription are stated to have been discovered in about 1920, in course of digging for earth to build a house, at **Mahōbā** in the Hamīrpur District of Uttar Pradesh. The inscription was edited, with lithographs, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI (1921-22), pp. 9 ff. The present whereabouts of the plates are not known, and no fresh impressions of the same are now possible; and hence the record is edited here from the lithographs accompanying Hiralal's article.

The plates are **two** in number and about their discovery Hiralal has stated that they were "deposited in a stone-chest, about 30′ (9·14 metres) below the surface. They were strung together with a ring having a seal, which the finder took for a lock and broke, inferring from the figure of **Gajalakshmī** (Goddess of wealth) in the middle of the first four lines, that the record dealt with some hidden treasure". Each of the plates measured 39·6 by 30·5 cms. and their weight, as recorded by him, is equal to 3·173 kilograms. The rims of both the plates are said to have been bordered with flat copper strips, about 6 cms. in breadth, fastened with nails; and on cleaning, both the plates were found to be in a good state of preservation, as is also shown by the lithographs.

The record consists of 33 lines, 16 of which are inscribed on the first plate, and the remaining 17 on the second. The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet, and generally resemble those of the Sēmrā and Ichchhāvar grants,[1] which were written and engraved by the same persons as of the present grant; and the palaeographical peculiarities are therefore almost the same. To pick up some examples from the present grant, we find that the vowel *ē* is formed as *p*; see *ēsha-* in l. 7; the consonant *ṅ* continues to be devoid of its dot, as in *-aṅka-*, l. 16; *Ch, dh* and *v* are often not clearly distinguished, though *dh* in several cases shows a horn on its left limb, as in *virōdhi*, l. 2, but not in *vadhū-*, l. 7. *R* also occasionally resembles *v*, as in *Viśvēśvara*, l. 1, and its different form is to be noted in *ṭhakkura*, l. 21. The palatal *ś* sometimes begins with a loop and at others without it: see *Viśvēśvara*, l. 1, where we have both the instances side by side. A notable peculiarity is that occasionally some of the letters are formed with their bends angular, *e.g.*, *v* in *vidhivat*, l. 17, and *shashṭyanvitā* and *pūrvva-* both in l. 12.

So far as technical execution is concerned, the letters are clear, but we find here the same type of mistakes as in the Sēmrā and other grants which were engraved by the same mason, *e.g.*, often omitting parts of letters, the *mātrās*, and the signs of *anusvāra* and *visarga*, *etc.*, as also noted by Hiralal. For example, *m* is cut as *g* in bhūmi-, l. 29; *shṇ* as *pn* in *Krishṇa-*, l. 16; *v* as *ṭ* in *vijayī*, l. 6 and *shṭ* as *vri* in *-chatushṭaya*, l. 11. The transcript below will show slips of this type, all through.

The **language** is Sanskrit; and except for a verse in the beginning and two in ll. 30-33, which are all not numbered, the record is all in prose. As regards **orthography,** we may note the use of (1) *v* to denote *b*, *e.g.*, in *Vrāhmaṇa*, l. 13; (2) of the dental for the palatal sibilant, and *vice versa*; see *sākhā-*. and *Śāṅkṛitya-*, both in l. 20; (3) the doubling of a class-consonant after *r*, as in *nirmmala-*, l. 8; (4) the change of *anusvāra* to *m* as in *samvat*, l. 16; (5) the use of the *prishṭhamātrā*, and finally, not marking the final consonants in ll. 31 and 33.

It is a royal charter, issued by the **Chandēlla** king Paramardin, the lord of Kālañjara; and its **object** is to record the bestowal of some land in the village Dhanaura, falling in the territorial division of Ērachha, by the king, in order to promote the religious benefit of his parents as of himself, from his temporary residence at a village named Gahilū (ll. 8-15). The **date** of the record, as mentioned both in words and figures in ll. 16-17, is the fourth day of the **dark half of Māgh of 1230, Tuesday,** when the Sun entered the zodiacal sign Makara. This date must plainly be referred to the Vikrama era, and as calculated by Hiralal, it regularly corresponds to **25th of**

[1] Above, Nos. 126 and 129, respectively.

December, 1173 A.C[1]. The charter was written, by the order of the king, by **Prithvīdhara**, who belonged to the Vāstavya family and who was the writer of legal documents (v. 3): and it was engraved by the skilful artisan (*vijñānin*) **Pālhaṇa** who also engraved some other inscriptions, as already seen.[2]

The inscription opens with the well-known verse which eulogises the royal family of the **Chandrātrēyas** (Chandēllas); and thereafter it refers to the two of the earliest members of the house, *viz.* **Jayaśakti** and **Vijayaśakti.** This is followed by the genealogy of the house, introducing the names of **Prithvīvarman,** his successor **Madanavarman** and the latter's successor **Paramardin,** all mentioned in the usual way as *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara,* and mentioning the last of these rulers also to have been a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and the supreme lord of Kālañjara (ll. 3-6). This portion, which is copied *verbatim* from the earliest grants of the king, does not add to our historical knowledge. Line 8 begins the formal portion of the record, which is of course different from that of the earlier grants, and which announces to the people assembled at the village Dhanaura, in the territorial division of Erachha, the donation made by the king Paramardin, while staying at Gahilū. The details of the land are mentioned in ll. 11 ff., *viz.*, that it measured (as much as it could be cultivated by) five *halas* and sown by 3 and 3/4 *drōṇas* of seed.[3] The former of these phases indicates the dimensions of the land granted and the latter the quantity of seed required for sowing it. To this gift was also added another plot measuring 52 *hastas*[4] on either side, *i.e.*, length and breadth. Each of the *vāpas* was designed to measure a *prastha*,[5] and the measurements of the land are again stated to be 10 by 6, *i.e.*, 60 *vāpas.* The boundaries of the donated land are also mentioned, *viz.*, it was bounded on the east by the *nāpita-nālā*,[6] on the south by a *nālā*, on the west by the embankment of the Bhatahada tank, and on the north by a Brāhmaṇa's land and a tank-embankment.

The donee was the illustrious *Paṇḍita* Ratana (Ratna or Śrīratna), the son of Dvivēdin Vīlhē, the grandson of *Ṭhakkura* Chhīdula and the great grandson of *Ṭhakkura* Yaśaḥpāla, belonging to the Vājasanēya *śākhā* and his *gōtra* was Sāṅkṛitya with the three *pravaras* Sāṅkṛitya, Āṅgirasa and Gaurīvṛitta.[7] He had emigrated from the *bhaṭṭāgrahāra* known as Phōḍiva.

The conditions of the grant, which are the same as we generally find in the other grants made by the Chandēlla kings, are stated in ll. 24-30. This portion is followed by an imprecatory verse and then we have the **sign-manual** of the king Paramardidēva in l. 31. After this, there is a verse, which is identical with that of the Sēmrā and Ichchhāvar grants, stating the name of the person who wrote the grant; and then we have the name of the engraver, as seen above. Thus the inscription comes to a close.

As for the **localities** mentioned here, **Ērachha** (l. 8) has been identified with the well-known Erich on the Bētwā, which gave its name to the surrounding region. The place is about 60 miles (96 kms.) north-northwest, and at present included in the Hamīrpur District of Uttar Pradesh. **Dhanaura** (l. 8), according to Hiralal, represented the modern Dhanaurā, about 18 kms. from Erich. And **Gahilū** (l. 15) is apparently the same as Gahuli, about 16 kms. north of Dhanaurā. **Phōḍiva**, the locality from which the donee is stated to have emigrated (l. 19), cannot be identified for want of details. Hiralal has rightly remarked, "As the grant refers to pieces of land and not to the whole village, the boundaries are described by local *nālās*, ponds and fields, which it is now fruitless to trace."

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[1] *Ep. Ind., op. cit,* p. 10.

[2] See Hiralal's article, p. 10. Prithvīdhara also composed grants Nos. 126 and 129.

[3] *Drōṇa* is a measure of capacity, which varied from time to time, as we know from its dictionary meaning stating it to be equal to an *āḍhaka* and also to four *āḍhakas.*

[4] *Hasta* is a measure of length equal to about 18″ or 45·7 cms.

[5] For the meaning of *vāpa*, see No. 118, above. *Prastha* is a measure of capacity equal to 32 palas or 2048 *māshas.*

[6] The text reads *nāpitasatka, i.e.*, belonging to a *nāpita*. Whether this word has to be taken here as meaning 'a barber', as actually done by Hiralal, is doubtful.

[7] This *gōtra* is generally known as *Saṅkṛiti* and the *pravaras* as Āṅgirasa, Sāṅkṛitya and Gaurīvīta.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1-2 *Anushṭubh* ; v. 3 *Mālinī*].

First Plate

1 ओं[2] स्वस्ति ॥ जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वं विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः । [च]न्द्रात्रेयनरेन्द्रा-
2 णां[3] वंशश्चन्द्र इवोज्ज्वलः ॥[१॥] तत्र प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभ्राजिष्णुजयश-[4]
3 क्ति[वि]जयशक्त्यादिवीराविर्भावभास्वरे[5] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा-
4 जपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा-
5 जपरमेश्वरश्रीमदनवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-[6]
6 परममाहेश्वरश्रीकाल[7]ञ्जराधिपतिश्रीमत्परमर्दिदेवो[8] टि(वि)जयी[9] ॥ स
7 एष[10] दुर्व्विषहतरप्रतापतापितसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवधूमिव वशु(सु)न्धरान्निराकुलां परिपा-
8 लयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्म्मलीकृतमतिः ।[11] एरछविषयान्तःपातिथनौरग्रामोपगतान्ब्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्म-
9 णानन्यांश्चाधिकृतान्महत्तमादीन्सम्बो(म्बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति चास्तु वः सम्वि(संवि)दितं यथोपरिलि-
10 खितेस्मिन्ग्रामे साधऊर्द्ध्वा भूतभविष्यद्वर्त्तमाननिःशेषादायसहिता प्रतिषिद्धचाटादिप्र-
11 वेशा वा[प]गत्या[12] मोरटे पादोनद्रोणचतुव्(ष्ट)यपरिकलिता प्रस्थप्रत्येकवा[प]व्यवस्थया[13] दैर्घ्ये
12 वा[प] १० विस्तरे वा[प] ६ जात[वा]पषष्ट्यन्विता पूर्व्वस्यां दिशि नापितसत्कनाला दक्षिणस्यां दिशि
13 नाला पश्चिमायां दिशि भतहडपुष्करिणी भीट् । [उ]त्तरस्यां[14] दिशि ग्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणभूमि[ः] तथा भीटीपुष्क-
14 रिणी एतैराघाटैर्व्विसि(शि)ष्टा । तथावासकृते उभयद्विपञ्चास(श)द्धस्तप्रमाणया भूम्या सह पञ्च-
15 हलाद(व)च्छिन्ना भूमिरस्माभिः [गहि]लूग्रामसमावासे त्रिंशदधिकशतद्वयोपे-
16 तशहश्(सहस्र)तमे सम्व(संव)त्सरे ।[15] माघे मासि कृप्ण(कृष्ण)पक्षे[16] चतुर्थ्या[17]न्तिथाव[ङ्क]तोपि सम्व(संव)-

Second Plate

17 त(त्) १२३० माघ वदि ४ भौमवारे मकरगते सवितरि पुण्यतीर्थोदकेन विधिव-
18 त्स्नात्वा देवमनुष्यपितॄन्संतर्प्य भास्करपूजापुरःसर(रं) चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानी-

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[1] From plate facing p. 12 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI.

[2] Denoted by a symbol.

[3] As Hiralal has already noted, this syllable in the brackets is ornamentally formed.

[4] A *kāka-pāda* sign is engraved here.

In place of the superscript *r*, the sign of *anusvāra* is engraved on *rbhā*.

[6] This letter looks like a *ya*.

[7] What looks like the sign of *anusvāra* above this letter may be a redundant stroke of the chisel, as there are some others below.

[8] The superscript *r* of *rdi* is so mixed with the *mātrā* of the following letter as to form a graceful curve.

[9] The vertical stroke of *va* is omitted in the process of engraving, and thus the letter looks like *ta*.

[10] The first of these letters is apparently concealed under the protecting band, and the slanting stroke of *sh* is omitted, making the letter look like *pa*.

[11] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[12] Hiralal read the consonant of this *akshara* as *dh* and took the word *vāpa* to mean a measure of land. But in all the three instances in which this word appears in this and the next lines, this *akshara* is indistinct and my reading of it is in view of my note on it in the corresponding portion in No. 118, above. Hiralal also observed that *mōraṭa* "is a kind of plant with sweet juice and flourishes in a kind of soil to which it has given its name, now corrupt into *mōraṇḍa*". In Mālwā it is known as *mōra-dhana* (*dhānya*).

[13] *Drōṇa* and *prastha* are measures of capacity. Hiralal observed in this connection that they indicate the seed capacity whereas *vādha* (*pa*) the area of land granted.

[14] The bracketed *akshara* is formed as *nu*.

[15] The punctuation mark is redundant.

[16] Here *shṇa* is carved as *pṇ*, the slanting stroke distinguishing *sh* from *p* being omitted.

[17] The *rēpha* is indistinct, but it is there.

19 पतिमभ्यर्च्य हुतभुजि हुत्वा मा[ता]पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोविवृद्धये[1] फोडिवभट्टाग्रहा-[2]
20 रविनिर्ग्गताय शांकृत्यगोत्राय शांकृत्याङ्गिरसगौरीवृत्तेत(ति)त्रिप्रवराय[3] वाजसनेयसा(शा)-
21 खाध्यायिने ठक्कुरश्रीयशःपालप्रपौत्राय ठक्कुरश्रीछीदुलपौत्राय[4] द्विवेदश्रीवील्हेपुत्राय
22 पण्डितश्रीरतनशर्म्मणे व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय कुशलतापूतेन हस्तोदकेन स्वस्तिवाचनपूर्व्वं चन्द्रार्क-
23 समकालं पुत्रपौत्रा[द्य]न्वयानुगामि[5] शासनीवृा(कृ)त्य प्रदत्ता । इति मत्वा भवद्भिराज्ञाश्रवणवि-
24 धेयैर्भूत्वा[6] भागभोगपशुहिरण्यं करशुल्कादि सर्व्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यम(म्) ॥ तदेनामम्य
25 भूमिं समन्दिरप्राकारां सनिर्ग्गमप्रवेशां [स*]सर्व्वाशनेक्षुकर्पासकुशु(सु)मसणाम्रमधूका-
26 दिभूरुहां सख[नि]नि[धा]नां[7]सलोह[ा*]करां सपसु(शु)मृगविड(ह)ङ्गमजलचरामपरैरपि सी-[8]
27 मान्तर्ग्गतैर्व्वस्तुभिः सहितां सवा(बा)ह्याभ्यन्तरादायां भुञ्जानस्य कर्षतः कर्षयतो दां(दा)नाधानविक्र-
28 यम्वा(यं वा) कुर्व्वतो न केनचित्काचिद्वा(द्रा)धा कर्त्तव्या । अत्र च ।[9] राजराजपुरुषाटविकचाटादिभिः स्वं
29 स्वमाभाव्यं परिहर्त्तव्यमिदं चास्मद्दानमनाच्छेद्यमिति भाविभिरपि भूगि(मि)पालैः
30 पालनीयमिति ॥ उक्तञ्च ॥ षष्टिं वर्षश(स)हशृा(स्रा)णि स्वर्ग्गे वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चा-
31 नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत(त्) ॥[२॥*] स्वहस्तोयं राजश्रीपरमर्द्दिदेवस्य मतम्मम । विरचितशुभ-
32 कर्म्मोन्नामवास्तव्यवंश्यः सकलगुणगणानां वेश्म पृथ्वीधराख्यः[10] । अलिखदवनिपालस्याज्ञ-[11]
33 या धर्म्मलेखी स्फुटललितनिवेशैरक्षरैस्ताम्रपट्टमं(म्)[12] ॥[३*] उत्कीर्णञ्च विज्ञानिपाल्हणेनेति ॥

No. 131 ; Plate CXVIII

PACHHĀR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARDIDĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1233

THE copper-plate on which this inscription is engraved is said to have been found some time in the third quarter of the last century, by one Gaṇēsjū, in course of excavating the foundation of his house at **Pachhār**, a village about 20 kms. north by east of Jhānsī, the headquarters of a District of the same name in Uttar Pradesh. The record was edited by Arthur Venis in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X (1909-10), pp. 44 ff., with a facsimile. It is edited here from inked impressions kindly supplied to me, at my request, by the Director of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, to which the original plate was presented by the Zamindār of the village and where it is now exhibited.[13]

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1 Originally *mē*, changed later on to *yē*.

2 The letters forming the name cannot be read with certainty.

3 The *gōtra* usually appears as *Saṅkṛiti*, and its *pravaras* as *Sāṅkṛitya*, *Āṅgirasa* and *Gaurivīta* (not *-vrata*). See *Gōtrapravaranibandha-kadamba*, p. 41.

4 The ten *aksharas* ending with this are omitted in Hiralal's transcript.

5 The bracketed *akshara* is defectively formed.

6 Hiralal read शरणविधि(धे)यैं–, but it is due to the fault in engraving.

7 The two letters in the bracket are indistinct. Hiralal read this expression as सखनिनिमनां(म्नां), in the sense, according to him, 'together with forests, mines and hollows'. It appears as सवनखनिनिधानां in the Sēmrā grant (l. 118).

8 This letter has an additional redundant stroke at the end.

9 The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

10 The subscript of this letter looks like ग्र, with the loop of ख्.

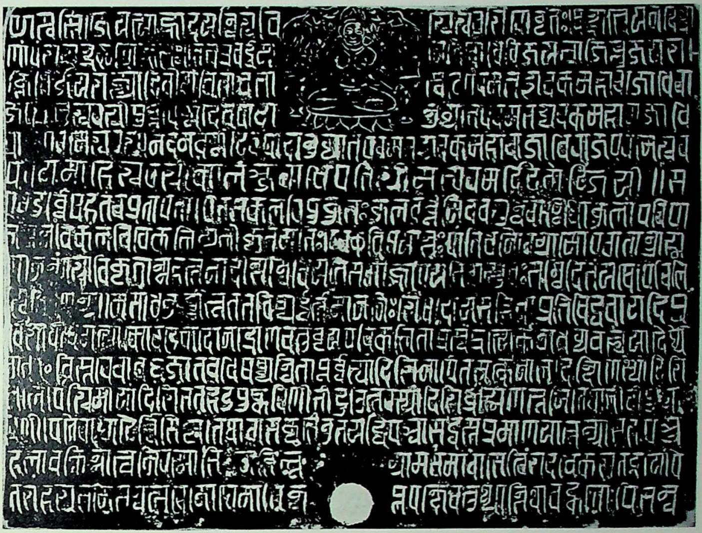
11 A *kāka-pāda* sign appears at the end of this line.

12 It is not known if the sign marking *m* is hidden below the band, and what looks like the sign of *anusvāra* above this *akshara* may be a redundant stroke of the chisel, as there are some others.

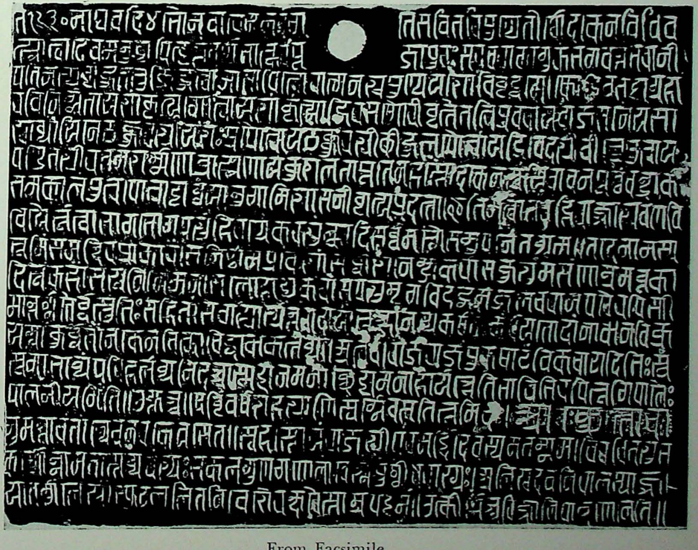
13 The exact spot of the discovery of the plates is not known; but the presumption of Venis that "it was somewhere on the raised mound (consisting of the usual debris of old houses, *etc.*) on which the village stands" may be taken to be true till we find anything to the contrary. In my visit to the Museum at Lucknow for examining the inscriptions exhibited there, in January 1973, I found recorded in the Register that this plate, which is catalogued as No. E-45, was presented by a Brāhmaṇa, named Bindraban of Pachhār, through Mr. Silberrad, I.C.S., and reached the Museum on the 5th December, 1908. The information is due to Mr. V.N. Shrivastava, Curator of the Museum, to whom I am thankful.

MAHŌBĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARDIDĒVA, VIKRAMA 1230

i



ii



From Facsimile

It is a **single** copper-plate inscribed on one side only. All round the borders it shows a flat strip of copper, about 1 cm. broad, fastened on to it very tightly with twenty rivets — six on each of the horizontal sides and four on each of the vertical. The strips are so close to the inscribed portion that some of the *aksharas* could not completely come out in the impressions which were prepared fresh. The engraving, as far as I could judge from the impressions and also from the plate which I examined subsequently, is rather shallow : and the interiors of a number of the letters show, as in some other inscriptions, marks of the engraver's tool, which is also responsible for mis-shaping or incompletely engraving several of them owing to the carelessness of either the writer or the engraver, as will be pointed out in the text given below. The writing too, which appears to have suffered from the deposit of verdigris on the plate, demands patience on the part of the reader. It covers a space 38 cms. broad by 27 cms. high, and contains 22 complete lines. The formation of the letters is not symmetrical, and whereas in the first fifteen lines they show an average height of ·7 to ·8 cm., the height gradually increases in the following lines till in the last five or six lines it is not less than 1 cm. The plate together with the strips and nails weighs 2 kgms.

In the middle of the last line of the writing, the plate has a ringhole, about 1·5 cm. in diameter, and it is natural to conclude that it was meant either for hanging the plate or holding with it another plate which was never discovered. But the ring with the seal, if at all attached to it, was not found. In the middle of the first four lines also, the writing is disturbed by a rude sketch of the goddess Lakshmī, in a rectangle, measuring about 5·5 cms. broad by 4·5 cms. high. The deity is seated cross-legged and is being sprinkled with water by an elephant on either side : she has four hands, the upper two of which are raised, with a lotus in each. The tips of the trunks of the elephants and the upper part of the diadem of the goddess are hidden under the strips fastened tightly on this portion of the plate.

The **characters** are Nāgarī, showing more or less the same palæographical peculiarities as of the Sēmrā and the Ichchhāvar grants, which were engraved by the same hand. To note the peculiarities of the individual letters of the present inscription, we find that the vowel *i* is formed of two loops, the first of which shows a tail and the second a horn above, as in *iva-*, l. 1 ; *ṅ* is still devoid of its dot, cf. *-aṅka-*, l. 9 ; *ch* and *v* are often alike, and occasionally *dh* and *r* also share the same peculiarities. For example, *ch* is formed as *v* in *-chandra-* and *r* as *v* in *śirō*, both in l. 1, and we find *r* engraved as *v* in *śrī*, *dh* as *v* in *-adhi-* and *v* as *ch* in *vijaya* and *vīra-*, all in l. 2. *Dh* has developed a horn on its left limb ; this horn is occasionally joined to some other part of the letter than to the loop, *e.g.*, to its vertical stroke or to that of the *mātrā*, as in *-rājādhi-*, l. 2, and sometimes, though rarely, it takes the place of the top-stroke itself, as in *-vaśudhā*, l. 18. The verticals of *dhā* continue to be joined by a stroke in the middle. The vertical of *p* is often not drawn below the point where it meets the curve of its left limb, and consequently this letter is confounded with the vowel *ē*, *e.g.*, see *-pati* and *ēsha-*, both in l. 4. The conjunct 99 continues to be cut as *gn* ; cf. *vinirggata-*, l. 11, and the curve of the superscript *r* is at times only a cursive stroke, as in the same example. Occasionally, the forms of *ch*, *dh*, *r* and *v* are so alike as to be distinguished only from the context.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit : and excepting one initial verse and five imprecatory and benedictory verses in the end, with two more which record the names of the writer and the engraver, the record is all in prose. The verses are not numbered. Grammatical and other errors are more to be found in the last portion.

As regards **orthography,** we may notice that *v* is throughout written for *b* and the dental sibilant for the palatal in some places ; see, *e.g.*, in *vādhā*, l. 15 and *visada-*, l. 20 ; the palatal sibilant is sometimes put for the dental, as in *-vaśudhā*, l. 18 ; a class-consonant following *r* is generally doubled : see *dharmma-*, l. 21. Besides these, the final consonant is occasionally not marked, and sometimes the mark cannot be clearly distinguished, as in *vasēt*, l. 20 : the dental nasal is wrongly put for the lingual in *gṛihṇāti*, and the lingual for the dental in *puṇyāṇi*, both in l. 17 ; the *mātrā* of *ṛi* is wrongly changed to *ri* in *kṛimi-*, l. 19 : *anusvāra* is wrongly changed to *m* in *samvat*, l. 9, and in some other examples ; and finally, the vertical stroke of a *mātrā* and the *daṇḍa* used for marking punctuation are sometimes not distinguished from each other, *e.g.*, in *yō*, the fifth letter in l. 9. The *anusvāra* is occasionally either not marked, or put haphazardly and in such a minute form as it could not come out on the impressions.

The plate was issued by the illustrious **king Paramardin** of the **Chandēlla** dynasty, from

his camp at Vilāsapura. The **object** of it is to record the bestowal, by him, of a plot of land measuring ten *halas*, in the village Lauvā in the territorial division Karigavā, on a Brāhmaṇa-Paṇḍita of the name of Kēśava, the son of Dvivēdin Tīkava, grandson of *Rāṇaka* (or Rāüta?). Tihuṇapāla and great-grandson of Chaturvēdin (?) Valaha. The **date** of the record, as expressed both in figures and words, in ll. 8-9, is **Wednesday, the eighth of the dark half of Kārtika,** of Vikrama 1233, which regularly corresponds to **27th October, 1176** A. C.[1] The inscription, or *tāmrapaṭṭa* as it is called in v. 7 (l. 22), was written by the order of the king, by Śubhānanda of the Vāstavya family, who knew all the *śāstras* and was the writer of the legal documents (*dharma-lēkhin*). It was engraved by the artisan (*śilpin*) Pālhaṇa, the son of Rajapāla, who, as we know, engraved some other inscriptions also, as we have seen while editing the Ichchhāvar grant.[2]

The inscription opens with a variant of the symbol for *Siddham*, and with the oft-quoted verse eulogising the royal house of the **Chandrātrēya** kings, it gives the genealogy of the house for three kings, *viz.*, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Pṛithvīvarman,** his successor, the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Madanavarman,** and lastly, his successor the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Paramardin** who is also mentioned to have been a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), and the **lord of Kālañjara** (ll. 2-4). This portion, which is evidently copied from the earlier grants of the ruler, does not furnish any new historical information. Lines 6-13 record the formal portion of the grant, stating that the king, from his camp at Vilāsapura, and on the date which we have seen above, donated ten *halas* of land pertaining to the village Lauvā, falling in the territorial division (*vishaya*) of Karigavā, to the Brāmaṇa-Paṇḍita Kēśava, whose ancestry we have seen above and who belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, with the *pravaras* Kaśyapa, Avatsāra and Naidhruva, who studied the Vājasanēya *śākhā* and who had emigrated from the *bhaṭṭāgrahāra* (land donated to learned Brāhmaṇas) Mutāüsha.

The land which is here stated to be worth ploughing by ten *halas*, as we have seen the significance of the expression, is also said to be measured by its sowing capacity of seven-and-half *drōṇas* of seeds, 'as to be sown broadcast' and leaving a dividing line or boundary after each *prastha* of seed sown. The same expression occurs also in the Mahōbā inscription of the same king issued only three years earlier in V. S. 1230 ;[3] and while dealing with the same we have discussed it fully ; here it is also interesting to note that the way of recording the measurement of land is also mentioned in the Augāsī grant of Paramardin's grandfather Madanavarman, issued in V. S. 1190.[4] From all these instances it may safely be concluded that the method of measuring land by the quantity of seed required to sow it was not only popularly known but also officially recognised.[5] The grant was to be, as we are further told, perpetually enjoyed by a succession of sons and son's sons (ll. 12-13).

The terms of the grant are mentioned in ll. 13-16 ; and accordingly, the donee was endowed with all the usual right over the land, without any obstruction. This portion is followed by five of the ordinary imprecatory and benedictory stanzas, and thereafter we have the sign-manual of Paramardin. Then the charter comes to an end with two stanzas, the first of which mentions the name of the writer and the second, of the engraver, as seen above.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Kālañjara** (l. 4), as often seen, is the renowned fort in the Bāndā District of Uttar Pradesh and a stronghold of the Chandēlla kings. The village **Lauvā** (l. 6) has been identified by Venis and it is said to have been situated 5 kms. west of Pachhār ;[6] and **Karigavā** which is mentioned as a *vishaya* in l. 5, cannot definitely be identified as in the region of Jhānsī there are several villages with this name. But as suggested

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[1] *See Ep. Ind.*. Vol. X, p. 46. The year should be taken as *Chaitrādi*, expired.

[2] Above, No. 129.

[3] Above, No. 130, text, l. 11.

[4] No. 118; Text, ll. 7-8.

[5] For comparison, we may note that in the surrounding regions also land was measured both ways, *viz.* by its capacity of being ploughed and also by that of quantity of seed sown. Sometimes both these methods are mentioned in one instance and sometimes either. See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 19, 20 and 42, ll. 10, 10 and 32, respectively.

[6] This identification seems to be in complete accord with his notice that the village contains some remains of Chandēlla workmanship, *viz.*, a large well lined with square stones and "a granite slab that clearly formed originally part of a Chandēlla building but now used as a *Satī* stone" (p. 46, *n.*).

by Venis, it may have been the one which is the largest and most important and which is situated about 8 kms. north-east of Chirgāon and 15 kms. north-east of Pachhār.[1] The place where the king took bath before making the grant is not mentioned, but it may have been on the banks of the Vētravatī which flows not far from the find-spot of the inscription. And finally, Mutāūsha, the original place of the donee (l. 11), I am unable to trace.

TEXT[2]

[Metres: Verses 1-6 and 8 *Anushṭubh* ; v. 7 *Mālinī*].

1 सिद्धम्[3] स्वस्ति ॥ जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वं[4] विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः । चन्द्रात्रेयनरेन्द्राणां वंशश्चन्द्र इवोज्ज्वलः ॥[१*] तत्र [प्रव]र्द्धमाने[5] वि-

2 रोधिविजयभ्राजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयस(श)क्त्यादिवीराविभा(र्भा)वभास्वरे[6] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वरश्री-

3 पृथ्वीवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपर[म]भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदनवर्म्मदे[7]वपादानुध्यात[परम]भट्टारक[8]-

4 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्व[9]रश्रीकालंञ्ज(लञ्ज)राधि[10]पतिश्रीमत्परमर्द्दि[र्द्दि]देवो विजयी । स एष दुर्व्विंस(ष)हत[र]-

5 प्रतापतापितसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवधूमिव व[सु]न्धरान्निराकुलां[11] परिपालयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्म्मलीकृतमतिः ।[12] करिगवांविषयान्तःपा-

6 ति[लौ]वा[13]ग्रामोपगतान्ब्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणानन्यांश्च मान्यानधिकृतान्कुटुम्वि(म्बि)कायस्थदूतवै[14]द्यमहत्तरादी[न्स]-र्व्वान्सम्वो(म्बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति चास्तु वः सम्विदि-

7 तं[15] यथोपरिलिखितेस्मिन्ग्रामे सजलस्थला सस्थावरजङ्गमा साधऊर्द्ध्वा भूतभविष्यद्वर्त्तमाननिःशेषादाय-सहिता प्रतिषिद्धचाटादिप्रवे-

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[1] Noticing a few old remains at the place and also recording a tradition which he was informed of, Venis suggested the identification of Pachhār itself with Vilāsapura where Paramardin was encamped when he issued the grant.

[2] From impressions, subsequently also comparing the text from the original plate.

[3] Expressed by a symbol read by Venis as *ōṁ*.

[4] The preceding letter is engraved as *nni*.

[5] Each of the consonants of the bracketed letters has a redundant slanting stroke, making the first of them appear as *sh*.

[6] The preceding *rē* shows an abnormally long wedge as also in *narakē* l. 20, and in some other lines, below.

[7] The *pṛishṭha-mātrā* of *d* is not joined to the horizontal stroke at the top, as also in some instances, below.

[8] All the three *aksharas* in the brackets show redundant chisel strokes in their formation.

[9] A redundant stroke of the chisel makes this letter appear as *swa*, and the subscript of the *śrī* that follows is also engraved as *v*.

[10] The vertical stroke of the medial short *i* is separated from the letter as some others in this line (see *dēvō*) and also in some other instances, and the curve above is also not engraved in its proper place.

[11] The bracketed *akshara* is engraved as *gni*.

[12] This stroke is redundant.

[13] Originally some other letter was engraved in place of the first showing the name of the village, and the *mātrā* attached to the second is struck off by two horizontal strokes.

[14] Originally *vi*, with a part of the curve later on erased so as to appear as a *mātrā* above.

[15] Read संविदितं.

8 शा वापम(ग)त्या को[द्रे][1] सार्द्धद्रोणस[स]परिकलिता[2] प्रस्थप्रत्येकवा(बा)धव्यवस्थ(स्थ)या । [3]द[स(श)]-
हलावच्छिन्ना[4] भूमिरस्या(स्मा)भिर्व्विलासपुरे त्रयस्त्रिंशदधि-
9 कशतद्वयोपेतसहस्रतमे स[म्वत्स]रे[5] कार्त्तिके मासि कृष्णपक्षे[ष्ट]म्यां(म्या)न्तिथावङ्कतोपि सम्वत[6] १२३३
कार्त्तिकवदि ८ वु(बु)धवारे ।[7] पुण्यतीर्थोदकेन वि-
10 धिवत्स्वात्ता(स्नात्वा)[8] देवादीन्सन्तर्प्य भास्करपूजापुरःसरं चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवा[नी]पतिमभ्यर्च्य हुतभुजि
हुत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोवि-
11 वृद्धये ।[9] मुताउषभट्टाग्रहारविनिर्ग्गताय कश्यपगोत्राय कश्यपावत्सारनै[ध्रु]वत्रिप्रवराय वाजश(स)नेयशाखा-
ध्यायिने चौ ।[10] वलहवाप्रपौत्र[ा]-[11]
12 य [रा ?] तिहुणपालपौत्राय द्वि[12] । तीकवपुत्राय पं । केशवशर्म्मणे व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय कुशलतापूतेन हस्तोदकेन
स्वस्तिवाचनपूर्व्वञ्चन्द्रार्क्कसमका-
13 [लं][13] पुत्रपौत्राद्यन्वयानुगामि शासनीकृत्य [प्र]दत्ता । इति मत्वा भवद्भिराज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा भाग-
भोगादिकं सर्व्वमस्वै(स्मै) समुपनेतव्य[म्] । तदेना-
14 [म]स्य भूमि(मिं) समंदिरप्राकारां सनिर्ग्गमप्रवेशा(शां) ससर्व्वाश(स)[वे]क्षु[14]कर्प्या(र्प्पा)सादिभूरुहामपरैरपि
[शी(सी)]मान्तर्ग्गतैर्व्वस्तुभिः[15] सहितां सवा(बा)ह्या[भ्य]न्तरादाय[ां]
15 [भु]ञ्जानस्य कर्षतः कर्षयतो दाना[धा]नविक्रयम्वा(यं वा)[16] कुर्व्वतो न केनचित्काचिद्वा(द्बा)धा कर्त्तव्या ।
अत्र च राजराज[17] पुरुपा(षा)टविकचाटादिभिः स्वं

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1 The first of the bracketed letters may also be read as *va*, and the letter preceding it has the sign of a *prishṭha-mātrā* which has not been joined to the stroke at the top; it has also a redundant curve as of the medial *i*. The second of the bracketed letters I take as *drē* and not as *ḍē*, as also conjectured by Venis. The whole word appears also in the Augasī grant of Madanavarman (No. 118), where the second *akshara* is clearly *ra*, as also read by Kielhorn, who remarked that these syllables denote some particular kind or kinds of grain which he was unable to explain. But in that grant the third letter of the word is uncertain, appearing either as *ḍē* or *drē*. In the present inscription, of course, the second letter may be read either as *ra*, or *va*, and the third I take to be *drē* as the upper portion thereof ends in an angle and as it is also shown by the subscript which is faintly visible. Thus the reading of these three syllables appears to me as *kōradrē* or *kōvadrē*, for *kodravē*, in the sense of the common millet known as *kōdō* and *kōraḍē*, as is also suggested by Venis as an alternative in the sense of 'dry', since this word, which is in Marāṭhī, appears to have been unfamiliar in the region of Bundelkhand.

2 The subscript of the bracketed letter is mutilated by a scratch on the plate.

3 The *daṇḍa*, which was originally engraved, appears to have been later on scratched off as unnecessary.

4 The bracketed letter was originally *sa*, later on changed to *śa*.

5 Read संवत्सरे

6 Both the consonants of the second *akshara* are deformed and the curve at the end of the following figure appears as the slanting stroke marking the consonant *t*. Read संवत्.

7 The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

8 As noted by Venis, this is one of the glaring examples of engraving, without caring for the exact forms of letters.

9 As *n*. 21 above. Better read -भिवृद्धये.

10 As Venis has rightly remarked, this stroke is probably used to show that the letter preceding it is a concise form of a word like *Chaudhuri*, or so.

11 The reading of the first and the last *aksharas* of the name is uncertain.

12 This is a contraction of *dvivēdā* (or *-din*), and the *paṁ* that follows is a contraction of *Paṇḍita*, *i.e.* Paṇḍit.

13 As also in some other cases, the first *akshara* of this and also of the next two lines is completely hidden under the strip, but they are clear in the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. X, facing p. 48.

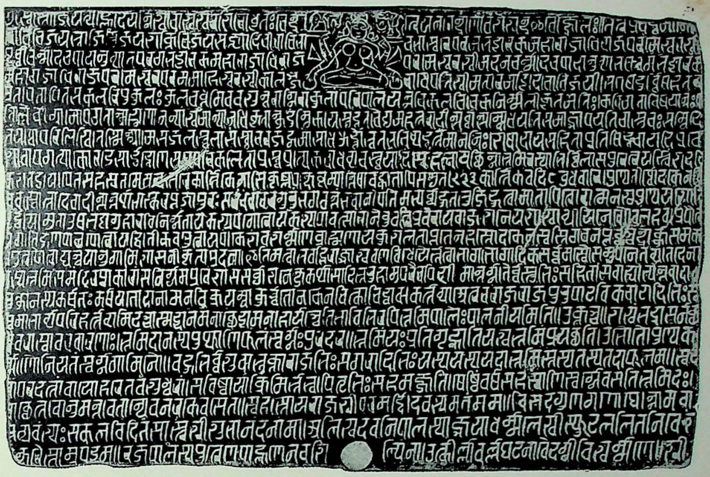
14 Venis read — *āsana* — which gives no such a meaning as may be applicable here. Therefore we have to adopt the reading as in the other grants of the house as *āsavēkshu*, in the sense of "palm-trees and sugar-cane".

15 The consonant of the bracketed letter is rather peculiarly formed and it also occupies more than the usual space. Here the use of the palatal sibilant instead of the dental appears probably due to the local influence, as we also find in some other records of the house, *e.g.*, in No. 129.

16 Venis read दाना (ध*)मन, but this is because he mistook the horizontal stroke joining the verticals of *dhā* for *ma*.

17 These two letters are redundant here. See my remarks on the same word in No. 129.

PACHHĀR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARDIDEVA, VIKRAMA 1233



From Facsimile

16 स्वमाभार्व्य(व्यं) परिहर्त्तव्यमिदञ्चास्मद्दानमनाछेद्यमनाहार्यञ्चेति भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयमिति ॥ उक्तञ्च ॥ शखं(शङ्खं) भद्रास[नं][1] छ-

17 त्रं वरास्वा(श्वा)वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य पुण्याणि[2] फलं स्वर्ग्गः पुरंदर ॥[२*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्ना(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ वु(पु)ण्यक-

18 र्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्ग[गा]मिनौ[3] ॥[३*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वशु(सु)धा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम(म्) ॥[४*] स्व-

19 दत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वशु(सु)न्धरां(राम्) । स विष्ठायां क्रि(कृ)मिर्भूत्वा[4] पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥[५*] षष्ठिं(ष्टिं)वर्षसहस्राणिं(णि) स्वर्ग्गे वसति भूमिदः ।

20 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत(त्) ॥[६*] स्वहस्तोयं राजश्रीपरमर्द्दिदेवस्य[5] मतं मम ॥ विस(श)-दगुणगणाघोन्नाम[6] वा-

21 स्तव्यवंश्यः सकलविदितसा(शा)स्त्र[7] श्रीशुभानंदनामा । अलिखदवनिपालस्याज्ञया धर्म्मलेखी स्फुटललितनिवे-[शै][8]

22 रक्षरैस्ताम्रपट्टम(म्) ॥[७*] रजपालस्य पुत्रेण पाह्लणेन च शिल्पिना । उत्कीर्णा वर्ण्णघटना वैदग्धीविश्व[क*]र्म्म[णा] ॥[८*] श्रीः[9]

No. 132 : Plate CXIX

CHARKHĀRĪ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARDIDĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1236

THIS is one of the four copper-plate grants edited by R. B. Hiralal in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX (1929-30), pp. 125-136,[10] all without facsimiles. As to their find and the present deposits, we have already remarked above,[11] that all of them were found with the Chief of **Charkhārī**, formerly a State in the Bundelkhand region of the Central India Agency and now included in the Hamīrpur District of Uttar Pradesh. The original find-spots of these plates are not known, and no information as to their present deposits is forthcoming : and even an impression is now not possible to have. Under the circumstances, I edit this record from the text given by Hiralal, appending my notes to it.

The inscription is on **two plates,** both of which are incised on the inner side only. The first plate is stated to measure 60·95 by 28·57 cms., and the second 61·25 by 26·70 cms. Their

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1 As also noted by Venis, the sign of *anusvāra* is half engraved so as to look like a superscript *r*. Cf. the same sign on the fourth letter in l. 16 above.

2 A curve as of *ph* is attached to *ya* here, in the first of these letters.

3 The bracketed letter appears as a loop followed by the verticals, which are also joined by a horizontal stroke as that of *dhā*.

4 Because of a redundant stroke the superscript of this letter appears as *bh*.

5 In श्री the curve of the *mātrā* is lightly engraved, it is clear on the plate.

6 Read —गणांघो नाम, in the light of a similar expression in the Sēmrā grant of the same king (No. 126).

7 It is not known whether the sign of *visarga* was inadvertently or purposely omitted here. In the latter case, it is a somewhat rare *sandhi* but can be justified in accordance with the *vārttika* on Pāṇini's rule VIII, 3, 36. Also better read विदित मकल—.

8 The latter part of this *akshara* is hidden under the strip referred to above.

9 The sign of *visarga*, and probably also the horizontal stroke or strokes following it, are hidden under the strip.

10 For the three other grants, see Nos. 108, 144 and 151. The present inscription begins on p. 128 (of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX).

11 In No. 108.

rims are raised to a height of about 1 cm., to protect the writing. The first plate contains the figure of **Lakshmī,** the usual design to be seen on the plates issued by the Chandēlla rulers, in the middle of the first three lines, and at the bottom, a space for a hole, interrupting the writing in the middle of the last line. But what is peculiar is that the hole was never made. The size of the letters on the first plate is about ·5 cm.; on the second it is slightly bigger. Each of the plates weighs 2 kgms. and 108 gms.

The **characters** are Dēvanāgarī of about the 12th century A.C. The letters are distinct and well written, but the formation of *v*, *ch*, *dh* and *r* is such as to cause difficulty in distinguishing them from each other; and the letters also share the peculiarities of the work done by Pālhaṇa, who engraved some other plates also, about which we have already remarked above,[1] *e.g.*, the omission of parts of some of the letters, and of the signs of *anusvāra* and the superscript *r*, as to be noticed respectively, in *Bhōma-* (for *Sōma-*) in l. 9, and *shaṭtriṁśat* and *varttamāna*, both in line 8.

The **language** is Sanskrit: and, with the exception of the introductory verse eulogising the race of the **Chandrātrēyas** and seven imprecatory verses in the end, the record is entirely in prose. It consists of 32 lines, 18 of which are engraved on the first plate and the remaining 14 on the second. The **orthographical** peculiarities are as in the preceding grants, for example, (a) the use of the sign of *v* to denote *b* also, *e.g.*, in *saṁvōdhayati*, l. 7; (b) a confusion between the correct use of the palatal *ś* for the dental *s*: see *silpi-* and *visva-*, both in l. 32 and *prāśāda* in l. 24; and (c) the doubling of a class-consonant following *r*, as in *svargga*, l. 26. The influence of local pronunciation is noticed in the use of *y* for *j* in *yāmadagnya* in l. 12; examples of wrong *sandhis* in *-pravarēbhyō=chhandōga*, l. 12, and *bahiḥ=krita-*, l. 14; and the *visarga* of *bhavadbhiḥ*, which is the last word of a verse in l. 28, is combined with the following *r*.

It is a royal charter issued by the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Paramardidēva,** who, from the expression "lord of Kālañjara", was evidently the **Chandēlla** ruler. The text is copied *verbatim* from the preceding record, excepting the portion dealing with the details of the grant. The **object** of it is to record the royal donation of the whole land in the village Sagauḍō, included in the *vishaya* of *Kirāyiḍa*, by Paramardidēva. The grant was perpetual and it was made in favour of four Brāhmaṇas, all hailing from the *Bhaṭṭāgrahāra* known as Mutāūtha. All the Brāhmaṇas belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and had the five *pravaras*, Vatsa, Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnuvāna and Jāmadagnya, and all were the students of the Chhāndōgya *śākhā*.

The following table is intended to show the names of the Brāhmaṇa donees, with some other details:

No.	*Name of the donee*	*Father's name*	*Shares donated*
1	Sōmēka	Dāvara	2
2	Svapaṭa[2]	Bāhlē	1
3	Ratana (Ratna)	Pāpē	1
4	Sīḍha	Sūlhaṇa	1
			Total = 5 shares.

The grant was issued by the king from Vilāsapura, the same place from which the previous grant was also issued. It may be noted here that one of the donees of the previous grant, *viz.*, Kēśavaśarman also hailed from the same place as of the present grant; and it is also noteworthy that in the gift-village exclusion was made of the five *halas* of land which had already been donated to a Buddhist (monastery ?), l. 14, which appears to have been in existence there some time in the past.

Among the royal officers mentioned in the grant, we also find *āṭavika* in l. 22, denoting one in charge of forest and wild tribes, as noted by Hiralal, who also invited attention to the same word in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*.[3] But there is another expression which appears here for the first time, *viz.*, *sakāruka-paṁka-vaṇig-vāstavya*. While publishing Hiralal's article in the *Epigraphia*

[1] See above, No. 126.
[2] This name is perhaps Sūpaṭa, as we find in some other grants of the house, *e.g.*, in the Sēmrā grant, No. 126, ll. 65, 70 (twice) and 104.
[3] See *n.* on the same word in l. 22.

Indica, the editor remarked that "the exact implication of this expression is not understood", but at the same time he is inclined to suggest that perhaps it means "together with potter's mud and what has been left by merchants."[1] I am, however, afraid this explanation is not at all suitable here; and I may suggest that the word *kāruka* appears to be the same as *kāru, i.e.,* an artizan, and *paṅka-vaṇik* means one who is a trader in a thick mass or large quantities.[2] And last of all, *vāstavya* is used here to denote an inhabitant, it being formed according to Pāṇini, *Vārtika* No. 1920.

The inscription is **dated,** in ll. 8-9, on **Monday, the seventh of the bright half of Chaitra, falling in the year 1236,** which is expressed both in words and numerical figures. According to Hiralal, this year, which is of course to be taken as of the Vikrama era, regularly corresponds to **Monday, the 27th March, 1178 A. C.,** taking it to be northern *current*,[3] as shown by the word *upēta*. It is one of the few Chandēlla grants expressing the northern *current* year.

The charter was drafted, or rather adopted from that of the preceding grant with necessary changes, by the illustrious Śubhānanda of the Vāstavya family, by the order of the king. It was engraved by the artizan Pālhaṇa, the son of Rajapāla. It may be noted here that both these persons are the same who drafted and engraved, respectively, the previous and some other royal charters issued by the house. The **sign-manual** of the king is incised in line 29..

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the inscription, **Kālañjara** (l. 4) is of course the well-known fort in the Banda District, and **Vilāsapura,** the place where the grant was issued (l. 8), is Pachhār, as we have already seen. **Kirāyiḍa**, after which the *vishaya* was known (ll. 5-6), has been suggested by Hiralal to be identical with Kirāḍi, about 12 kms. from Mahōbā. I have not been able to trace **Sagauḍō** the gift-village (l. 6), in the vicinity; and last of all, **Mutāūtha,** the original place of the donees (l. 11), cannot be identified for want of the details.

TEXT[4]

[Metres: Verses 1-5 *Anushṭubh*; v. 6 *Śālinī*; v. 7 *Mālinī*].

First Plate

1 [ओं][5] स्वस्ति ॥ जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वंविश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः । चन्द्रात्रेयनरेन्द्राणां वंशश्चन्द्र इवोज्ज्वलः ॥[१॥*] तत्र प्रवर्द्धमा-

2 ने विरोधिविजवि(य)भ्राजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्त्यादिवीराविर्भावभास्वरे परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिरा-

3 जपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवम्म(र्म्म)देवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदनवर्म्मदेवपा-

4 दानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालञ्जराधिपतिश्रीमत्परमर्द्दिदेवो विजयी ॥ स एष

5 दुर्व्विषहतरप्रतापतापे(पि)तसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवध्ध(धू)मिर(व) वशु(सु)न्धरान्निराकुलां परिपालयन्नविकल-विवेकनिर्म्मलीकृतमते:(तिः) ।[6] किरायि-

6 डविषयान्तःपातिसगौडोग्रामोपगतान्ब्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणानन्या(न्यां)श्च मान्यानधिकृतान्कुटुम्वि(म्बि)कायस्थदूतवैद्य-महत्तरान्मेदचण्डालपर्य-

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[1] *N.* 2 on l. 19, in Hiralal's article.

[2] Cf., *e.g.*, *agaru-paṅka*. *kēsara-paṅka*, and such other words. The Hindi word for it is *ghōla*.

[3] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 129.

[4] From Hiralal's transcript in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 129.

[5] Expressed by a symbol, as usual. It has not been noted by Hiralal. It is for स्वस्ति.

[6] This punctuation mark is redundant, as some others below. We may also remark here in a general way, that the curve on the top stroke above the preceding ति may not have been engraved at all, or it is faint and hence it did not come out in the impression, from which Hiralal prepared his transcript; and thus he read *tē* instead of *ti*. So is the case of his reading *pē* for *pi*. For similar reason, the *mātrā* of *dhū* was taken by him as *dh* and *v* as *r* in this line. Errors of this type exist throughout, which are due to the carelessness of the engraver Pālhaṇa, as often noted by us.

7 न्तान्सर्व्वान्सम्वो(म्बो)धयति समाज्ञापयते(ति) चा[स्तु] वः सम्विदितं यथोपरिलिखितोयं ग्रामः सजलस्थलः सस्थावरजङ्गमः साधऊर्द्ध्वो भूतभ-

8 विष्यद्वत्त(र्त्त)माननिःशेषादायसहितः प्रतिषिद्धचाटादिप्रवेशश्चास्माभिर्व्विलासपुरे षट्त्रि(ट्त्रिं)शदधिकशत- द्वयोपेतसहस्रतमे

9 सम्वत्सरे चैत्रे मासि शुक्लपक्षे श(स)प्तम्यान्तिथावङ्कतोपि स(सं)वत(त्) १२३६ चैत्रशुदि ७ भो(सो)मवारे पुण्यतीर्थोदकेन वि-

10 धिवत्स्नात्वा देवादीन्सन्तर्प्य भास्करपूजापुरःसर(रं) चराचरगुरुं भगवन्त(न्तं) भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्च्य हुतभुजि हुत्वा माता-

11 पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोविवृद्धये । मुताउथभट्टाग्रहारविनिर्ग्गतेभ्यो वत्सगोत्रेभ्यो वत्सभार्ग्गवच्यवना-

12 प्नुवानौर्व्वया(जा)मदग्न्येतिपञ्चप्रवरेभ्योछ(भ्यश्छं)दोगशाखाध्यायि[भ्यो] नानाप्रपो(पौ)त्रेभ्यो[1] नामा(ना)- पो(पौ)त्रेभ्यो नाना-

13 पुत्रेभ्यो नानानामशर्म्मभ्यो व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्यः कुशलतापूतेन हस्तोदकेन स्वस्तिवाचनपूर्व्वञ्चन्द्रार्क्कसम-

14 काल(लं)पुत्रपौत्राद्यन्वयानुगामि देवश्रीवौ(बौ)द्धसत्कपञ्चहलानि व(ब)हिःकृ(ष्कृ)तसे(शे)षभूमिः शासनी- कृत्य प्रदं-

15 त्ता । मध्ये ॥ ति[2] । दावरपुत्र ति । सोमेकस्य पदद्वयम(म्) । ति । वा(बा)ह्लपुत्र ति । स्वपटस्य[3] पदमे- कग(म्) । ति । पापेपु-

16 त्र ति । रतनस्य पदमेकम(म्) । ति । सूह्लणपुत्र ति । सीढस्य पदमेकम(म्) । इति मत्वा भवद्भिराज्ञाश्व- (श्र)वणपिवे(विधे)-

17 ये(यै)र्भूत्वा भागभोगपशुहिरण्यकरशुल्कादि सर्व्वमस्मे(स्मै)[4] समुपनेतव्य(व्यम्) [।*] तदेनमवा(स्य) सम- (मं)दिरप्राका-

18 र(रं) सनिर्ग्गमप्रवेश(शं) ससर्व्वाशनेक्षुकर्पासकुशु(सु)मस(श)णाम्रमधूकादिभूरुह(हं) सवनखनि-

Second Plate

19 निधानं सलोहलवणतृणप[र्णा]द्याकरं समृगवे(वि)हङ्गमजलचरं सकारुकपंकवण्गि(णिग्)वास्तव्यं[5] स-

20 काग्वे(ष्ठे)ष्टिकापाषाणं सगोकुलमपरे(रै)रपिसीमान्त[र्ग]तैव्व(र्व्वै)स्तुभिः सहितं सवा(बा)ह्याभ्यन्तरादायं- भुन्जा(ञ्जा)-

21 मामं(नस्य)[6] के(क)र्षता(तः)[6] कष(र्ष)यतो[6] दानाधानविक्रयम्वा कुर्व्वतो[6] न केनाच(नचि)त्काचिद्वा(द्बा)धा कर्त्तव्या । अत्व(त्र) च राजरा-

22 जपुरुषाटविकचाटादिभिः[7] स्वं स्वमाभाव्यं परिहर्त्तव्यमिदञ्चास्मद्दानमनाच्छेव्य(द्य)मनाहार्यञ्चेति

23 भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयमित(ति) । उक्तञ्च ॥ शंङ्ख भद्राश(स)नं च्छत्रं वराश्वा वरवारणाः । भू-

24 मिदानस्य पुष्पाणि फलं स्वर्ग्गः पुरदरं(न्दर) ॥[२ ॥*] सौवर्ण्णा यत्र प्राशा(सा)दाचा(श्चा)शार्द्वा(द्रा)रा[:*] स्वकामदाः । गन्धर्वा-

25 प्सरसो यत्र तत्र गच्छन्ति भूमिदाः ॥[३॥*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छे(च्छ)ति । उभौ तो(तौ)

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[1] As already noted by Hiralal, the letter पो is superfluous.
[2] This *akshara* is perhaps *tri*, an abbreviation of *Trivēda*.
[3] For the correct reading of the name, see *n*. 2 in p. 452 in the main article, above.
[4] I agree with the editor of the *Ep. Ind.*, who remarked that plural ought to have been employed here and also in l. 21 below.
[5] For the meaning of this expression, see *n*. 2 in p. 453 in the article above.
[6] It appears probable that in the original all these words are in the plural, as required by the context, but the defective engraving led Hiralal to make improper corrections. See *n*. 4 above.
[7] *Āṭavika* is a government officer in charge of the forest and wild tribes.

26 पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ ॥[४॥*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगराहि(दि)भिः । यस्य
27 यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लम्) ॥[५॥] सर्व्वानेतान्भावे(वि)नः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते
28 रामभद्रः । सामान्योय(यं) धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनो[यो] भवद्भिरिति ॥ (द्भिः ॥ इति ॥)
[६॥*] स्वहस्ता(स्तो)-
29 य(यं) महाराजश्रीपरमर्द्दिदेवस्य मतम्मम ॥ विशदगुणगणौघोन्नाम वास्तव्यव(वं)-
30 [श्यो] विदितसकलशास्त्रः श्रीशुभानंदनामा । अलिखदवनिपालस्याज्ञया धर्म्म-
31 लेखी स्फुटललितनिवेशि(शै)रक्षरि(रै)स्ताम्रपट्टम(म्) ॥[७॥*][1] रजपालस्य पुत्रेण पाल्हणे-
32 न च सि(शि)ल्पिना । उत्कीर्ण्णा वर्ण्णघटना वैदग्धीविस्व(श्व)कर्म्मणा ॥[८॥*] मङ्गलम्महाश्रीः ॥

No. 133 : Plate CXX

AHĀR STATUE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIDĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1237

THIS inscription, which is edited here for the first time, is incised on the pedestal of a colossal image of the sixteenth Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha, at **Ahār**, which is a sacred place of the Jaina community and lies about 25 kms. from Ṭīkamgaḍh, the chief town of a district and *tehsīl* in the Vindhya region of Madhya Pradesh. The record came to my notice in my exploration tour in the region, some 20 years ago, when I also obtained there a small brochure meant for circulation, in which I found a transcript of the record, somewhat incorrect, though illustrated. The lithograph, besides being indistinct, is of an extremely small size and thus altogether helpless. In view of the importance of the inscription, I requested the Chief Epigraphist to kindly prepare and provide a good impression thereof, and he was kind to depute his assistant for the work. The inscription is edited here on the basis of this excellent impression, for which my thanks are due to the Chief Epigraphist.

The record consists of 9 lines of writing, interrupted by the deer symbol, which is clear in the impression and which divides the lines into two sections which may be marked **A** and **B**, for the sake of convenience. The length of the writing on the left-hand side is 30·5 cms. and that on the right-hand side is 33 cms. The first three lines on either side are about 6 cms. shorter than the others, since a portion of them is occupied by the *lāñchhana*. The general height of the writing is 20·5 cms., and the average height of the letters is about 1·5 cms. The writing is well preserved, except in the last two lines which are obliterated in the impression.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the 12th century A.C. The initial *i*, which occurs twice in l. 2 and once in l. 4, is formed of two circles placed below the third, and are joined with each other by a curve : and the initial *ē* occasionally resembles the consonant *p*, *e.g.*, in *ēka-*, l. 5. Of the consonants, *ch* can hardly be distinguished from *v*, *e.g.*, in *chaitya-*, l. 3 : the horn of *dh* is prominent, as in *vyadhita-*, l. 1 ; the slightly differing two forms of *bh* can be seen in *bhuvana-* and *bhūta-*, both in l. 6 ; and finally, the subscript *r* is marked by a serif at the lowest extremity of a letter to which it is attached.

The **language** is Sanskrit : and excepting a short sentence paying obeisance in the beginning and the date in l. 6, the record is metrically composed. There are seven stanzas, all of which are numbered. The only **orthographical** peculiarities that call for notice are that (i) the consonant following *r* is reduplicated, *e.g.*, in *nirmmimē*, l. 4 ; (ii) that the dental and the palatal sibilants are occasionally not correctly put, *e.g.*, in *srīmān* and *-āsīt*, both in l. 1 ; (iii) that the *pṛishṭha-mātrā* occurs only sparingly ; and that (iv) the sign of *anusvāra* is generally also to be found at the end of a stitch, except in a few cases as in-*kīrttanam*, l. 8. The signs of *mātrās* and *anusvāra* in the topmost line are elegantly engraved.

[1] This verse occurs in the preceding and some other grants also.

The mason has done his work with much care, though we find that in one instance or two he has put wrong strokes. As for the writer, we note that a letter omitted at first in l. 4 has been written above in a smaller size.

The inscription refers itself to the victorious reign of the illustrious Paramardidēva (l. 7), who is no other than the **Chandēlla** king Paramardin; and its **purpose** is to record the installation of an image in a *chaitya* which was then constructed. The **date** of the record is given in l. 6, in figure only, as **Friday, the third day of the bright half of Mārga**, *i.e.*, Mārgaśīrsha, of **Saṁvat 1237**, which has to be referred to the Vikrama era, following the practice of giving the year in that age. The date regularly corresponds to **21st November, 1180 A.C.** The year is the *Chaitrādi* Vikrama, *expired*.

No special value attaches to the date since Paramardin, the grandson of Madanavarman, is known to have been reigning from 1166 to 1202 A.C.

The inscription commences with a prose sentence paying homage to *Vītarāga*, as already stated, and introduces the lineage of the persons who built the temple. The first ancestor spoken of here is the illustrious Dēvapāla, who is stated to have built a multiple-peaked temple (*sahasrakūṭa*) at Bāṇapura. He belonged to the *grahapati* family. The two verses that follow inform us that his son was Ratnapāla. His descendant was Ralhaṇa, whose son was Galhaṇa, who built two temples of Śāntinātha, one at Ānandapura, and the other at Madanapura (known after the tank and after the king Madana, *i.e.*, Madanavarman).[1] Galhaṇa's son was Jāhaḍa, who had a younger brother called Dayachandra,[2] as we learn from the next verse. The following verse, *i.e.*, verse 5 informs us that both these brothers, *i.e.*, Jāhaḍa and Dayachandra, desiring to obtain salvation, jointly constructed the Śāntinātha *chaitya*, *i.e.*, the sanctuary where the image of this *Arhat* was installed. Then comes the date as given above, and the name of the reigning king, which too we have seen above. Verse 6 desires the temple (*kīrtana*) to be everlasting, by stating that it may stand as long as the Sun, the moon, the sea and the stars continue. And the last stanza (v. 7) states that the image was prepared by the intelligent Pāpaṭa who was an architect (*vāstuśāstrajña*) and also a mason (*rūpakāra*), and was the son of Bālhaṇa. The inscription is silent about the person who constructed the temple.

The Grahapati family referred to here is known also from some Chandēlla and other inscriptions, showing its prevalence, importance and continuation from the time of the very rise of the royal house. For example, the Khajurāhō inscription of V. 1011 mentions one Pāhila belonging to this family as held in high esteem by Dhaṅga.[3] About two decades subsequently, flourished a person with the same name and taken identical with him by D. C. Sircar, as consecrating with his brother Jījū, an image of Śāntinātha at Darbat.[4] Still another person bearing the same name and belonging to the same family is referred to in an inscription of V. 1215 (1158 A.C.), which states that his son Sālhē installed an image of Sambhavanātha at Khajurāhō.[5] In course of editing the respective inscriptions, we have seen that some of the members belonging to this family occupied a very influential position under the Chandēlla kings and also that these persons were noted for making gifts and donations. And the present inscription which gives the pedigree of the brothers Jāhaḍa and Dayachandra who jointly installed the image, indicates the donations made by the same family, though they did not actually belong to the house of Pāhila. It also tells us that their father Galhaṇa was the supermost of the *śrēshṭhins* (*śrēshṭhi-varishṭha*) in the locality.

As for the **geographical** names occurring in the inscription, **Bāṇapura** where Dēvapāla, the earliest ancestor of the house mentioned here, is stated to have built a shrine (l. 1), is obviously the modern place of the same name (Lat. 24°43′ N.; Long. 78°45′ E.), lying about 30 kms. east

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[1] In view of the expression *sō-'yaṁ* in v. 3, I take the two temples to be built by Galhaṇa. The construction is somewhat obscure here.

[2] For the reading of the name, see *n.* in the text, below.

[3] No. 99 v. 1. Also see *I. N. I.* No. 99.

[4] No. 109, A, l. 2.

[5] No. 124. Kōkalla, another member of the same family, built a temple at Khajurāhō, in V. 1058. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 147.

AHĀR STATUE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIDĒVA, VIKRAMA 1237

Scale : One-fourth

of Lalitpur in the Jhānsī District and about 90 kms. south-southeast of Jhānsī itself.[1] **Vasuhāṭikā** where the family resided (l. 2), cannot be identified. It may, however, be pointed out that a village of the name of Hāṭa lies about 45 kms. due east of Bāṇapur. Similarly, we have no definite clue to identify **Ānandapura** (v. 3); and last of all, **Madanēśasāgarapura** (v. 3), as already mentioned above, is Ahār itself, where the inscription was found.[2]

TEXT[3]

[Metres: Verse 1 *Āryā*; vv. 2, 4 and 5 *Vasantatilakā*; v. 3 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 6 *Rathōddhatā*; v. 7 *Anushṭubh*].

1 सिद्धम्[4] [।॰] ओं नमो वीतरागाय ॥ ग्रहपतिवंशसरोरुहसहस्ररस्मि(श्मि): सहस्रकूटं यः । वा(बा)णपुरे व्यधि-
ताशी(सी)त्त्री(च्छ्री)मानि-

2 ह देव[पा]ल इति ॥१॥ श्रीरत्नपाल इति तत्तनयो वरेण्यः पुण्यैक[5]मूर्त्तिरभवद्वसुहाटिकायां(याम्) । कीर्त्तिर्ज्जग-
[त्त्रय]-[6]

3 परिभ्रमणस्र(श्र)मार्त्ता यस्य स्थि[राज]नि[7] जिनायतन[च्छले]न[8] ॥२॥ ए(क)स्तावदनूनवृद्दि(बुद्धि)निधिना
श्रीशान्तिचैत्याल-

4 यो दिष्ट्यानंदपुरेपरः पर[व]रानंदप्रदः श्रीमता । येन श्रीमदने[स(श)]सागरपुरे तज्जन्मनो निर्म्मिमे सोयं
श्रेष्ठिवरिष्ठगल्हण इति श्रीरल्ह[णा]ख्याद-[9]

5 भूत् ॥३॥ तस्मादजायत कुलाम्व(म्ब)रपूर्णचंद्रः श्रीजाहडस्तदनुजो दयचंद्रनामा[10]। एकः परोपकृतिहेतुकृतावतारो
धर्म्मात्मकः पुनरमो-

6 घसुदान[सा]रः ॥४॥ ताभ्याम[से(शे)]षदुरितो(तौ)घ[श]मैकहेतु निर्म्मापितं भुवनभूषणभूतमेत[त्] । श्रीशान्ति
चैत्यमतिनित्यसुखप्रदा-

7 तृ मुक्तिश्रियो वदनवीक्षणलोलुपाभ्याम(म्) ॥५॥ ज ॥ ठ ठ ठ ॥[11] संवत् १२३७ मार्ग्ग सुदि ३ सु(शु)क्रे
श्रीमत्परमाद्रिदेवविजयराज्ये

8 [चन्द्र]भास्करसमुद्रतारका यावदत्र जनचित्तहारकाः । [धर्म्मकारि][12]कृतशुद्धकीर्त्तनं तावदेव जयतात्सुकीर्त्तनम्
॥६॥

9 वा(बा ?)ल्हणस्य सुतः श्रीमान् रूपकारो महामतिः । पापटो वास्तुशास्त्रज्ञस्तेन विम्वं(बिम्वं) सुनिर्म्मितं(तम्)[13]
॥७॥

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[1] I am indebted to Shri B. C. Jain for the information that this place contains an old temple which may probably be identified with the *Sahasrakūṭa* of the inscription.

[2] Traditionally, the place is still so called as I came to know in my visit to it.

[3] From an impression.

[4] Denoted by a symbol.

[5] The sign of the *mātrā* of this *akshara* resembles the subscript *n* and the preceding *akshara* is deformed by an additional wrong stroke of the chisel.

[6] Both these *aksharas*, which are now lost, have been conjecturally restored from the context.

[7] Owing to a wrong stroke of the chisel, the bracketed *aksharas* look more like –रजि–

[8] The first of the *aksharas* in the brackets is damaged and the sign of *mātrā* on the second is not distinct on the impression. It may have been clear on the original.

[9] The letter in the brackets was originally engraved with the sign of *visarga*, which was later on changed to the *mātrā*.

[10] The first *akshara* of the name was originally omitted in writing and was later on inserted just above its proper place, in a smaller size. The *pada-chhēda* shows that possibly the name may also have been Udayachandra, but to accept it would involve a literary error (*Vidhēyāvimarsha*).

[11] These letters indicate the end of recording the main purpose.

[12] These four *aksharas* have been restored from the traces left.

[13] The whole of this line which has faintly and partly come out in the impression, has been restored from the traces left, and the reading has been finalised with the help of the brochure referred to above.

No. 134 : Plate CXXI

BHĀRAT KALĀ BHAVAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARDIDĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1239

THIS copper-plate, which is now preserved in the **Bhārat Kalā Bhavan Museum** of the Hindu University, Vārāṇasī, is said to have been purchased, along with some others,[1] from a resident of Ṭīkamgaḍh, the head-quarters of a district in Madhya Pradesh, some fifteen years ago. The provenance of the plate is not known but it appears to have been obtained by the dealer somewhere in the surrounding region, as we shall see below. The inscription on it was edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, with its transliteration in Roman characters, and a facsimile, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII (for 1958-59), pp. 123 ff. and plate facing p. 126. It is edited here from an inked impression which was kindly supplied to me, at my request, by Rāi Krishṇadāsjī, the founder Curator of the Museum.[2]

It is a **single plate,** incised on one side only, and measures about 39·2 cms. in length, 29·5 cms. in height and ·2 cm. in thickness. To protect the writing, flat copper-bands, about 1 cm. broad and ·3 cm. thick, are rivetted on all the four borders of the inscribed surface. This rivetting is done by means of copper-nails, five each at the top and the bottom, and four on each of the other two sides. The plate, together with the border-bands and nails, weighs 3 kgms. and 274 gms. The writing covers a space about 36 by 25·5 cms. and contains 20 lines, which are in a good state of preservation. In the middle of the first four lines is a rectangle, 5 by 6·5 cms., containing the representation of the four-armed goddess **Lakshmī** seated on a full blown lotus, and on her either side is an elephant sprinkling water over her head. Similarly, the writing is also interrupted in the last line, by a vacant space, about 4 cms. long, which is apparently intended for a hole that would have been required, if the inscription would have been continued on a second plate. The average size of the letters is 1 cm., except in the last three lines where it reaches up to about 1·5 cms.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī, bearing a general resemblance to that of the Sēmrā and the other grants which were engraved by the same mason who incised the present grant.[3] And the palaeographical peculiarities too are more or less the same as we notice in them. For example, *ṅ* continues to be devoid of its dot : see *jaṅgama-*, l. 7, but the dot is marked in *-aṅka,* l. 9 (if it is not an original fault on the plate) : *dh* and *r* show a transitional stage ; the first of these letters, *e.g.*, is incised with a horn on its left limb in *dhṛita-*, l. 1, and without it in *vādhā*, l. 16 ; and the second, *i.e.*, *r*, which has assumed its fully developed form as in the modern Nāgarī, survives in a few instances in its form resembling *v*, *e.g.*, in *ripu*, l. 5, and is occasionally also marked with a wedge, as in *parama*, l. 4. Besides these, we may also note that *ch* is often confounded with *v*, as in *vaṁsaśchandra-*, l. 1,[4] and *bh* with *t*, as in *bhāga-bhōga-*, l. 14 ; and lastly, *ṇ* as a latter member of a conjunct consonant is written as *l* ; see *bhrājishṇu*, l. 2 and *utkīrṇṇa*, l. 20. Slovenliness in marking the sign of *anusvāra* and of the *mātrās* above, continues as in the preceding grants, *e.g.*, a redundant *anusvāra* is put on *ma* in *-mabhyarchya*, l. 10, whereas it is not cut on the last letters in *likhita* and *utkīrṇṇa,* both in the last line.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit ; it is generally correct, excepting a few minor types of mistakes which have been corrected in the text below. And leaving the initial verse and three imprecatory and benedictory verses in ll. 17-19, the whole record is in prose. The **orthography** shares the same peculiarities as of those records issued in the contemporary times, *viz.*, (1) to denote *b* by the sign for *v* ; cf. *vādhā*, l. 16 ;(2) the doubling of a consonant following *r*, as in *durvvishaha*, l. 5 ; (3) the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant in *vaṁsa*, l. 1 ; and (4) occa-

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[1] Nos. 119 and 138.

[2] In the meanwhile I was also favoured with another impression by the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India. This was indeed helpful to me in ascertaining some points in the reading.

[3] See p. 422 *n*. 3.

[4] In this connection see *n*. 5 on l. 6 in p. 460 below.

sionally placing a *daṇḍa* as a punctuation mark so close to the preceding or the following letter, as to be confounded with the sign of a *mātrā*. Besides these, we also find a developed tendency to use the *prishṭha-mātrā* and the *anusvāra*, though the use of the *para-savarṇa* too is often resorted to, sometimes wrongly, as in *samvidita-*, l. 7. The verb *grihṇāti* is wrongly spelt with the dental *n* : the influence of the local pronunciation is reflected in proper names, *e.g.*, in *Padumadhara*, l. 12 ; and lastly, as in the other grants of the king, a *daṇḍa* is put to indicate that the syllable preceding it is an abbreviated form, as is the one after *ṭha* and another after *paṁ*, both in l. 12, to denote respectively *Ṭhakkura* and *Paṁḍita*, *i.e.*, Paṇḍit.

The inscription refers itself to the **Chandēlla** king **Paramardin** of **Kālañjara,** and its **object** is to record the gift of the village of the name of Chachōḍā which was then included in the territorial division of Duḍuhī, by the king Paramardin himself, when he was encamped at Sallakshaṇa-Vilāsapura, on a **date** which is expressed both in words and numerical figures. It is **Tuesday**, the **fourth day of the dark half of Phālguna** of the (Vikrama) year 1239, which, taking the year to be *Chaitrādi*, expired, corresponds to **23rd of February, 1182** A.C.[2]

To summarise the contents of the record, it begins with the auspicious symbol for *Siddham* and is followed by the expression *Svasti*, which, in its turn, is followed by a verse in the *Anushṭubh* metre which we generally find at the beginning of the grants of the house. Thereafter, the record mentions the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the glorious Paramardin, who was a great devotee of Mahēśvara and the supreme lord of Kālañjara, and who is stated to have meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P.* the illustrious **Madanavarman,** who, in his turn, meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P.*, the illustrious **Prithvīvarman.** This portion has been copied from the earlier grants of the king and thus it affords no new historical material. Here it is worth noting that Paramardin's father Yaśōvarman's name does not figure in the genealogy, for the latter had either predeceased his father Madanavarman, or may have ruled only for a short time, as we have seen above. The formal portion of the charter begins in l. 6 ; it goes on to convey the king's order to the Brāhmaṇas and all the other people who had assembled at the village of Chachōḍā when he had encamped at Sallakshaṇa-Vilāsapura. The grant was made in favour of a Brāhmaṇa- *Paṁ* (*i.e.*, *Paṇḍita*) Padumadhara-śarman, who belonged to the Kautsa *gōtra* and the Vājasanēyī *śākhā* with the three *pravaras* — *Āṅgirasa*, *Ambarīsha* and *Yauvanāśva*, and who was the son of *Ṭha*, *i.e.*, *Ṭhakkura*, Dhāṁi, grandson of Śrīpāla and the great-grandson of *Ṭha- i.e.*, *Ṭhakkura* Sahāraṇa and hailed from Pāṭalīputra.[3] Lines 13-17 describe the usual conditions of the grant, stating that the donee and his descendants should enjoy the gift of the village with all the objects in its limits and without any obstruction from any quarter, and also that it may be continued by kings in future. Then, as usual, follow three of the benedictory and imprecatory verses and the **sign-manual** of the king Paramardidēva, in ll. 17-20. And with the statement that the inscription was written by the *dharmalēkhin* (writer of legal documents) *Ṭhakkura* Vishṇuka, and engraved by Pālhaṇa,[4] the record comes to a close.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the grant, **Kālañjara** (l. 4) is, of course, the renowned fort of the name, as we have often seen ; and **Duḍuhī** or **Duduhī** (l. 6) has been correctly identified by Sircar with the modern Dudāhī in the Lalitpur sub-division of the Jhānsī District. **Chachōḍā** (l. 6), the gift-village, seems to be identical with the modern Chāchōḍā or Chachōrā in the Gunā District of Madhya Pradesh. This place is about 100 miles or 160 kms. west-southwest of Dudāhī and about 120 kms. north-west of Vidishā ; and we know that the Vidishā-Dudāhī region was then included in the Chandēlla kingdom. **Vilāsapura** (l. 8) has already been identified with Pachhār,[5] the find-spot of another grant of Paramardin, lying about 20 kms. north-east of Jhānsī. Here, however, the name Sallakshaṇa is added to it, and it was so known probably because after the name of Sallakshaṇa, the elder brother of Prithvīvarman, who was the great-grandfather of

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1 *Ibid.*

2 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 123.

3 This adjective is applied to the donee alone and hence the meaning is that he and not his family, as Sircar observed, hailed from Pāṭaliputra. He is obviously a nephew of the donee in No. 119, as known from his ancestry.

4 As already seen above, this person also engraved some other charters.

5 Above, No. 131.

Paramardin. All these circumstances show that probably the plate was obtained by the dealer somewhere round about Jhānsī. And lastly, **Pāṭalīputra-nagara,** which is stated here to have been the original place of the donee (l. 11), is evidently the city of Patnā in Bihar. It may be noted that here it is called a *nagara* (city) and not a *bhaṭṭāgrahāra*, as in another grant of the same king.[1] And this statement may probably be taken to suggest that a rent-free locality of Brāhmaṇas existed side by side with the city of that name during that period.

TEXT[2]

[Metre : Verses 1-1 *Anushṭubh*].

1 सिद्धम्[3] स्वस्ति । जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वं विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः । चंद्रात्रेयनरेंद्राणां वंस(श)श्चन्द्र इवोज्ज्वलः ।[१*] तत्र प्रवर्द्धमा-

2 ने विरोधिविजयभ्राजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्त्यादिवीराविर्भावभास्वरे परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपर-

3 मेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदनवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातप-

4 र[म*]भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालंजराधिपतिश्रीमत्परमर्द्दिदेवो विजयी [।*]

5 स एष दुर्व्विषहतरप्रतापतापितसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवधूमिव वसुंधरान्निराकुलां परिपालयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्म्मलो कृतम-

6 तिः । दुडुही[4]विषयान्तःपातिचचोडा[5]ग्रामोपगतान्व्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणानन्यांश्च मान्यानधिकृतान्कुटुंवि(बि)कायस्थदूत-वैद्यमहत्तरान्मेदचण्डालपर्यन्ता-

7 न्सर्व्वान्सम्वो(म्बो)धयति समज्ञापयति चास्तु वः सम्वि(संवि)दितं यथोपरिलिखितोयं ग्रामः सजलस्थलः सस्थावरजङ्गमः स्वसीमावच्छिन्नः साध-

8 ऊर्द्धो(दूर्ध्वो) भूतभविष्यद्वर्त्तमाननिःशेषादाय[6]सहितः प्रतिषिद्धचाटादिप्रवेशश्चास्माभिः श्रीस[ल्ल]क्षणविलास-पुरे[7][ए]कोनचत्वारि(रिं)शदधि-

9 कशतद्वयोपेतसहश्र(स्र)तमे संवत्सरे फाल्गुने मासि कृष्णपक्षे चतु[र्थ]र्यां तिथावङ्कतोपि संवत् १२३९ फाल्गुन-वदि ४ भौमवारे पुण्यती-

10 र्थोदकेन विधिवत्स्नात्वा देवादीन्संतर्प्य भास्करपूजापुरःसरं चराचरगुरुं भगवंतं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य हुतभुजि हुत्वा [मा]तापि-

11 त्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोविवृध(द्ध)ये पाटलीपुत्रनगरविनिर्ग्गताय कौत्सगोत्राय । आङ्गार्षिआम्विर्षियोवनासत्रिः-प्रवराय[8] वाजस-

12 नेयशाखाध्यायिने ठ ।[9] सहारणप्रपौत्राय ठ । श्रीपालपौत्राय ठ । धाइंपुत्राय पं[10]। पदुमधरशर्म्मणे व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय कुशलतापूतेन

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[1] No. 138, l. 10.

[2] From the original plate and an impression.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] The consonant of the second letter of the name is formed as lingual *ḍ* (round-backed), but the dental *d* is probably intended here as we find in the name appearing in some of the grants of this house.

[5] The consonants of the first and the second letter of the name can each be read either as *ch* or *v*, but I prefer to take it as the former, as the place being so called is situated in the territorial division in which it is mentioned here. See under identification of place-names in the article.

[6] Originally engraved as *dayi*, with the curve of the *mātrā* scratched off. The *ṭa* of *chāṭa* that follows was also originally engraved as *ḍa* and corrected later on.

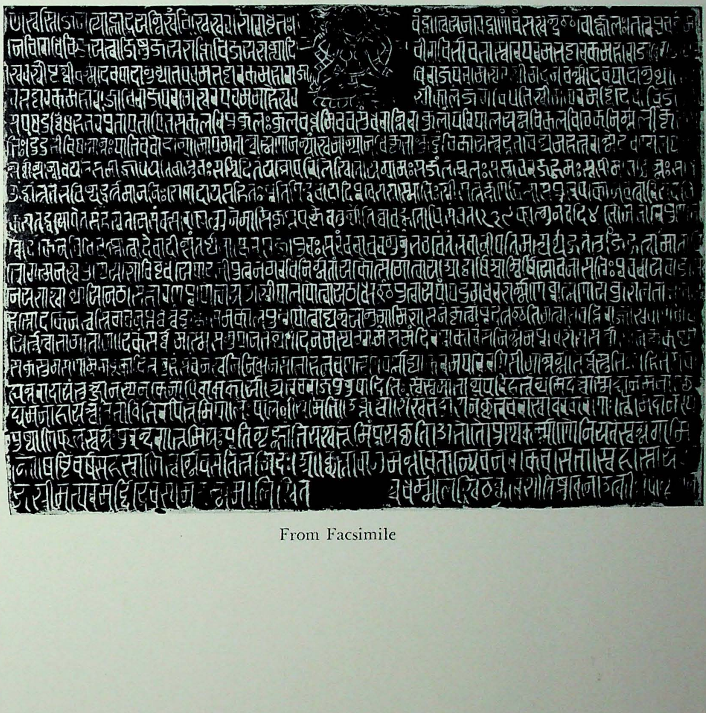
[7] The bracketed *akshara* is not well engraved, and the *v* of *vi* that follows has a redundant stroke in it.

[8] Drop the *daṇḍa* and read आङ्गिरसाम्बरीषयौवनाश्वत्रिप्रवराय. Cf. No. 119 (ll. 16-17) and No. 138 (ll. 10-11) where these three *pravaras* are grouped together.

[9] This and the other *daṇḍas* in this line are intended to show, as in the Sēmrā and some other grants of this king, that the letter preceding it is a contraction of the word denoting a surname, as *Ṭha* of *Ṭhakkura*.

[10] This is a contraction of *Paṁḍita* i.e., *Paṇḍit*.

BHĀRATĪ KALĀ BHAVAN COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARDIDEVA, VIKRAMA 1239



From Facsimile

13 हस्तोदकेन स्वस्तिवाचनपूर्व्वञ्चंद्राक्कसमकालं पुत्रपौत्राद्यन्वयानुगामि शासनं कृत्वा प्रदत्त इति मत्वा भवद्भि-
राज्ञाश्रवणविधे-

14 यैर्भूत्वा भागभोगादिकं सर्व्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं(व्यम् ।) तदेनमस्य ग्रामं समंदिरप्राकारं सनिर्गमप्रवेशं
ससर्व्वाशिनेक्षुकर्प्पा-[1]

15 सकुसुम(म्भ)सणाम्रमधूकादिभूरुहं सवनखनिनिधान(नं) सलोहल[व][2]णतृणपर्ण्णाद्याकरमपरैरपि सीमान्तर्ग्गतै-
र्व्वस्तुभिः सहितं सवा(बा)-

16 ह्य[ा*]न्तरादायं[3]भुञ्जानस्य न केनापि वा(बा)धा कार्या । अत्र च राजपुरुषादिभिः स्वं स्वमाभाव्यं परि-
हर्त्तव्यमिदञ्चास्मद्दानमनाच्छे-

17 द्यमनाहार्यञ्चेति भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयमिति ॥ उक्तञ्च ॥ शंखं भद्रासनं च्छत्र(छत्रं) वरास्वा-
(श्वा) वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य

18 पुष्याणि[4] फलं स्वर्ग्गः पुरन्दर ॥[5][२*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्ना(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्य-
कर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामि-

19 नौ ॥[३*] षष्टिंवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत (त्)
॥[४*] स्वहस्तोय(यं) रा-

20 जश्रीमत्परमर्द्दिदेवस्य मतम्मम । लिखितञ्च धर्मलेखिठक्कुरश्रीविष्णुकेन । उत्कीण्णं(र्ण्णं) पाल्हणेन [॥*]

No. 135 ; Plate CXXII

KĀLAÑJAR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIDĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1240

THIS inscription was brought to notice by F. Kielhorn, who discussed its date, from a rubbing supplied to him by Burgess, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIX, p. 37 (No. 67), and also included in his *List of Inscriptions of North India*.[6] It is incised on a rock between the fourth and the fifth gate, locally known as Budh Budr (Būḍhī Bhadrā) and Hanumān *Darwāzā*, respectively, in the fort of **Kālañjar**, in the Narainī *Tehsīl* of the Bāndā District in Uttar Pradesh. It does not appear to have been noticed by Lieut. Maisey or General Cunningham who visited the place in the last century. It is edited here for the first time from an inked impression which I owe to the kindness of the Chief Epigraphist.

It is a short inscription consisting of 5 lines of writing, which covers a space 24·5 cms. broad by 22 cms. high. The writing is well preserved except that it has lost two *aksharas* in the middle of l. 1, which, however, can be made out from the context. The height of the individual letters, excluding the top-*mātrās*, is about 3·5 cms.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī. The letter *dh* has developed a horn on its left limb, and *r* is denoted by a vertical with a stroke attached to its middle on the left, both these examples to be seen in *Yaśōdhara*, l. 3. The **language** is Sanskrit, which is generally correct; and the record is in prose. The **orthography** calls for no special remarks.

The inscription refers itself to the victorious reign of the illustrious **Paramardidēva** ; and though nothing about his family or his titles is stated herein, from the provenance of the record

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1 The *rēpha* above this letter is cut as the curve of the medial *ī*.

2 The *akshara* in the brackets was originally engraved as *pa*.

3 Better read —म्यन्तरादायं. In *kē* that follows the sign of the *prishṭha-mātrā* is separated from the letter, as some others in this inscription.

4 *Pushpāṇi* or *puṇyāni* is intended.

5 Both these *daṇḍas* are endowed with a top-stroke with which they are joined to the preceding letter.

6 See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, *appx.*, p. 37, No. 178. It is No. 400 of Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions*.

he is undoubtedly the **Chandēlla** king bearing this name. The **purpose** of the inscription is to record the installation of an object which is not mentioned, by the illustrious *Paṇḍita* Jājō, the son of the Nāyaka *Paṇḍita* Yaśōdhara. The inscription is dated **Thursday, the fourteenth of the bright half of Vaiśākha** of the (Vikrama) year **1240.** Kielhorn, who discussed the date in the volume of the *Ind. Ant.* which we have referred to above, has already concluded that this date regularly corresponds to **the 26th of April, 1184 A. C.,** taking the year as of the southern Vikrama era, *expired*.

Yaśōdhara and his son Jājō are not known from any other record, but from the title attached to his name, the former appears to have been an influential person. No special value can be attached to the date of the record which gives only an intermediate year for Paramardin who is known to have occupied the Chandēlla throne from 1166 to 1202 A.C. In the present record, moreover, no imperial title is attached to his name, and this should not be taken to conclude that after the fall of Mahōbā in 1182, *i.e.*, only about two years before the time when the present record was incised, he was relegated to be a petty local ruler by the conqueror, Pṛithvīrāja. The inscription is, after all, a private record and we have evidence to show that Paramardin ruled in the capacity of an imperial ruler even thereafter.[1]

No **geographical name** occurs in the inscription.

TEXT[2]

1 श्रीमत्परमर्द्दि[देव][3]विजयराज्ये[4]
2 संवत् १२४० देवश्रीन[ा]यक-
3 पंहि(डि)तश्रीयशोधरसुतपंडित-
4 श्रीजाजो [।] तैः[5] (तेन) कारितं(तम्) । वैसा(शा)[ख]-
5 सुदि १४ गुरौ प्रतिष्ठितमिति ॥

No. 136 : Plate CXXIII

FRAGMENTARY MAHŌBĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIDĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1240

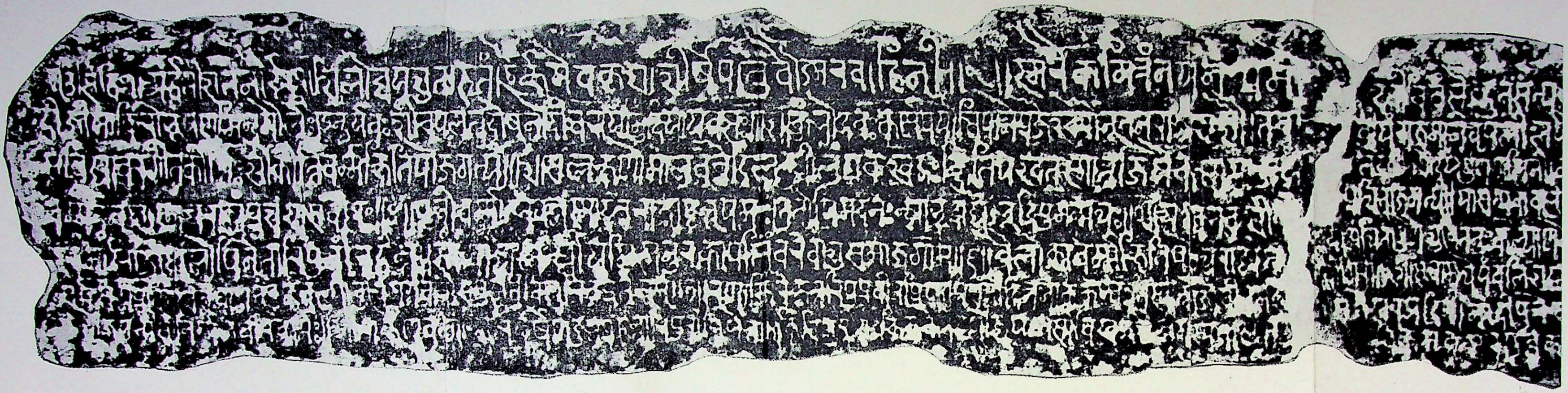
THE slab which bears the subjoined inscription is said to have been discovered in 1843, by General Alexander Cunningham, at **Mahōbā**[6] in the Hamīrpur District of Uttar Pradesh, and is now in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. It was found placed upside down as a common building stone in the fort wall at that place. Cunningham very briefly noticed the record in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI (for 1883-85), p. 72, with a facsimile in Plate xxii, drawing attention to its date and conjecturing it to belong to the reign of the Chandēlla king Paramardin. A brief account of the record was also published by Vincent Smith in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, for 1879, pp. 143-44 ; and subsequently,

[1] For example the Baṭēśvara Stone Inscription, No. 139, v. 10.
[2] From an impression.
[3] Of the *aksharas* in the brackets, the first is partly visible and the second is completely lost.
[4] The first of these two letters is mutilated and the second has lost its subscript.
[5] Probably due to some overwriting the reading of this *akshara* is doubtful.
[6] For the situation and antiquities of this place, see my remarks above in No. 113.

KĀLANJAR ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIDEVA, VIKRAMA 1240

From Photograph

AJAYAGAḌH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VĪRAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1317



Left Half

Right Half

Scale: One-half

this document was edited by Dr. V. V. Mirashi in the *Bhārata-Kaumudī*,[1] Part I, pp. 433 ff. with a facsimile, facing p. 438. The inscription is edited here from an excellent inked estampage kindly placed at my disposal by the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.[2]

The inscription is a **fragment,** incised on a slab which is broken at the top and also on both the vertical sides from top to bottom, and the broken parts are all lost. It contains seventeen imperfect lines, the first of which shows only the lower parts of four or five letters. The total height of the extant portion of the writing is 16·5 cms., and the length of it, beginning with 35·5 cms. in the second line, gradually increases to 65·5 cms. in l. 11, and decreases again to 61·5 cms. in the last line. The breaks are all irregular. The upper proper right corner of the stone, which already had a crack extending up to l. 9 cms. at the time of Cunningham, has also since been lost. An approximate idea of the original length of the writing can be had from l. 11, which has lost only six of the letters, three on either side, the total breadth of which can be estimated to be about 6 cms., in view of that of the others: and thus the total length may be considered to have been about 71·5 cms. As for the original height of the writing, Prof. Mirashi observed that "it is now impossible to conjecture, but if it contained a *praśasti* of the reigning king's ancestors, as it is not unlikely, its height must have been at least the double of the present one of 1′ 3″ (31·75 mms.)." But we generally find that in a *praśasti* one of the kings is described in more number of verses than another and often some of them are mentioned only by name or are even omitted: and thus it precludes the possibility of saying anything definitely about the original height of the writing. The size of the letters is between 1·5 and 2 cms.

The record has also suffered due to weather and rough treatment, but excepting two letters which are totally lost though they are of minor importance and can conjecturally be restored with confidence, *viz.*, *sva* in l. 12 and *smṛi* in l. 14, the extant portion of it is all legible. The letters are all symmetrically and carefully drawn and engraved. But there are some slips; some of the signs of the *mātrās*, *anusvāras* and the superscript *r*, which are expected on the top-strokes, are either faintly visible or are altogether missing: however, comparing all the three impressions before me, I could only conclude that these signs were engraved shallow on the original itself rather than taken as lost on account of the exposure. This was confirmed in my examination of the original, as stated above.

The **characters** are Nāgarī. They are ornamental, showing their bends and joints angular, and in this respect they resemble the Mahōbā inscription ending with the name of Kīrtivarman.[3] To note the general feature of the forms of the letters, their vertical strokes are often not drawn below where they meet the ends of the left-hand curve, particularly in the case of *p*, *y* and *v*. As regards individual letters, the loop of *k* when the first member of a conjunct consonant is replaced by a horizontal stroke, as in *kshōbha*, l. 3; the left limb of *kh* begins with a loop as the palatal *ś*, *e.g.*, in *khaṇḍita*, l. 6; *ch* is distinguished from *v*; cf. *chaila-* and *vikīrṇṇa-*, both in l. 8; the conjunct *nn* appears as *nl*, see the latter of these examples: and *t* as superscript, and often *s* also, are devoid of their tail, *e.g.*, in *-ttanu-*, l. 2, and *-āsīt*, l. 4. *Dh* continues to be

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[1] *Studies in Indology*, in honour of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, 1945. In his article Dr. Mirashi draws our attention to some of the errors committed by Smith. It is shown, *e.g.*, that Smith's reading of the name Nānika in l. 14, and connecting it with that of Nannuka, the founder of the Chandēlla dynasty, is entirely wrong, since the actual reading is Nōna and the person who bore this name is stated to have belonged to the Kāśyapa (not Chandēlla) family and constructed the temple referred to in the inscription. That the error committed by Smith continued for long may be pointed out by stating that in an excellent Volume entitled '*The Early Rulers of Khajurāhō* (published in 1958) the same statement is repeated. See p. 232, No. 40. In my visit to the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, in January 1973 I had an opportunity to study the original stone which is No. E-22 of the Museum *Catalogue*; and I noticed that the record is in a sunken panel of black marble, the borders of which measure 4.5 cms broad. The lower border is almost complete. The letters are well formed but the incisions are shallow. It was also noticed that some of the strokes and signs of *mātrās* and *anusvāras* which have not come out in the impression and therefore corrected by me in the text below in brackets, are visible on the original. In this respect attention is also invited to *n*. 7 in the text.

[2] In addition to this I have two more impressions kindly supplied to me, at my request, by the Director of the Lucknow Museum where the stone is at present exhibited. This material was indeed helpful to me in comparing my reading of the text, which, as shown below in the foot-notes appended to the text, differs in some places from that of Prof. Mirashi. These differences are, of course, of minor importance.

[3] Above, No. 113.

without its top-stroke, but the horn on its left limb is sometimes joined to the loop below, as in *saṁdhattē*, l. 7, or to the top of the vertical, *e.g.*, in *sudhīr-*, l. 15 ; and occasionally the top of the verticle itself is slightly curved to the left so as to appear as the horn, for which, cf. *-adhika-*, l. 4. The slightly different forms of *bh* can be seen in *kshōbha*, l. 3, *-abhya-*, l. 4 and *bhaṭa*, l. 9 ; and *r* which has assumed its modern form, occasionally appears as a vertical marked with a horizontal stroke in the middle, *e.g.*, in *māruta-*, l. 9. The subscript form of this letter continues to be marked by a serif as in *prālēya-*, l. 2, and occasionally also by a stroke to the left, as in *-agra*, in l. 6 ; and lastly, the middle of the left limb of *l* is formed as a vertical stroke, cf. *prālēya-*, l. 2.

The **language** is Sanskrit, which is almost correct, and with the date in the end, the extant portion of the record is all in verse, containing 20 stanzas in the usual embellished style. The verses are not numbered ; and with the exception of verses 10, 13, 16 and 19, all of them are fragmentary. In respect of **orthography,** we may note that (1) *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v* ; see *vudha-*, l. 13 ; (2) the dental sibilant is wrongly put for the palatal in some instances only ; cf. *sāsvata-*, l. 13, and of *vice versa* we have only one case, *aśraviśrā*, l. 10, where we find the wrong use of the dental sibilant ; (3) a consonant after *r* is generally doubled ; see *karṇṇa*, l. 2 ; (4) the *pṛishṭha-mātrā* is used with a few exceptions like *-vaṁsē*, l. 12 ; the final consonant is not marked except in *saṁvat* in the last line ; and lastly, *kshuṇṇa* in l. 3 is spelt with the dental nasal, and *-ujjvala-*, in l. 12, appears with a single *j*, which cannot be defended grammatically.

The inscription is a *praśasti*, a laudatory account, as shown by the word used in v. 15 in l. 14 ; and its immediate **object** is to record the erection of a temple in honour of the lord Smarārāti (Śiva, the destroyer of Smara), as we learn from v. 17 in l. 15, by the learned Mādhava, a pious *dvija* and a teacher of arts and dance, who was the son of Lakshmaṇa and grandson of Nōnē of the Kāśyapa lineage (vv. 16-17). The *praśasti* was composed by Jayapāla, the son of Sūhila and grandson of Hallaṇa of the illustrious Vāstavya family (vv. 13-15). It was engraved by Dēvarāja, the son of Sōmarāja, and was probably written (on the stone) by Kartṛipāla, whose name alone is fortunately preserved in verse 18.

The **date** of the inscription, as expressed only in words in the end, is **Monday, the ninth of the dark half of Āshāḍha of the year 1240** ; and the year is also mentioned in v. 18 in word-numerals, stating that it was the era of Sāhasāṅka. As stated above, the era was taken by Cunningham as of Vikrama and so by Kielhorn also, who calculated its date accordingly. But in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, D. R. Bhandarkar conjectures it to be the Kalachuri era, on the basis of his assumption that Sāhasāṅka is the same as Sāhasamallāṅka, used to denote Malayasiṁha, in his Rēwā stone inscription dated in the Kalachuri year 944, and hence the year of the present record, if taken as that of the Kalachuri era, works out all right for that era also; and accordingly, it is equivalent to Monday, the 22nd June, 1184 A.C.[1] Showing that this view is incorrect, and also pointing out that Sāhasāṅka was the name of Vikramāditya, Dr. V. V. Mirashi concluded that the date of the inscription must be referred to the Vikrama era, as already done not only by Cunningham but also by Kielhorn, who calculated the year of the epigraph for the Southern *expired* Vikrama year 1240 and found the date equivalent to the **4th of June, 1184 A.C.,** when it was a **Monday**[2].

The existing portion of the inscription does not mention the name of any king or the family to which he may have belonged, but from a reference to the **Moon** and from the expression *tatkulabhūshaṇa* used soon after, we can conclude that the family belonged to the **lunar race**

[1] See his *List*, p. 282, *n*. 2.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 179, No. 127. For the whole discussion see *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, p. 435 and n. In *ibid.*, p. 435, Mirashi also draws attention to Kshīrasvāmin's commentary on the *Amarakōśa*, II, 8, 2, which identifies Vikramāditya with Sāhasāṅka. For the whole discussion also see *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 349-50. It may, however, be noted here that Mirashi's conjecture in taking the words *sāhasa* and *aṅka* signifying four and nine respectively, may be taken to be incidently applicable in the case of the singular example of the Rēwā stone inscription of Vijayasiṁha, dated in the Kalachuri year 944 ; but not anywhere else as in the present inscription. Also cf. *Vatsarā Sāhasāṁkē* in v. I of the Rōhtāsgaḍh rock inscription of V.S. 1279 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 311, where Kielhorn took the second word to denote Vikramāditya.

as pointed out by Mirashi. The mutilated condition of the record does not mention the name of the king, but the provenance of the inscription, together with the mention of the date in the end as the year 1240, leads us to conclude that he could be no other than **Paramardin,** whose known years range between V. 1223 and V. 1258. It may also be rightly conjectured that the initial portion, which is now lost, must have contained an account of this king, ending with his name, and verses 1-10 of the extant portion of the record may have given a eulogistic description of this very king. Though of a highly literary worth, these verses are of less historical interest.

To summarise the contents of the record, we find the first verse describing the flames of the king's glowing vigour pervading the sky, and the second refers to his *digvijaya* in a general way. The next verse purports to say that he was bounteous, and his struggle against Aṅga, Baṅga and Kaliṅga is referred to in the fourth verse. As his invasion of these regions is not known from any other source, this statement may be taken as a poetic panegyric. Verse 5 again refers to his conquests, in vague terms, and verse 6 states that 'the lord of Tripurī fainted whenever he heard the songs of the valour of his arms'.[1] This reference seems to indicate that the contemporary Kalachuri king, who was probably either Jayasiṁha (1163-1188 A.C.) or his son Vijayasiṁha (1188-1210 A.C.), the last known ruler belonging to the Kalachuri dynasty, submitted to Paramardin. We have seen above that Paramardin's grandfather, Madanavarman, claims to have achieved some success against the Kalachuri Gayākarṇa (1123-1153 A.C.); and as since then the strength of the Kalachuris was on its wane, the statement of the present inscription about Paramardin, that he brought under submission the Kalachuri king, may have some justification, though this account cannot be verified from any other source.

The rest of the verses describe the king in a conventional manner. Thus, verse 10 means to say that he was devoted to Śiva; and vv. 11-12 mention the main purpose of the record, *viz.*, that during the reign of the prince described above (that is, Paramardin) was erected this lofty temple of Śiva, evidently the same where the inscribed slab may have been originally set up. The following portion of the record mentions the name of the poet who composed the *praśasti*, that of the sculptor who erected the temple and also that of the engraver of the *praśasti*. The last verse (20) wishes good to the lunar (*i.e.*, *Chandrātrēya*) family, and with the date as we have discussed above, the inscription comes to a close.

There is no **geographical name** in the existing portion of the record.

Cunningham noticed three inscriptions on the pillars of a temple at Madanpur, all stating that the Chāhamāna king Pṛithvīrāja III (1178-1192 A.C.) defeated Paramardin and ravaged his kingdom in V.S. 1239.[2] And the present inscription, which is dated only a year after, doubtless shows that soon after the ravage was over, the affairs in the Chandēlla kingdom were again normal.

TEXT[3]

[Metres: Verses 1-2, 4-5, 7-9, 14 and 20 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 3 and 15 *Āryā*; vv. 6, 10, 13, 16 and 18-19 *Anushṭubh*; v. 11 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 12 and 17 *Śikhariṇī*]

1 ——————————[ग्वधादम्यो*]——————————

2 — — — [करिकर्ण्णतालपवनप्रौ*]ढप्रतापानलज्वालाडंव(ब)रचुंवि(बि)तांव(ब)रपथप्रस्थानताम्यत्तनुः ।
प्रालेयाचलमेख[ला][4] ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –, – – –

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[1] As shown by Mirashi, the word *mūrchchhanā* has a *double entendre* (1) a swoon, and (2) melody; and according to that the other meaning is that the king of Tripurī sings a melody in praise of Paramardin. See *ibid.*, p. 436, *n.* 6. Both the meanings, however, go to show that the Kalachuri king was subordinate to Paramardin.

[2] *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 173 f.

[3] From impressions. Portions marked with an asterisk are read from Cunningham's *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, as the stone has now lost the portions containing these *aksharas*.

[4] Prof. Mirashi read *-maśva*, but the sign of medial *ē* is distinct on *ma*, though partly visible, and the letter that follows it is *kha*, for which cf. the same letter in *khaṁḍita* in l. 6. The lower parts of *la* are also visible. The whole expression means 'the slope of the Himalayas'; and the first half of this verse appears to be an adjective of the group of the Sun's horses, the word now missing.

3 ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ [शिलाशैले च संसेवते] ॥[१*] यस्मिन्दिग्जयकौतुकव्य[स]निनि[1] प्रोन्मीलदक्षो-(क्षौ)हिणीक्षो[भ][2]क्षुन्न(ण्ण)कुलाद्रिकीलकचलं[3] भूमौ[4] [लि] - — ⏑ ⏑ [।*]- — — ⏑ ⏑

4 - ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ - [संरुद्धनासापुटं संतप्ताधरपल्लवं*]फणिपतेरासीत्फणामंडलं(लम्) ॥[२*] अर्थिषु वांछाभ्यधिकं वितरति कनकोच्चयं सदा यस्मिन(न्) । लज्जित इव सुरसा(शा)खी [नंदनवन]——— - ——— [॥३*] - — -

5 ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ - [प्रसृमरैरालिंगिताः सीकरैः*]पौलोमीपतिदन्तिदानलहरीसो(सौ)रभ्यस(सं)व(ब)न्धिनः । [ते] यस्या(स्यां)गकलि(लिं)गवं(बं)गसमरप्र[स्वे]दवि(बिं)दूद[ये] भि(भिं)दन्ति स्म समीरणाः करिघटास(सं)घ[ट्ट][5] — — ⏑ ⏑ [॥४*]

6 — — - ⏑ [मसो(सौ) निशाविरहिता निर्नीरद(दं)दु[र्दि*]न(नं) नीराहुग्रहणं रवेरदहना नीर(रं)ध्रधूमो-द्गतिः । निन्निद्र(र्निद्रं) विनिमीलन(नं) जनदृशा(शां) यज्जे(ज्जै)त(त्र)यात्रोत्सवे वल्गा[6]द्राजिखुराग्रख(खं)डितधराधूलि - - - - ⏑ ⏑ [॥५*]

7 ⏑ ⏑[मधु रतिं धत्ते लये च त्रिपुरीपतिः ।*] मूर्च्छनाम(मे)व संधत्ते गीते यद्भुजविक्रमे ॥[६*] सेयं वध्यशिला किला[ल]विषमा जीमूतकेतोः सुतः सेहे पन(न्न)गरक्षणाय गरुडोपस्कारकेलिं हृदि । युत्वा[7]-(क्ता)—⏑⏑—

8 ⏑—[स्तुतिकथां नैवात्मनः श्रद्द*]धे येनेदं जगदर्त्तिकर्त्तनकलालीलायित(तं) लज्जया ॥[७*]द्राक्षाम(मं)डप-शायिकीररमणीचला(चैलां)चलाकर्षिणः पुप्प्य[8](पुष्प्य)त्कु(त्कुं)कुमकेश[रां][9]कुरकणश्रे[10]णीविकीर्ण्णाम्व-(म्ब)राः । — — — ⏑ ⏑

9 — ⏑[हस्तमलहा*] — — च्छलच्छीक[रा]स्ते[11] सारस्वतमंडलप्रणयि[नो][12] यं भेजिरे मारुताः ॥[८*] आच्छिन्ना(न्नां)[च]लत[13]प्रधावितभटस्वीकार[को]पाकुलस्वःस्त्रीक्लृप्तकुचाकु[14]चिव्यतिकरव्यग्रीभवन्नारदं-(दम्) । कीलाला ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —

10 ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — [फूत्कार*]घोरांव(ब)रं जातं दिग्जयजृंभि[तेषु] व(ब)हुसो(शो) यस्याजिविस्फूर्ज्जितम-(म्) ॥[८*]पौलस्त्यमस्तकभ्रस्य(श्य)दश्र(स्र)विश्रा(स्रा)जटाटवी । कर्प्पूरपूजनेय(नैयें)न पुरार(रेः) सुरभी-कृता[15] ॥[१०*] तेन(ने)यमद्रितनयारमणस्य वेस्म(श्म)[16] नि — ⏑

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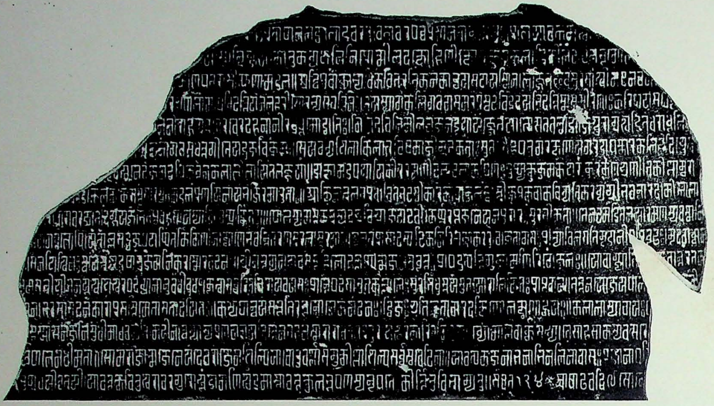
[1] The letter in the brackets is perhaps originally *ś*, later on changed to *s*, with an unsuccessful attempt.
[2] The consonant of the *akshara* in brackets appears as *ch.*
[3] The *kula-parvatas* (seven mounutain ranges) are well-known. See *Mark purāṇa* (*Bib-Indica series*), p. 284.
[4] The horizontal stroke distinguishing this letter from *ga* is not marked.
[5] In the latter part of this line a number of the *anusvāra-signs* have been cut so shallow that they are not distinct in the impressions.
[6] This syllable is not properly formed, and the *mātrā* of ji that follows is mutilated. But the reading is certain. The missing five *aksharas* at the end of this line may be conjecturally restored to be *dhūli-pratānar-diśaḥ.*
[7] The stroke partly visible in the end of this line is probably the curve of *ka* and not the sign of medial *ā*; and *kt* is probably intended.
[8] The slanting stroke of this letter distinguishing it from *p* is not marked.
[9] The space for the sign of medial *ā* is blank in the impressions.
[10] The *mātrā* above this letter is probably placed above the preceding letter.
[11] The bracketed letter appears as *sa.*
[12] The original has *nā* which Mirashi suggests to be taken as *nāṁ*; but to me it appears to have been *nō*, forming an adjective of *marutaḥ.*
[13] The bracketed *akshara* looks like *tra*. Probably *chalita* may have been intended here.
[14] The *mātrā* of the first *ka* is partially visible and of the second, it is completely lost. For the idea expressed in this verse cf. *Naishadhīya-Charita*, Canto VI, v. 27.
[15] This verse also appears in No. 60, v. 53, which is a Paramāra grant.
[16] Mirashi read these two *aksharas* as *dhamma* (*rmma*), but the first of them has a top-stroke, unlike that of *dh* and the second has a point, and not a loop as of *m* in the left limb. Besides, his reading does not give any sense which may be applicable here.

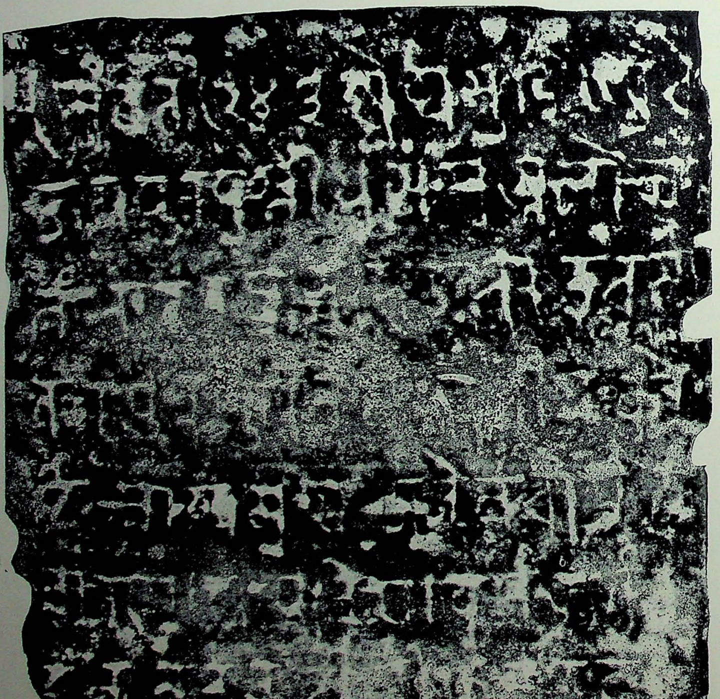
FRAGMENTARY MAHŌBĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIDĒVA, VIKRAMA 1240



Scale : One-fourth

AJAYAGAḌH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIN, VIKRAMA 1243

PLATE CXXIV



Scale : Nine-fourteenth

11 — ‿ ‿ ‿ —[1]च्चयगर्व्वलोपि । यत्रोल्लसद्ध्वजपटार्प्पितकिंकिणीनां क्वाणे(णै)र्भवन्ति तरलास्तरणे-
स्तुरंगाः ॥[११*] अमुत्र प्रासादे[2] स्फटिकगिरिलज्जाकररुचौ[3]कृतावासः प्रीत्या विलसति मृडानीपरिवृढः ।
मृदंगध्वा[नै] [नि*] ‿ ‿ ‿

12 ‿ ‿ वासेन शिखिनः स्वनैस्त्र[स्य]द्रू्षा[4] भुजगनिकरस्मेरवदनः ॥[१२*] श्रीवास्तव्यमहावंसे(शे)
मूहिलो हल्लणात्मजः । सुवृत्तः प्रापदुत्पत्ति(त्तिं)मुक्तामणिरिवोज्व(ज्ज्व)लः ॥[१३*] यो वाग्ज्योति ‿—
‿[5][ता]न्तरतम — — ‿

13 — — ‿ म(मे) सत्री शीत[6]मयूखश(शे)खरपदध्यानानुवं(बं)धी वृ(बु)धः । कृत्वा सच्चरितं चिराय वयसः
प्रान्ते पदं सास्व(शाश्व)तं कल्लोलैः सुरसिंधुसूर्यतनयोरालिंगितः प्राप्तवा[न्] ॥ [१४*] तत्तनयो जय-
पाल[:]————————

14 ———————— न । सरसां सदलंकारां प्रस(श)स्तिमेतां सतां दयितः ॥ [१५*]कस्य(श्य)पान्वयसंभूतिर-
भून्नोनेकनंदनः[7] । द्विजः श्रुति[स्मृ]ताचारदक्षिणो[8] लक्ष्मणाह्वयः ॥[१६*]कलालास्याचार्यः ‿ ‿ ‿
‿ ‿ — — ‿ ‿ ‿ —,

15 ‿— — — स्तस्मात्समजनि सुधीर्माधव इति । महीनाथस्यास्य प्रणयमयवित्तेन भवनं स्मरारातेस्तेन
प्रचुरशिखरं कारितमिदम(म्) ॥[१७*]व्योमार्ण्णवार्क्कसंख्याते साहसांकस्य वत्सरे । ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓
‿ — — ⏓

16 [क]र्तृपालेन[9] धीमता ॥[१८*]सोमराजात्मजेनेयं देवराजेन शिल्पिना । चारुवर्ण्णा समुत्कीर्ण्णा शिल्पसर्व्व
स्ववेदिना ॥[१९*] यावत्पंकजनाभनाभिनलिनावासः प्रजानां प[ति:]

17 — — — ‿ ‿ — ‿ — ‿ ‿ ‿ —[10]पुष्पंधयीव त्रयी । यावत्तत्कवितुश्चराचरगुरोश्चू-
डामणिश्चंद्रमास्तावत्तत्कुलभूषणस्य नृपतेः कीर्त्तिर्भुवि भ्राम्यतु ॥[२०*] संवत् १२४०[11] आषाढ वदि[12] ९
सोमे[13]————————[14]

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1 Mirashi suggests to read the following two letters as *-rmāna-*, but following his suggestion, we miss here the finite verb. The lacunae may conjecturally be restored as –रमांपिनं हिमशिलो.

2 This word has to be construed with the first word in the second quarter of the verse. Mirashi reads *prāsāda-sphaṭika-*, which cannot be construed.

3 The slanting stroke of the *mātrā* above this letter is wrongly cut on the preceding one.

4 The bracketed and the preceding *akshara* are mutilated.

These three letters may have been *-rapāhṛi-*.

6 A redundant stroke makes this letter appear as *bha*, for which cf. *bhavana* in l. 15.

7 Suggesting correction of *nē* to *nai*, Mirashi translates this expression as "the only son of Nōnē"; but it also appears possible that the name was Nōnē and the suffix *ka* may have been added to it for metrical exigencies, or, what appears to be more probable, to give a form of the *shashṭhī* of the word Nōnē, as we find in some other grants of the house, *eg.*, in No.126. This suffix is added to the name to form its case even today by those who have only some smattering of Sanskrit.

8 The *akshara* in the brackets has disappeared, leaving only traces. The letter *kshma* that follows is engraved as *kdma*.

9 The bracketed *akshara* is totally lost and I have adopted the reading as suggested by Mirashi. But it may also have been *bha*.

10 This lacunae may conjecturally be restored by the reading यावत्तस्य मुखाम्बुजे स्वनवती–.

11 The unit figure is ornamental with four *nandipādas* around it and only one of them is complete. The vowel that follows is formed differently from others in the inscription.

12 This *akshara* is deformed by a redundant chisel stroke.

13 Only the vertical of the *mātrā* and the first half of this letter are visible.

14 After I finished my article on this inscription, I had an opportunity to see what N. P. Chakravarti wrote on it in the section on Epigraphy in *ASI., AR.*, 1936-37. He remarked that in the fourth line of the extant portion of the epigraph the name of Madanava [rman*] is found partly preserved. But in my examination of the original I found that though the first of the bracketed letters ending the line may be doubtfully taken as *ma*, the second and the fourth of them are conjuncts and thus not fitting in the name. Again, in l. 22, he took the name as Ahallaṇa, which, of course, may be possible, as shown by the *padachhēda*. In l. 14, he read the name as Nōlaka and not Nōnēka, as taken by me and also by Dr. Mirashi. The consonant of the second *akshara* appears also as l, but the sign of the *prishṭha-mātrā* before it is absolutely certain and cannot be overlooked.

No. 137 ; PLATE CXXIV

AJAYAGAḌH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIN

[Vikrama] Year 1243

THIS inscription, which exists on one of the jambs of the upper gate of the fort of **Ajayagaḍh**[1] in the Pannā District of Madhya Pradesh, was found by Alexander Cunningham, who transcribed a portion of it in Roman characters, and published it with a photo-zincograph in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI (for 1883-1885), p. 50, and Pl. xii-C. It is edited here for the first time from a fresh inked impression which I owe to the kindness of the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The inscription is incised on the lower part of the jamb which also contains a record of V. S. 1227, which we have edited above.[2] It contains eight lines of writing of equal length, covering a space 26 cms. broad by 25 cms. high. The breadth of both these inscriptions is almost the same. The record shows the same sort of carelessness on the part of the engraver. The size of the letters varies from 2.5 to 3 cms. in height. When Cunningham visited the place, the record contained probably one more line in the end, but unfortunately the whole of it is now lost.

The inscription is written in the **Nāgarī alphabet** of the twelfth century. From the point of view of palaeography, attention may be drawn to the form of *a*, which begins with a vertical stroke ending in a loop and then going up with a tail to the left : see *anēna*, l. 5 ; to the conjunct consonant *gg* appearing as *gn* : cf. *durgga-*, l. 2 : to the almost similar forms of *ch*, *dh* and *v* ; see *vudhē*, l. 1 and *cha*, l. 7 ; to the somewhat older form of *ś* in *śrī-*, l. 3 : and lastly, to the formation of the subscript of *ksh* so as to resemble an initial *u*, for which see *kshatriya*, l. 4.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit ; it is incorrect at some places and also contains some local words, as some of the records discovered at the place. The record is all in prose. From the point of view of **orthography,** nothing is worth noting, except that *-durgga-* in l. 2, is written with *gg*, and the use of the *ūrdhva-mātrās* throughout.

The **purpose** of the inscription appears to record that a *chautrā* (l. 5), *i.e.*, a platform, was constructed by a *Rāüta*, *i.e.*, *Rājaputra* of the name of Sīhaḍa, who was a son of the *Rāüta* Sāntana (Śāntanu ?) of the kshatriya lineage, and was a resident of the village of Kōrṭiā, for the use of all people of Jayapura. The **date** of the record, as expressed in figures only, is Wednesday, the **eleventh of the bright half of Jyēshṭha** of the (Vikrama) Saṁvat **1243,** which, according to Cunningham, corresponds to 1st June, 1186 A.C. ; and observing that the week-day should be Sunday, accordingly, the same scholar states that the letters *v(b)udhē* in l. 1 can also be read as *ravau*.[3] But the sign of the medial *u* attached to the first of the letters showing the name of the week-day is quite distinct, and consequently it cannot be taken as *ravau*. The date was again discussed by Kielhorn, according to whom, it corresponded to **20th of** May, **1187 A.C.** when there was a **Wednesday** and the *tithi* of the bright half ended 4 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise.[4] The year was the Southern V. expired.

The name of the king, in whose time the construction of the platform is stated to have been made, does not figure in our record ; but from the provenance thereof, he is evidently no other than the king **Paramardin** of the **Chandēlla** house, who is known to have occupied the throne from *c.* 1166 to 1202 A.C.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the record, **Jayapura** (l. 2) is evidently Ajayagaḍh, as known from several other inscriptions found at this place ; and the village of **Kōrṭiā,** the original place of the benefactor (ll. 4-5) I am unable to identify. This place is also mentioned in another inscription found on the upper surface of the same pillar which contains the present inscription, as already stated.

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1 For the situation and archaeological importance of this place, see No. 112, above.
2 No. 128, above.
3 *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 50.
4 *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIX, p. 37, No. 68.

TEXT[1]

सिद्धम्[2][।*]संवत(त्)[3] १२४३ [ज्येष्ठ][4]सु(शु)दि ११ वु(बु)धे
जयपुरदुर्गीयसमस्तलोका[5]-
नां राउ[त]श्रीसीहडः राउतसां-[6]
तनपुत्र[क्ष]त्रियजातीयः[7] को-
टिआग्रामीय[:] अने[न] [चौ]त्रे [नि]-
वा[र]णश्रि(श्री)प्रतिपादनं[8] कृतं(तम्) [।*] त-
दनंतरं च श्रीकौकरव[र][9]-
ठ ॥[10] १०३ संकलिआ[11]—स्वं(स्व)स्ति [॥*]

No. 138 ; Plate CXXV

BHĀRAT KALĀ BHAVAN PLATE OF PARAMARDIDĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1247

THIS plate is now in the **Bhārat Kalā Bhavan** attached to the Hindu University, Vārāṇasī, and is reported to have been purchased, as already stated above,[12] some fifteen years ago from one Thakurdas Jain, a resident of Ṭīkamgaḍh, the chief town of a district of the same name in the Bundelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh. The original find-spot of the plate is not known, nor is it possible to know it as the person from whom it had been purchased is now no longer living. The inscription on it has been edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar in his article "Three Chandēlla Charters", published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII (1958-59), pp. 126 ff., with transcript in Roman characters and a facsimile. It is edited here from two impressions, one of which I owe to Rai Krishṇadāsjī, the founder-Curator of the Kalā Bhavan, and the other, kindly supplied to me by the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, to whom the plate was some time back sent for examination.

It is **a single copper-plate,** inscribed on one side only, and measures about 43·5 by 29 cms. All round the inscribed surface, flat copper-strips about 1 cm. broad are fastened on to it very tightly by means of copper-rivets, which are now broken at some places, leaving only the holes bored for them. The plate is heavy, and the letters, though they are deeply cut, are not seen through on the reverse side. The plate is in a perfect state of preservation ; and together with the border-bands and nails it weighs 2 kgms. and 220 gms. The size of the letters varies from 1 to 1·5 cm.

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1 From an impression.
2 Denoted by a symbol.
3 Most probably this consonant appears to have been marked.
4 Both the bracketed letters are deformed but the reading is certain.
5 What looks like the sign of *anusvāra* above *sa* is an original fault of the stone, as some others below. The sibilant that follows it is cut with its left lower limb detached.
6 *Ta* is incised as *na*.
7 The *visarga* sign is faintly and partly visible here, and it was read by Cunningham as the sign for medial *ē*. This and the following words are adjectives of Sīhaḍa.
8 The syllable *Śrī* is now almost distorted and hence the reading of it as taken by Cunningham has to be adopted here.
9 This letter and the whole of the last line are now lost, and the reading is from Pl. xii-C in Cunningham's *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI.
10 Read *Ṭhakkura*. The first of the *daṇḍas* is incised quite close to the preceding syllable and with the same top-stroke as on *ṭha*. The implication of the figures that follow is not clear. Saṅkaliā, from the sense, appears to be the name of a place in this region, as we know also from Nos. 121 and 128.
11 The two figures that follow this name were read by Cunningham as 53 but in the accompanying plate the second figure appears as 2. Nothing can be definitely said now as the whole line is completely lost.
12 See Nos. 119 and 134, above.

The inscription consists of eighteen lines of writing; and the inscribed surface measures about 40 cms. in breadth and 26 cms. in height. About the middle of the first four lines, the writing is interrupted by a square of about 6 cms. showing in it the figure of the four-armed goddess **Lakshmi,** with lotuses in two of her raised hands. The writing is also likewise disturbed by a hole of the diametre of about 1 cm., in the central part of the last line, indicating that it was cut for a ring passing through it for holding the plate with another, which is not now forthcoming, as we shall see below in the concluding portion of this article. The engraving is neat and boldly executed, but some of the letters are misformed and also bear redundant chisel strokes, as we shall presently see.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the latter part of the 12th century A.C., and bear a general resemblance to those of the Sēmrā plate record and some others of the same king. The letters *ch*, *dh* and *v*, and occasionally *r* also, are often alike in form, though *dh* occasionally appears with a horn on its left limb: for example, compare the resemblance between *ch* and *v* in *-vāchana*, l. 12; between *r* and *v* in *pravarāya*, l. 11; and between *dh* and *v* in *virōdhi-*, l. 2. As a member of the conjunct consonant the letter *ṇ* continues to appear as *l*; *e.g.*, in *-kaṇṇikā*, l. 9; confusion is occasionally caused in the formation of *t* and *bh* both looking almost alike; *e.g.*, *bhaṭṭāraka* in l. 2 looks like *taṭṭāraka*, and *-varmma-* in l. 3, as *-tarmma-*. The loop of the palatal *ś* is often altogether missing, as in *Paramēśvara=śrī-* at the beginning of l. 3, or is not completely formed, as it appears more than once in l. 1. Instances of omitting some letters, their strokes or limbs, particularly those above the top-marks, are to be seen in the engraving of *svasti* as *svāsta* in l. 1, in *varsha* engraved as *vapa* in l. 18, and in *likhitē* in l. 7, engraved as *lēkhita*. In marking the signs of *anusvāras*, the engraver has become most lethargic, sometimes in putting them as minute dots and in some other cases omitting them altogether.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit; and with the exception of one verse in the beginning and three in the end, it is all in prose. **Orthographical** peculiarities are almost the same as often noted above, *e.g.*, (1) the use of *v* to denote *b* also: cf. *vahubhir-*, l. 17; (2) the reduplication of a class-consonant after *r*; *e.g.*, in *sarvva-*, l. 13; the occasional confusion between the palatal and the dental sibilant, as in *vaśundharā* in l. 5 and *varāsva-* in l. 17; and (4) the use of the *anusvāra* in *phalaṁ* which is the last word of a verse in l. 18, but the wrong use of the consonant *m* in *samviditaṁ* and *samvatsarē*, respectively in ll. 7 and 9. *Sandhi* is violated while showing the name of the gift-village in l. 6 and the *pravaras* in l. 10; and the influence of local pronunciation is to be seen in *Jōvanāsa* for *yauvanāśva* in ll. 10-11; and the abbreviations *tha* and *paṁ* followed by a *daṇḍa* are also noteworthy.

The inscription is one of **Paramardin** of the **Chandēlla** (Chandrātrēya) **Dynasty** ruling at **Kālañjara.** The genealogical portion giving the names of his grandfather and great-grandfather along with that of his name is identical with that of the preceding grants of the king. The **object** of the present charter is to record the grant of a plot of land measuring ten *lāvas*[1] in the village Iṭalā situated in the Pāśuni *vishaya*, made by the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Paramardidēva who is also stated to have been a devout worshipper of Śiva and the great lord of Kālañjara. The grant was made at the Maṇikarṇikāghaṭṭa, during the king's stay at Vārāṇasī, obviously in course of a pilgrimage. We know that at the time the grant was issued, this holy city was the headquarters of the Gahaḍavāla kings, and we also know that Paramardin's contemporary of the Gahaḍavāla throne was Jayachandra (*c.* 1170-93 A.C.), who is known to have helped the Chandēlla king in his encounter with the Chāhamāna Pṛithvīrāja III (*c.* 1177-92 A.C.)[2] This evidently shows that Paramardin carried on friendly relations with Jayachandra; and in view of this, it is hardly possible to agree with Shri N. Bose who

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[1] The dictionary meaning of this word is 'cutting, lopping or lopping off', and in this sense we find its use in the classical literature, *e.g.*, in *R.V.*, XIII, v. 43. But it is unknown to inscriptions; and in none of the Chandēlla records I find this word used. Thus the word may be taken here in its secondary meaning 'a part'. If, on the other hand, it is presumed that the writer of the present inscription may have omitted the *akshara ha* before *lā* from the original draft, as we find in some other cases also, cf. *vikē* for *vivēka* in l. 5, the expression would mean 'ten *halas* of land'.

[2] H. C. Ray, *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 541.

suggests that the Vārāṇasī region formed a part of Paramardin's kingdom about the time of the record.[1]

The **date** of the inscription is quoted in words and repeated in figures, in ll. 9-10. It is **Saturday, the 14th of the bright half of Phālguna,** (Vikrama) year **1247,** which, as calculated by Dr. Sircar,[2] regularly corresponds to **9th February, 1191 A.C.**

As seen above, the genealogical portion of the present grant is a copy of Paramardin's grant of V.S. 1239;[3] and the variation is only in the formal portion of the grant, *i.e.*, the details of the donations made. Even the donee in both the cases is the same. Padmadharaśarman, though his name figures in its Prakrit form in the earlier grant: and his father's name is written with a slight change in spelling. It is therefore not necessary to repeat here all that has been stated above, while editing the foregoing document. It has, however, to be observed here that in the present charter we do not find the name of the writer and of the engraver,[4] after or before the imprecatory and the benedictory verses, as in that of which it is a copy and as we find in almost all the other grants of the king; in view of this it is possible to hold with Dr. Sircar who has remarked in course of editing this grant in the volume of the *Ep. Ind.* referred to above, that the writing was continued on another plate which is now lost and which would have borne inscription of the **sign-manual** of the king together with a reference to these two persons. The hole in the lower surface of the plate, which was meant evidently for a ring to hold it with another, also lends support to this view.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Kālañjara** (l. 4) and **Vārāṇasī** (l. 8) are well-known. **Pāśuṇivishaya** (l. 9), where the gift-land existed, appears to have been the region in the valley of the Paisani river which flows in the eastern part of the Bāndā District and joins the Yamunā. And in view of this, the village **Iṭalā** in which the land was situated (l. 6) suggests its identification with the modern village Ekdalā (Lat. 25° 43′ N., Long. 81° 6′ E.), lying about 25 kms. north-west of the confluence of these two rivers and about 30 kms. east-southeast of Augāsī, the find-spot of one of the grants of Madanavarman.[5] **Pāṭalipura,** which is mentioned here as a *bhaṭṭāgrahāra* from which the donee Padmadharaśarman is stated to have hailed (l. 10), is obviously the same locality figuring in another grant of Paramardin, as already seen.[6]

TEXT[7]

[Metre: Verses 1-4 *Anushṭubh*]

1 सिद्धम्[8] स्वस्ति ॥ जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वं विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः । चन्द्रात्रेयनरेन्द्राणां वंशश्चन्द्र इवोज्ज्वलः ॥[१*] तत्र प्रव-

2 र्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभ्राजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्त्यादिवी[र]ाविर्भावभास्वरे परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-

3 धिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदनत(व)र्म्मदे-

4 वपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजप[र][9]मेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालञ्जराधिपतिश्रीमत्परमर्द्दि-

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[1] See N. S. Bose, *Hist. of the Candēllas*, pp. 96 ff. D. C. Sircar has discussed this problem in detail in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 126, and elsewhere also. The fragmentary Mau inscription of Madanavarman (No. 125) has a clear statement regarding the friendly relations between this king and Kāśirāja, and his contemporary Gāhaḍavāla kings were Gōvindachandra (1114-54 A.C.) and his son Vijayachandra (1154-70 A.C.); thus it is hardly possible to conceive that during the very next generation and within about 20 years of Vijayachandra's death, the situation may have changed. Similarly Dr. Ganguly's assumption based on the slender statement on Nayachandra's *Rambhāmañjarī* that "Madanavarman was then at war with the king of Kāśī", appears to be hardly acceptable. For Ganguly's conclusion see *Hist. and Cult. of the Ind. People* (Bhāratīya Vidyā-Bhavan), Vol. V, p. 53.

[2] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 126.

[3] Above, No. 134.

[4] As the present charter contains the same type of errors, *e.g.*, of occasionally omitting limbs of letters *etc.*, it appears likely that it was probably engraved by Pālhaṇa who engraved some other grants of Paramardin.

[5] Above, No. 118.

[6] No. 134, above.

[7] From the original plates and impressions.

[8] Expressed by a symbol. In the following word the curve of the *mātrā* of *ti* is not formed and the vertical of the same is placed close to the preceding letter so as to read the whole as *svāsta*.

[9] This letter is disfigured by a redundant chisel stroke.

5 देवा(वो) विजयी । स एष दुर्व्विषहतरप्रतापतापितसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवधूमिव वशु(सु)न्धरान्निराकुलां परि-
पालयन्नविकलविके(विवेक)निर्मलो-

6 कृतमतिः ।[1] पाशुणिविषयान्त[ः*]पातिइटला[2]ग्रामोपगतान्ब्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणानन्या[ं*]श्चमान्यानधिकृतान्कुटुम्वि[3]-
(म्बि)कायस्थदूतवे(वै)द्यमहत्तरा-

7 न्मेदचण्डालपर्यन्तान्सर्व्वान्सम्वो(म्बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति चास्तु वः सम्वि(संवि)दितं यथोपरिले(लि)खित-
(ते)[4]स्मिन्ग्रामे सजलस्थला सस्थावरज-

8 ङ्गमा स्वसीमावच्छिन्ना साधऊर्द्धा(द्ध्वा)[5] भूतभविष्यद्वर्त्तमाननिःशेषादायसहिता प्रतिषिद्धचाटादिप्रवेशा
चास्म[ा*]भिः श्रीवाराणस्यां म-

9 णिकर्ण्णिका[घट्टे][6] सप्तचत्वारि[ं*]शदधिकशतद्वयोपेभ(त)सहस्रतमे[7] सम्व(संव)त्सरे फाल्गुने मासि शुक्ल-
पक्षे चतुर्द्दस्या(श्या)न्तिथाव-

10 ङ्कतोपि सम्वत(संवत्) १२४७ फा[ल्गु][8]नशुदि १४ शनिवारे पाटलिपुरभट्टाग्रहारविनिर्गताय कौत्सगोत्राय
आङ्गिरिषाआम्व(म्ब)रिषाजौ-

11 वनासत्रिप्रवराय[9] व(ब)ह्वृचशाखाध्यायिने ठ। सहारणप्रपौत्राय ठ। श्रीपालपौत्राय ठ। धांइपुत्राय[10]पं।
पद्मधरस(श)र्म्मणे व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणा-

12 य कुशलतापूतेत[11] हस्तोदकेन स्वस्तिवाचनपूर्व्वकं चन्द्रार्क्कसमकाल[ं*] पुत्रपौत्राद्यन्वयानुगामि[12]दशहलाव-
च्छिन्ना भूमिः शा[स]नी-

13 कृत्य प्रदता(त्ता)। इति मत्वा भवद्भिराजा(ज्ञा)श्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा भागभोगादिकं सर्व्वमस्मै समु[प]नेतव्यं[13]
तदेनामस्य भूमिं समंदिर[14]-

14 प्राकारां सान(सनि)र्गमप्रवेशां ससर्व्वाशनेक्षुकं(क)र्प्पास[15]कुशुम(सुंभ)सणाम्रमधूकादिभूरुहां सवनखनिनिधानां
सलोहाद्याकरामपरे-

15 रपि सीमान्तग्गते(र्गतै)र्व्वस्तुभि[ः*] सहिता[ं] सवा(बा)ह्याभ्यं(भ्य)न्तरादायां भुञ्जानस्यं(स्य) न केनापि
वा(बा)धा कार्या [।*] अत्र च राजराजपुरुषादिभिः(भिः) स्वं स्वमा-

16 भाव्यं परिह[र्त्त]व्य[16]मिदञ्चास्मद्दानमनाच्छेद्यमनाहा[र्यञ्चे][17]ति भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयमिति ॥
उक्तञ्च ॥ शङ्खभद्रा[स]-

17 नं च्छ(छ)त्र(त्रं) वरास्वा(श्वा) वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य पु[ष्पा]णि फलं स्वर्ग्गः पुरंदर ॥[२*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्व-
सुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य

18 यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[३*]षष्टिं वप(र्ष) सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानु-
मन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥४*]

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[1] This *daṇḍa* is redundant, as also some others below.

[2] Read –पातीटला–.

[3] The consonant of *ṭu* is formed as *d* and the curve of the *mātrā* on *vi* is not cut.

[4] The curve of the *mātrā* on the first and the whole of it on the third letter is missing.

[5] The sign of the superscript *r* is very faint.

[6] Both the bracketed *aksharas* are misformed.

[7] The curve of the *mātrā* of *dhi* is partly visible and is joined to the vertical.

[8] Both the consonants of the bracketed letter are misformed. In the word *saṁvat* that precedes, it cannot be ascertained whether the consonant is marked, as the verticals of most of the letters in this inscription have their lower ends slightly bent to the right.

[9] Each of the names of the *pravaras* here is separated by a *daṇḍa* so often used in the Sēmrā grant of the same king. Read आङ्गिरसाम्बरीषयौवनाश्व–. *Ṭh* and *Paṁ* in this line are contractions of *Ṭhakkura* and *Paṁḍita i.e.* Paṇḍit, respectively.

[10] In the other records the name appears as *dhā ī*. See.. The *anusvāra* on *dhā* appears to have been struck off but the mark is still visible.

[11] The sign of *mātrā* of *pū* appears as a subscript *n*.

[12] Sircar suggests the correction of this word to *gāminī*, but in the compound word this qualifies *hala* and thus the emendation does not appear to be necessary.

[13] The consonant of the bracketed *akshara* was originally cut as *th*.

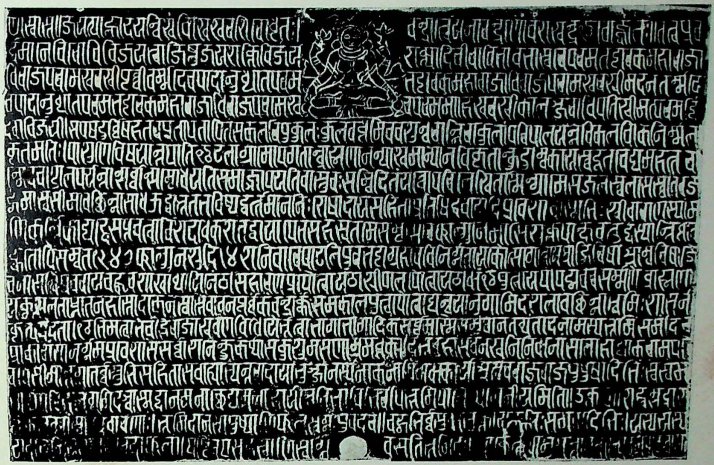
[14] The curve of the *mātrā* of *di* is missing and the horizontal stroke before the letter is also missing.

[15] In this and the following line there are a number of redundant strokes appearing as the signs of *anusvāra*.

[16] The letter in the brackets is engraved as *la*.

[17] Originally *yī*, with the earlier part of the curve scored off so as to make it the sign of superscript *r*.

BHĀRATKALĀ BHAVAN COPPER-PLATE OF PARAMARDIDĒVA, VIKRAMA 1247



From Facsimile

No. 139 ; Plate CXXVI

BAṬĒŚVARA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIDĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1252

THIS inscription was transcribed for the first time by Dr. Hultzsch in *Zeitschrift D. Morg. Ges.*, Vol. XL (1886), pp. 51-54, and subsequently it was edited by F. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I (1888), pp. 207 ff. But neither of these articles is accompanied by a facsimile, and I have not seen the record illustrated anywhere else. It is edited here from an inked impression supplied to me, at my request, by the Director of the Provincial Museum at Lucknow, where the inscribed slab is at present deposited. It is said to have been found in an ancient mound at **Baṭēśvara**[1] a town in the Agra District of Uttar Pradesh, on the right bank of the Yamunā, about 56 kms. south-east of Agra.

The inscription, which is in a sunken panel of a black stone, contains 24 lines of writing and measures about 62 cms. broad by 48 to 50 cms. high. It is in a very bad state of preservation. A large crack has cut the stone vertically on the proper left side, destroying one or two *aksharas* in each of the lines and three in l. 12 where the break is wider. These *aksharas*, however, are of minor importance and can be made out from the context, except one in l. 16 and two in l. 23 which involve a part of a name. This apart, a portion of the proper left corner, about 12 cms. long, has been broken away and lost, resulting in the loss of 23 *aksharas* at the end of the first line and 8 at the end of the second. Furthermore, the surface of the stone which was made none too smooth before the letters were engraved on it, as it appears from the impression before me, has also suffered considerably owing to the effect of weather, and several letters which were probably in a somewhat better state of preservation in Kielhorn's time, have now become worn or indistinct as the engraving is shallow :[2] and consequently I had occasionally to resort to Kielhorn's readings as I have noted in the subjoined transcript.

The **characters** are Nāgarī, closely resembling those of the Mahōbā stone inscription of V. S. 1240.[3] The size of the letters ranges between 1.2 and 1.5 cms. To note the peculiarities of the individual letters, the loops of the initial *i*, which are rectangular and placed horizontally, are superscribed by a horizontal stroke, as in *iti*, l. 2 : *k* in a few instances, *e.g.*, in *kavalita*, l. 9, as in ligature *kh*, begins with a curve as that in the palatal *ś*, cf. *lilēkha*, l. 23 : *ṅ*, which is generally without the dot, does not show the upward curve of its lowest extremity, as in *rathāṅga-*, l. 2 ; *ch* and *v* are often alike, *e.g.*, in *sachiva-*, l. 21 : and in a few instances the first of these letters is cut as the left limb of *g* ; cf. *-vargga*, l. 1. *N* in rare instances resumes its older form, as in *nitya-*, l. 19 ; the slightly different forms of *bh* can be seen in *-aśōbhi* and *śubhra-*, both in l. 3 : and finally, *r*, which has assumed its modern Nāgarī form, is in several cases devoid of its tail and occasionally it resembles *v*, or has a wedge. The form of this letter as a vertical with a horizontal stroke attached to its left in the middle, is seen in *niraṅkuśa-*, l. 9.

The **language** is Sanskrit ; and except for the introductory *Siddham ōṁ namō bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya* and the concluding *Śrīr=astu*, the whole record is metrically composed. In all there are 34 verses ; they are not numbered. They are composed in an artistic *kāvya* style, containing figures of speech like *anuprāsa*, *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *utprēkshā* and *ślēsha*, and the style, and the way of description is much similar to those of the Mahōbā stone inscription, from which the author of the present inscription has derived not only ideas but also expressions. As regards **orthography,**

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[1] Kielhorn is doubtful about this, for, as he observed, the present inscription appears to be the same as mentioned by Cunningham in *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 82, No. 52, as found on the bank of a lake at "Baghāri", which appears to be consistent from the number of lines mentioned in it. The antiquities found at Baṭēśvara are described in Cunningham's *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. VII (1873-74), pp. 5 ff.

[2] For example, in l. 5 both the strokes of the *mātrā* on *-jalaugha* have disappeared, and so the sign of *anusvāra* on *chēshṭitaṁ* and *dvishāṁ* in the same line. In both the latter examples the consonant *sh* is devoid of its slanting stroke distinguishing it from *p*. It may also be partly due to the shallow engraving that the two impressions taken at the same time show some minor differences, *e.g.*, whereas the word *bhagavatē* in l. 1 has correctly come out in one of them, the other shows the third letter as *ta*. This statement was verified also by my examination of the original stone.

[3] No. 136, above.

(1) the sign of *v* is used all through to denote *b*, except in *udbabhūvuḥ* and *bibhartti* in ll. 10 and 24, respectively, and in *babhūva*, which occurs as many as six times in ll. 10, 13, 14, 16, 20 and 22 and 24 ; (2) the dental sibilant is often employed in place of the palatal, and there are a few instances of *vice versa*, *e.g.*, in *-sāstra-śara-*, l. 11, showing both the instances ; (3) a class-consonant is often doubled after *r*, as in *darppa*, l. 4, but not in *visarpi*, l. 6 ; (4) *prishṭha-mātrās* are generally used except in a few cases as in *Dēvadhara- and -sachivō-*, both in l. 22 ; (5) the sign of *anusvāra* is wrongly used instead of the final *m* at the end of a stich in ll. 5, 8, 10 and 15, though we have instances of the correct use of the consonant *m* also ; (6) the *anusvāra* is changed to the dental nasal before a sibilant as in *vanśa*, l. 2 and *payānsi*, l. 9, but not in *-avataṁsa*, l. 2 ; and lastly, (7) the word *ujjvala* appearing twice in ll. 14 and 18 is spelt with a single *j*. The word *vibhaṅgi* in l. 12, as also noted by Kielhorn, is used in the sense of *bhaṅgi*.

The proper **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of Vishṇu, and one of Śiva, by Sallakshaṇa, the Minister of the king **Paramardin** of the **Chandrātrēya** (Chandēlla) family, and also that the latter of these temples was completed by Sallakshaṇa's son, Purushōttama, who succeeded him as the Minister. The poet who composed the record was Dēvadhara, and it was written by Dharmadhara, both of whom were sons of Gadādhara, the king's Minister for Peace and War, and it was engraved by Mahārāja, the son of Sōmarāja. The details about all these persons are noted below.

The inscription is a *praśasti*, a laudatory account, as stated in v. 31 in it, and falls into three parts. The first part, which comprises vv. 1-13, contains the genealogical account of the **Chandrātrēya (Chandēlla)** kings. After a short sentence paying obeisance to the venerable Vāsudēva[1] and followed by two verses invoking the blessings respectively of Śauri and Rathāṅga-pāṇi or Chakrapāṇi, both being the epithets of Vishṇu (the second of the verse being lost in its latter half), the inscription proceeds in vv. 3-4 to refer to the origin of the race, the first two letters of which are again lost, but from the third and the fourth of them, *viz.*, *trēya*, which are extant, it can be known to be the family of the Chandrātrēyas. Verse 5 introduces **Madanavarman,** the lord of the earth, as a brave prince who, by extirpation of the armies of the hostile kings resembled Indra who cut off the wings of the mountains with his thunderbolt and who also killed the demon Bala. The enemies of this prince are not mentioned here by name, but this verse may have a reference to the Kalachuris on the one hand and the Chaulukyas and the Paramāras on the other, all of whom were vanquished by him, as we have seen while dealing with the Kālañjara and Mau stone inscriptions of the time of this ruler.[2]

The next two verses describe Madanavarman's war-like activities in a conventional manner, and vv. 8-9 state that his son **Yaśōvarman,** an ornament among great rulers, caused joy to the people. Yaśōvarman's son, as we are informed in v. 10, was a powerful prince of the name of **Paramardin,** "whose foot-stool was pale-red with the lustre of crest-jewels of kings bowing down (before him)". Verses 11-12 are again devoted to eulogise Paramardin, the latter of these verses also describing his *digvijaya* in a conventional manner, as the Mahōbā stone inscription.

This part contains no new historical material, excepting that it introduces the name of Yaśōvarman, as the son and successor of Madanavarman and the father of Paramardidēva. That this prince actually ruled is not known from any other source; and unless this information is corroborated by any other record, we hesitate to accept it as a historical fact.[3] Verse 8, which describes him, does not give him any regnal title, as to both his father and his son.

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[1] This appears to be rather curious as the inscription refers to the completion of a temple of Śiva, as to be shown below.

[2] See Nos. 120 and 125, respectively.

[3] Different views are prevalent on this point. Dr. H. C. Ray suggests that Yaśōvarman had a very short reign and the present inscription hints at the untimely end of his career which may have been due to some dynastic troubles (*D. H. N. I.*, *Vol.* II, pp. 712 ff). S. K. Mitra holds that Yaśōvarman died shortly after his accession, howsoever short a time it might have been (*E. R. K.*, p. 118); and Dr. D. C. Sircar is inclined to the view that the epithet *Mahēśvara-śirōmaṇi* (the crest-jewel of the great rulers), of the present inscription (v. 8) is justified even if Yaśōvarman was the ruler of a district under his father. But it is significant that Yaśōvarman's name appears in none of the charters issued by his own son Paramardin, as also observed by Dr. Sircar (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 118, *n.* 1), nor also in the Ajayagaḍh inscription of Vīravarman (No. 145), which gives an exhaustive list of the rulers from Kīrtivarman to Vīravarman, his name should have been overlooked. It may be noted here that the name of this prince is omitted also in the account of ministers in the present record.

The second part of the inscription, which comprises vv. 14-29, contains a description of the ancestors of the Chief Minister of Paramardin who completed a temple begun by his father. Verse 14 introduces a family belonging to the well-known Vasishṭha *gōtra*, and the next two verses state that in that family was born one Lakshmīdhara, who was well-versed in all the Śāstras and who also performed sacrifices. His son was the twice-born Vatsarāja, who was of good conduct, reputed for his qualities and possessed of righteous wealth (vv. 17-18). His son, again, was Lāhaḍa, who had studied the sacred lore (v. 19). He was placed at the head of his counsellors by the king Madana (v. 20). Lāhaḍa's wife was Prabhā (v. 21), whose son was Sallakshaṇa, through whom (because of whose efforts) Paramardin became the lord of earth with three eyes.[1]

The next two verses are historically important. They mean to say that the illustrious Paramardin entrusted Sallakshaṇa with the government of the kingdom and gave himself to taking delight in licentiousness with women. It is stated here that "he became all the time immersed in the enjoyment of decking the breasts of those whose eyes resembled those of a frightened young deer and who were filled with unbound love". This information is indeed noteworthy as possibly being the cause of Paramardin's defeat at the hands of Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak in 1202 A.C. about 6-7 years after the present record was set up and the Minister-in-chief who was then taking care of the kingdom strongly resented surrendering the fort of Kālañjara to the Muslims.[2]

Verse 24 of the inscription again eulogises Sallakshaṇa; and in the next two verses it is recorded that this person constructed a lofty temple of Vishṇu and one of Śiva. The next three verses introduce his son Purushōttama, who was his successor in the office of minister and who completed the Śiva temple, evidently the same which was begun by his father and at which the inscription was put up.

The third part of the inscription, which commences with v. 30, gives the genealogy of the poet who composed the *praśasti*. The first of his ancestors introduced here was Lakshmīdhara, who was an ornament of the Gauḍa family. His son was Gadādhara, a supreme chief among the poets and the first among the learned. He was minister of Peace and War of Paramardin. His son Dēvadhara, a chief among the poets (*kavīndra*), composed the *praśasti* (v. 31); and it was engraved by Mahārāja,[3] the son of Sōmarāja. Verse 33 expresses the hope that the temple may stand for ever; and verse 34, which is the last one of the record, mentions the **date** by means of word-numerals, stating that it was the Vikrama era connected by wings (2), the faces of the three-eyed, *i.e.*, Śiva (5) and the Ādityas on the **fifth of the bright half of Āśvina** and on the day of the lord of the day, *i.e.*, **Sunday.** According to Kielhorn's calculations, the date corresponds, for the Northern Vikrama **1252,** *expired,* to **the 10th September, 1195 A.C.** when the fifth *tithi* ended 14 hours 14 minutes after mean sunrise. It was a Sunday;[4] and thus the date is quite regular.

Hereafter the inscription comes to an end with the expression which means "may fortune attend".

The inscription does not mention any **geographical name,** but from the expression *idam = mandiram-*, used in v. 26 and from *idam*, again in v. 29, we may conclude that the inscribed stone was originally set up in a temple where it was found. It may also be mentioned here that it is one of the latest known records of the reign of Paramardidēva.

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[1] That is, Śiva. Sallakshaṇa was the third eye of Paramardin, according to the well-known saying *chāraiḥ paśyanti rājānaḥ*, etc.

[2] Elliot and Dowson, *Hist. of Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 228.

[3] The first two letters of the third quarter of this verse are lost and hence *mahārāja*, which also means, 'great king', has to be taken as a name. He appears to have been a brother of Dēvarāja who engraved the Mahōbā stone inscription of V.S. 1240 (No. 136) and who too is stated to have been a son of Sōmarāja. This view is of course based on the presumption that Sōmarāja was not a different person.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 30, No. 38. Also see Kielhorn's remarks in *ibid.* where he states that Hultzsch's reading of the date differs. He took the year as V. S. 11[8]2.

TEXT[1]

[Metres: Verses 1, 4, 8, 11, 21, 25, 29, 32 and 34 *Anushṭubh*; v. 2 (latter half) *Upēndravajrā*; vv. 3, 5, 7, 15 and 30 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 6, 23 and 24 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 9-10, 14, 16, 19, 22, 26-27, 31 and 33 *Upajāti*; vv. 12 and 28 *Pushpitāgrā*; v. 13 *Rathōddhatā*; v. 17 *Mālinī*; v. 18 *Āryā*; and v. 20 Svāgatā].

1 सिद्धम्[2] ओं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ जयन्ति वा(बा)हवः सौ(शौ)रेश्चतुर्वर्गफलद्रुमाः । निर्भरश्रीपरीरम्भ-
पर्याप्त पुलका ⏑ ⏓[3] [॥१*] ⏓ — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏓, ⏓ — ⏑ —
— ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —

2 टि[4] । इति च्छलात्स्पृष्टपयोधिपुत्रीपयोधरः पातु रथाङ्गपाणिः ॥[२*] अत्रेरजायत विलोचनपुण्डरीकाद्देवो
गिरीन्द्र[तन*][5]यादयितावतंसः ।[6] वन्शास्ततोयमु ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏓

3 मुक्ताफ[लै]रिव यशोभिरशोभि शुभ्रैः ॥[३*] अस्मिन्नुद्दामदोर्द्दण्डखण्डितारातिमण्डलाः । जज्ञिरे चारुचारित्रा-
[श्चान्द्रा*]त्रेयमहीभुजः ॥[४*] तेष्वाविरास विलसत्करवालदण्डद-

4 म्भोलिनिर्द्द[लि]तशात्रवगोत्रपक्षः । उद्दामदर्प्परिपुराजव(ब)लाभिघातख्यातोपमो मदनवर्म्ममहीमहेन्द्र[:*][7]॥[५*]
सौधे सोच्छ्वसितं स्थितं सकरुणं लीलाशुको व्याहृतो दृष्टो

5 वा(बा)ष्पजलौघरुद्धनय[नं] क्रीडाकुरङ्गोशिशुः । त्रासाद्यस्य यियासुना वनभुवं कान्ताजने[न*] द्विषां[8] प्रत्यावृ-
त्तिनि[राश]मानसतया किञ्चिन्न वाचेष्टितं(तम्)[8] ॥ [६*] सिंदूरिताहितमतङ्ग-

6 जकुम्भ[पृष्ठे][9] येनाहितोलिमलिनः करवालदण्डः । युद्धेरिभिर्निजविनास(श)विसर्पि[शैघ्य आ]लोकि[10] केतुरिव
[नू*]तनसूर्यसङ्गी ॥[७*] अजायत यशोवर्म्मा ततश्चन्द्र इ[व]ांवु(बु)धेः ।

7 योभवज्ज[ग]दानन्दी[11] म[हेश्व]रशिरोमणिः ॥[८*]कुन्देन्दुकान्त्या त्रिजगद्विसारियदीयकीर्त्त्या[12] धवलीकृतेषु ।
केशेषु जा[ता व(ब)त] निर्ज्जराणामभूतपूर्व्वा पलितस्य शङ्का ॥[९*] आसीत्ततो न-

8 म्रनरेन्द्रमौलिरत्नप्रभापाटलपादपीठः[13] । अखर्व्वगर्वप्रतिपक्षिसार्थ[दो]र्द्दर्प्पमर्द्दी परमर्द्दिदेवः ॥[१०*] परस्पर-
विरोधस्य [त]स्य राज्ये कथैव का । सङ्गतं श्रीसरस्वत्योरपि येन प्रवर्त्तितं(तम्) ॥[११*]

9 प्रचलति ककुभा[ञ्ज]याय यस्मिन्हरिखुरधूतधरापरागपु[ञ्ज]: । कवलितरविरस्मि(श्मि)तीव्रतापादिव पिव(ब)ति
स्म प[या]न्सि(यांसि) तोयरासेः(शेः) ॥[१२*] यत्प्रतापदहने निरंकुशन्संचरत्यपि[14]

10 सपत्नसद्मसु । उ[द्र]भूवुरधिक[न्ह](कं ह)रिन्मणिस्या(श्या)मकोमलतृणानि सर्व्वतः ॥[१३*] [अथास्ति][15]
लोकत्रितयप्रतीतं वसिष्ठगो[त्रं*] सुकृतैकपात्रं(त्रम्) । यस्मिन्नजायन्त विसु(शु)द्धवृत्ता विप्रा पयो-

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[1] From an impression, comparing the reading subsequently from the original (Lucknow Museum *catalogue*, No. E-23).

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Partly from the traces and partly from conjecture the missing letters appear to be *-ṅkurāḥ*.

[4] The consonant of this letter appears as *ṭh*.

[5] Both the letters in the brackets are from Kielhorn's reading. It is not known whether he restored them conjecturally or from the traces visible in his time which are now no longer extant.

[6] Read वंशस्–. The lost letters at the end may have been –दियाय सुवंशजात–, or शुचिवंशजात–, as may be conjectured.

[7] Kielhorn's transcript shows that only the sign of *visarga* was then lost. But since his time the stone has lost some more *aksharas*, particularly near the crack.

[8] Here, and also in some cases below, the slanting stroke distinguishing the preceding *akshara* from *p* is not distinct. From some traces before this word and below the line, it appears that the preceding *n* may have been engraved there. A curve above the *mātrā* of *kā* may possibly have been struck off in the original.

[9] The reading of the second of these letters is not certain. The bracketed *aksharas* may also have been पीठे.

[10] The *mātrā* of लो is lost, leaving only a trace.

[11] The bracketed syllable is formed as *ma* and the preceding *v* is engraved as the left limb of *ga*.

[12] The subscript of *dvi* is cut as *ch* and what appears as the sign of *anusvāra* above is only an original fault of the stone.

[13] All the *aksharas* of the second quarter of this verse are only in form of traces now.

[14] Read निरङ्कुशं.

[15] The letters in the brackets which are indistinct in the impression, are adopted here from Kielhorn's reading. They are, however, distinct on the stone.

11 धाविव मौक्तिकौघाः ॥[१४*] तेषु क्रमादखिलसा(शा)स्त्रश(स)रोविहारिहन्सोवतन्सितशिवापतिपादपद्मः[1] । लक्ष्मीधरः स्फुरित[भास्व]दसी(शी)तरस्मि(श्मि)सव्र(ब्र)ह्मचारिगुणमौक्तिकसिंधुरासीत् ॥[१५]

12 यदध्वरोल्लासिहुतास(श)धूमलेखाः स्फु[टा]नेकविभङ्गिभाजः । दिगङ्गनापीनपयोधरेषु विलास[वे]णिश्रियमाश्र-[यन्त*][2] [॥१६*] [अ*]लभत जनिमस्मात्सच्चरित्रैकपात्रं विनयसदनमे-

कं वत्सराजो द्विजे[न्द्रः] । जलधिरिव [गभीर]:[3] शैलवद्गेयसारो मुररिपुरिव लक्ष्मोसंश्रयो यो ब[भू]व ॥[१७*] निर्म्मलगुणगण[र]ा[शेमि*][4]त्रोदयमोदिनोम्वु(म्बु)जस्येव । शुक्लद्विजपरिभोग्या

14 बभूव यस्यामला लक्ष्मीः ॥[१८*] आशी(सी)दशेषश्रुतिसिंधुहन्स(हंस)स्तस्यात्मजो लाहडनामधेयः । पु[पोष] यो निर्म्मलवाग्विलासं रे[मे] [च*] यः सज्जनमानसेषु ॥[१९*] मंत्रिणां धुरि कलोज्व[ज्व*]ल

15 कायं यश्चकार मदनक्षितिपालः । विष्टपत्रितयमे[व ?][5] जिगीषुः पंचवा(बा)ण इव सी(शी)तमयूखं(खम्) ॥ [२०] कुटुम्व(म्ब)कुमुदप्रौढप्रमोदनपटीयसी । तस्यासीद्द्विजराजस्य प्रभा हृदयव-

16 ल्लभा ॥[२१*] ततो बभूव द्विजरा[ट्स]मक्षः सल्लक्षणश्चारुचरित्रपात्रम् । अ[भू]त्त्रि[ने]त्रः परमर्द्दिदेवः क्षोणीश्वरो येन विनिर्म्मलेन[6] ॥[२२*] राज्या — ⏑ ⏑[7]शेषमेव भुजयोर्व्विन्यस्य यस्य स्वयं वीर-

17 श्रीपरमर्द्दिभूपरिवृढः प्रौढप्रमोदोदयः । त्रस्यद्वा(द्रा)ल्कुरंग[8]सा(शा)वकदृशामुद्दामकामस्पृशां पत्रन्यासकलाविलासर[सि]क[स्व*]ान्तोभवत्संततम् ॥[२३*] लक्ष्मीकेलिनिकेतन-

18 स्य भजतो मित्रोदयस्मेरतां दूराधःकृतकंटकस्य गुणिनो लोकैकतापच्छिदः । अम्भोजस्य च तस्य च त्रिभुवने साधर्म्यमत्युज्व(ज्ज्व)लं वैधर्म्म्यं तु पराङ्मुखः स न कदाप्यासीद्द्विजाधीश्व-

19 रे[9] ॥[२४*] [प्रा]सादो वैष्णवस्तेन निर्म्मितोन्तर्व्वहन्हरिम् । मू[र्द्ध्ना] स्पृस(श)ति यो नित्यं पदमस्यैव मध्यमम्[10] ॥[२५*] अकारयच्च स्फटिकावदातमसाविदम्म[न्दि]रमिन्दुमौलेः । न जातु यस्मिन्निवसन्स दे-

20 वः कैलासवासाय चकार चेतः ॥[२६*] पीताम्व(म्ब)रं यस्य यशो बभूव सुदर्शनं यस्य वपुर्व्विजज्ञे । गुणोत्करो यस्य च नंदकोभूदासीत्स [त]स्मात्पुरुषोत्तमाख्यः[11] ॥[२७*] त्रिभुवनमहनीयवृ-

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[1] Read हन्सोत्तंसित-.

[2] Originally *vi*, corrected to *vē*.

[3] These *aksharas* are indistinct and the reading is probable, as also stated by Kielhorn. They were read by Hultzsch as *sasētuḥ*.

[4] This is as read by Kielhorn, but the reading is metrically defective. The traces, however, point out that *rāśēr* may have been intended. In this verse the word *mitra* is used in its double sense, viz. (1) friend and (2) the Sun. Similarly *dvija* means a twice-born and also a bird. A metaphor is employed in this verse.

[5] Kielhorn's Query-mark after this letter shows that in his time it was already in traces. It has now totally disappeared and here I have adopted his reading. However, the whole word *ēva* appears to be redundant here so far as the sense is concerned.

[6] The words *dvijarāṭ* and *Trinētra* are used here in *double entendre*, the first, meaning (1) twice-born and (2) the moon; and the second meaning (1) three-eyed and (2) Śiva. Kielhorn has explained this verse to mean that by this person his master Paramardin became the lord with three eyes, *i.e.*, Śiva, on earth, he being the third eye of the king. But the full significance of the stanza may be brought out also by observing that Paramardin honoured this man as Śiva honours the moon by placing him above his forehead. Similar expressions we often find in inscriptions, *e.g.*, cf. *Dhaṅgarājēna mānyaḥ* in No. 99, v. 1, above. For similar idea, also see No. 60, v. 52.

[7] From the traces that now remain, these three *aksharas* cannot be made out. Kielhorn read राज्य-[रम], but the second *akshara* is metrically required to be long and the impression before me shows it to be *jyā*. The conjectural restoration here would be बन्धम-, or भारम-.

[8] Kielhorn read कुरंग and corrected it to कुरंग, but I do not see the sign of the *mātrā* in the second syllable.

[9] This word is used in its double meaning (1) Brāhmaṇa and (2) the moon, as some other words also in this stanza.

[10] The sky is known to be the middle stride of Vishṇu (Vāmana). In the same sense it is also used above, in No. 33, v. 2.

[11] By *double entendre*, the expressions used in this verse are applicable to the person and also to Vishṇu, that is Purushōttama, as he was named.

21 त्तवृद्धं शिशुमपि यं परमर्द्दिपार्थिवेन्द्रः । अनयत श(स)चिवेषु मुख्यभावं जगति गुणा हि पुमान्स(मांस)मर्घ-
यन्ति ॥[२८*] अनेनाचारसु(शु)चिना व्र(ब्र)ह्मलोके विहारिणः । कीर्त्तनं जनकस्येदमसि[द्धं सि]द्धि-
मापि-[1]

22 तम् ॥ ॥[२९*][2] [गौ]डान्वयस्य तिलकस्य गदाधराख्यो लक्ष्मीधरस्य तनयः कविचक्रवर्त्ती । विद्यावतान्स-
(तां स) परमः परमर्द्दिदेव[3]संधानविग्र[ह*]महासचिवो बभूव ॥[३०*] तस्यात्मजो देवधरः कवी-

23 न्द्रः प्रस(श)स्तिमेतामतुलाञ्चकार । अस्यानुजो धर्म्मधरश्च धीरः कुतूहलाद्वा(द्रा)लकविर्ल्लिलेख ॥[३१*]उच्च-
कार चमत्कारकारकः सर्व्वशिल्पिनाम् । ⏑ ⏑ धीरो महाराजः सोमराजाङ्गभूरिमाम् ॥[३२*] शं-

24 भुश्च विष्णुश्च बिभर्त्ति यावज्जटाकलापं च भुजा[न्त]रं च । पा[थो]धिजं धाम च कौस्तुभञ्च स्थिरास्तु
[कीर्त्ति]श्च कृतिश्च तावत् ॥[३३*] पक्ष[त्र्यक्ष][4]मुखादित्यसंख्ये विक्रमव[त्स*]रे । आश्विने शुक्लपञ्चम्यां
वासरे वासरेशितुः ॥[३४*] श्रीरस्तु[॥*]

No. 140; Plate CXXVII

KĀLAÑJAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARDIDĒVA

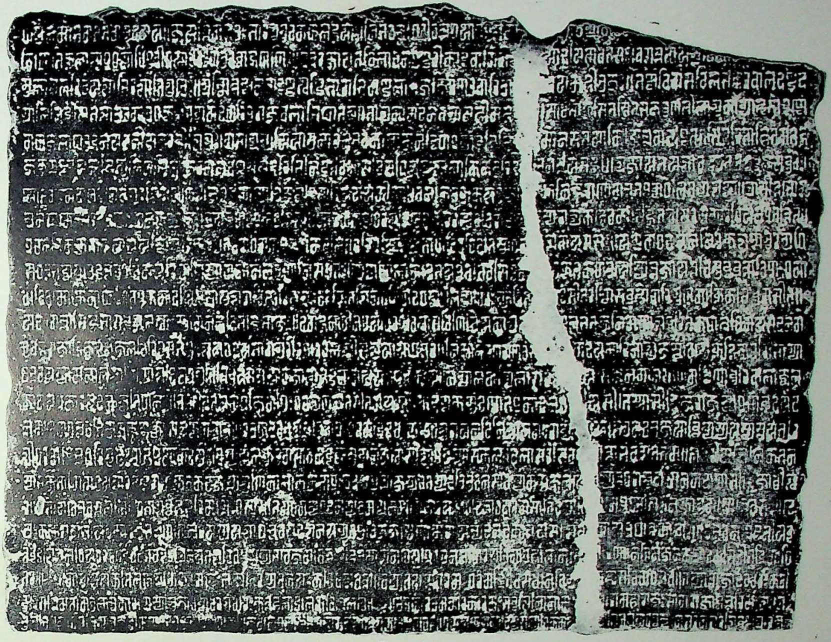
[Vikrama] Year 1258

THIS inscription was discovered, in 1848, by Lieut. F. Maisey, at **Kālañjar** in the Narainī *tehsīl* of the Bāndā District of Uttar Pradesh, and he published a transcript of it with a translation of some of the concluding lines, but without a facsimile, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XVII (1848-50), pp. 313 ff. Maisey found the record incised "on a large black stone slab leaning against a pillar opposite the entrance of the Cave" adjoining to the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha at that place.[5] The place was subsequently visited by Alexander Cunningham, who found the inscribed slab inside the temple, and who, noticing the record briefly, corrected Maisey's reading of the date in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI (1883-85), pp. 37-38, but without the facsimile. The transcript prepared by Maisey also suffers from inaccuracies: he neither marked it line by line nor did show the omissions of letters that were illegible to him, and what is more is that he continued in the same lines, without even showing the breaks, whatever was legible. No scholar has thereafter attempted to give a correct transcript of the inscription, since, besides the deteriorating condition of the record, a great part of it consists of a eulogistic address to Śiva and Pārvatī, and thus it is of much less historical interest. The inscription is edited here from a fresh impression kindly suppplied to me, at my request, by the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India.[6]

The record is incised on a counterstruck surface and contains 32 lines of writing, besides a sentence paying homage to Nīlakaṇṭha, which was later on engraved on the left of the upper border thereof. The writing covers a space 81 cms. broad by 66 cms. high. It is in a very bad state of preservation, for a greater part of it and particularly the middle has become obliterated, as Maisey himself had noted in the last century, was "used at one time to macerate tobacco on

[1] The bracketed *aksharas* are engraved as *ddhau sa-*.
[2] Some traces with two upright strokes on either side here, and also in l. 40, show that either the *akshara chha* or some flowery design was used to mark the end of the stanza.
[3] The horizontal stroke of *va* is broken or not fully engraved, making the letter appear as *da*.
[4] Of both these letters only traces are left now.
[5] For Maisey's description of Kālañjar and its antiquities, see *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 171 ff. He wrongly read the date as 1298, instead of 1258.
[6] Most of the letters have not clearly come out on this impression, and from l. 19th to the end, it fails to give the actual reading, though it has enabled me to prepare a somewhat improved version.

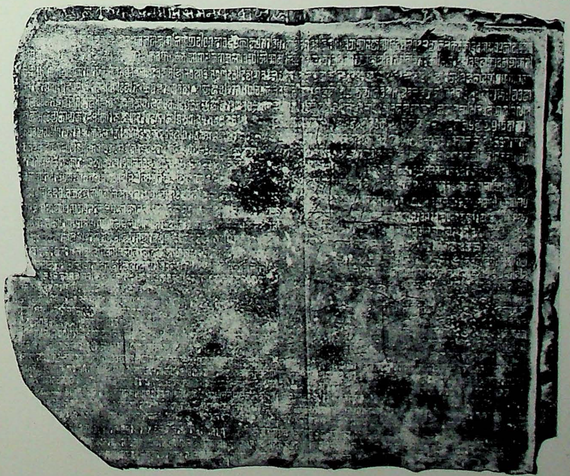
BAṬEŚVARA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIDEVA, VIKRAMA 1252



Scale : Four-thirteenth

KĀLAÑJAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF PARAMARDIDĒVA VIKRAMA 1258

PLATE CXXVII



Scale : One-sixth

it.[1] And since then it has also suffered highly not only due to the effects of weather but also from human inclemencies.[2]

The average size of the letters is 1.5 cms. in the first half, and in the remaining portion thereof it is gradually reduced till the letters in the last line are about 1 cm. high. The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet of the 13th century to which the inscription belongs. They are symmetrically formed but are not deeply engraved, as can be judged from the impression showing most of the letters indistinct. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the distinct form of *ch*, *e.g.*, in *chandra* and *chūḍā*, l. 1 ; to the horn of *dh*, which is sometimes oblique, as in *dhṛita*, but often curved, as in *vidhura*, both in l. 1; to the forms of *ṇ* and *p*, as in *praguṇa*, l. 1; and to the slightly different forms of *bh*, as in *Śambhu-* and *bhūshā*, both in l. 3.

The language is **Sanskrit;** and except for a short sentence paying obeisance to Śiva in the beginning and the date with the words *maṅgalaṁ mahāśrīḥ* in the end, the record is metrically composed. There are 19 verses followed by some which are fragmentary and cannot be counted; they are not numbered. As regards **orthography,** attention may be drawn to the few ordinary points, *e.g.*, the use of the sign of *v* to denote *b* as well; the occasional use of the dental for the palatal sibilant; the indiscriminate use of the sign of *anusvāra*, *para-savarṇa*, *etc.*, the use of both the *prishṭha-* and the *ūrdhva-mātrās*, and finally, the doubling of a consonant following *r*.

The inscription is a *praśasti*, as stated in a verse in the end, and was composed by the king **Paramardin,** who is well known to us as the **Chandēlla** king who bore this name. The composition, which is in a highly flourished *kāvya* style and abounds in figures using long compounded expressions, speaks highly of his poetic talent. It was written on the stone and also incised by the wise Padma, superior to all artists and the favourite of the valiant king Paramardin, the grandson of an eminent artist whose name is not mentioned, and the son of Anṛiṇa, in company with his younger brother Dēūka.[3] The inscription is **dated** in figures only, on **Monday, the 10th of the bright half of Kārttika** of the (Vikrama) year **1258.** The corresponding Christian date has been calculated by Kielhorn to be the **8th October, 1201 A.C.,** taking the year *expired*,[4] Northern Vikrama. It is regular.

The inscription may be divided into two parts, the first of which contains the eulogy of Śiva and Pārvatī, which is its **main purpose,** as stated above. This portion is devoid of any historical interest.

The first five stanzas of the second part which begins with line 25, are devoted to the description of Paramardin himself, in general terms. It is stated here that he was the greatest of all the kings and the sole ruler (*adhinātha*) of Daśārṇa, and that he subdued his foes by his valour. By his liberality he won the esteem of his subjects. He also sought pleasure in company of women and his glory excelled that of the Divine jewel and the wish-granting cow.

The next verse states that Paramardin himself composed the eulogy owing to his spontaneous devotion to the feet of Purāri, *i.e.*, Śiva. This account is again followed by a verse making general remarks about the poem, by way of instructions to the reader. The next verse mentions the names of the writer and the engraver, as seen above; it is followed by a verse expressing that the eulogy may be everlasting. And finally, the last line of the inscription mentions the date, as we have discussed above, and with the words *maṅgalaṁ mahāśrīḥ*, the *praśasti* comes to a close.

The inscription under review provides the latest known date of Paramardin. It is worthy of note that in it the king claims for himself the title of *Daśārṇādhinātha*, *i.e.*, the supreme lord of Daśārṇa; and it also indicates that he effectively administered the entire dominions inherited from his grand-father Madanavarman, despite the reverses caused by the Chāhamāna ruler Pṛith-

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[1] *J.A.S.B.*, *ibid.*, p. 193, *n*. 90.

[2] For example, in the shifting from place to place, for, whereas Maisey found the stone leaning against a pillar opposite the entrance of the Cave, Cunningham found it inside the temple; and the technical assistant of the office of the Chief Epigraphist, who visited the place in March, 1972, reports that it is "kept near the door of the sanctum of the same temple". In these attempts it is quite natural for this massive stone to suffer.

[3] Here I do not agree with Maisey in translating the expression *ālikhya svayam-ullilēkha* as "composed and inscribed the praise of the husband of Girijā (p. 317). As we learn above, it was composed by Paramardin himself.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 354, No. 152, which also gives some details.

vīrāja in 1184 A.C. That he continued to maintain his dignity and the glory of the house even subsequent to this reverse is shown by v. 10 of the Baṭēśvara stone inscription and thereafter, by the present record, dated in V. 1258 or 1201 A.C. It is, however, curious, as already noted by Cunningham, that just 18 months after the present inscription was composed, Paramardin had to surrender the fort to the Muslims, on 27th April, 1203 A.C.[1]

The only **geographical name** of importance mentioned in the inscription is that of **Daśārṇa**. Two countries are known by this name: the Western Daśārṇa comprised Eastern Mālava, including Bhōpāl, and the Eastern Daśārṇa signified a part of Chhattisgaḍh.[2] Following this clue the name appears to have been used here to denote both the territories roughly forming the region of the Western Vindhyas.

TEXT[3]

1 ओं[4] नमः शिवाय ॥ तत्पूर्व्वं नीविमोक्षे श्रवणकुवलयेनाशु निर्व्वाप्य दीपं चूडाचंद्रप्रकाशप्रसरविधुरया शैल-
भर्त्तुर्द्दुहित्रा । ध्वान्तभ्रान्त्या भजन्त्या नवघनपटलश्यामलं कंठकाण्डं दत्ताश्लेषप्रमोदः प्रगुण-
2 यतु मुदं मेदुरामीश्वरो वः ॥[१॥*] देहार्द्धानद्धकान्ताकुचकुसुममयो भालनेत्रानलार्च्चिःपीनोष्मा मौलिखेलन्मुख-
रसुरनदीनीररम्यो जगन्ति ।[5] स्फीतोत्तंसेंदुकान्तिर्द्द्विरदधृतिदृढाच्छादनव्यक्तसी(शी)-
3 तः शंभुर्भूषास्थिकुंदप्रकरपरिवृतः पातु सर्व्वर्त्तुमूर्त्तिः ॥[२॥*] देवे द्यूतजितं प्रयाचति पणं देवी दिशत्युत्तरं न
स्वामीति निगद्य कल्पितरुषः श्रान्ताः स्वकान्तासखीः । हारभ्रान्तिहठावकृष्टफणभृत्फू-
4 त्कारदूरद्रुताः प्रेक्ष्यालीक[6]समाधिभेदिहसितं कुर्व्वन्हरः पातु वः[7] ॥[३॥*] दास्येहं परिरंभणानि कितव द्यूते
जितानि त्वया मिथ्यौत्सुक्यमिदं यतः शतमहोरात्राणि तत्रावधिः । इत्युक्तः शिवया
5 निशादिवसकृज्ज्योतिर्म्मयाक्षिद्वयद्रागुन्मेषनिमेषकोटिपटलव्यग्रो हरः पातु वः ॥[४॥*] — — — ⏑ ⏑
चिन्तयत्यनुदिनं ध्यानापदेशादयं येनामुं मुनयोप्यनादिनिधनं ध्यायन्ति धौत-
6 स्पृहाः । इत्यंकात्स्वकरे हृते गिरिजया या[8] दत्तपद्मासनाद्विस्वं(श्वं) ? पातु ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
— — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏓ ॥[५॥*][प्येतत्काष्ठातटकरटि][9]घटोत्कृत्तकृत्तिप्रतानप्रत्यग्रप्रच्छदाढ्यः
7 कपटमृगपतिस्फारवर्म्मोत्कवेलः[10] । गीर्व्वाणोद्दण्ड[च]ण्डप्रचय ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
⏓, — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —
— ॥ [६॥*] भ्रश्यद्भूतलमुल्लसत्तनुतुलाकोटिध्वनिप्रस्फुरत्तारागु-
8 च्छमतुच्छकंकणमणिज्योतिर्धृतेन्द्रायुधं(धम्) । — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — —
— ⏑ — — ⏑ —, — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑
— — ⏑ ⏓ ॥[७॥*] — — — — ⏑ भीमभ्रमविततजटादण्डचण्डाभिघातक्षुभ्यद्दिक्कुंभि-
कंठध्वनित-
9 विरचितोत्तालगीतप्रकाराः । पादप्राम्त(न्त)प्रहारप्रचलितवसुधा[लो ?]ल — — ⏑ — ⏓, — — —
— ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — [प्रकाराः] ॥ [८॥*] संग्रामे
दिक्पतीनां भुजवन-

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[1] N. L. Dey, *G.D.A.M.I.*, p. 54.
[2] *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 38.
[3] Lines 1-18 from an impression, and the rest from transcript by Maisey in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 313 ff.
[4] It is not known if the symbol for *Siddham* was engraved in the beginning, as the portion is lost. Metre of this and of verses 2, 6, 8-11, 14-16 and 18-19; *Sragdharā*.
[5] The *daṇḍa* has almost mingled with the vertical of the preceding *akshara*.
[6] Maisey read — ग्रालोक–, but the sign of the secondary ī with the consonant *l* is distinct in the impression. It means 'false or feigned' and has to be taken as governing the next word.
[7] Metre of this and of vv. 4-5, 7, 12-13 and 17: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[8] The reading of this letter is uncertain, as it is mutilated.
[9] These letters, which are indistinct in the impression, have been adopted from Maisey's reading, but they appear to be incorrect, particularly the first of the *aksharas*.
[10] Maisey read here — वेल, and he has not marked the *daṇḍa*, which is clear in the impression.

10 पवनोद्वासिते सत्यशून्यं (न्यम्) ।........[1] ॥[९॥*] — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
⏑ — ज्वालमालाक्षिवह्निप्लुष्ट-
11 व्र(ब्र)ह्मांडभांडद्रवविकटजटापिंगलिम्नः पुरारेः [2]। — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏓, — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
— [ताण्डवाडम्व(म्ब)रं वः][3] ॥[१०॥*] पादांतर्ल्लक्ष्यलेखानिभृतवसुमतीचक्रवालप्र-
12 तिष्ठं नष्टाष्टाशाविभागप्रसरमुरुभुजाजाललीलायितेन । — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — —, — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏓[4] ॥[११॥*] इंदुर्जर्ज्जरिताः(तः) कपालकुहर-
13 क्रोडे कुहूकारिणः प्रोद्धूताः फणमंडले फणिपतेरायामिभिः — ⏑ ⏓ [।*] — — — ⏑ ⏑ —
⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — फूत्कृतिध्वस्ता — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑
⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏓ ॥[१२॥*] [या ?] चूडाद्दव(ब)-
14 द्धपन्नगपतिश्वासानिलापूरणैर्गर्जन्ती तिमिरप्रसार ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏓ [।*] —
— — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ —, — — —
⏑ ⏑ — प्रयाति विरतिं नाद्यापि सन्नामिव ॥[१३॥*] स्नातस्यान-
15 द्धशत्रोः स्रवदमरधुनीवीचिभिर्मौलिलोलः कंठ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — —
⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏓[।*] — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —
— ⏑ — — ⏑ — —, — — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —
— ⏑ — — ⏑ — ⏓ ॥[१४*॥]·······त्रिभुवनहविषा
16 हन्तु होमस्तमो वः[5]॥[१५॥*] स्वल्पा[यो]र्मानभाजः (?) क्षयसमय······· ——जविव्यण्डपिण्डे चंडीभ-
17 [र्त्तुर्व्वु(र्व्बु)भुक्षोः][6]कवलकवलनापूर्व्वं जिह्वाविलासाः ॥[१६॥*] कृत्वा पालन ————पमितरव्यास-
लिप्सा-
18 वलक्षो वैलक्ष्यं वः क्षिणोतु————॥[१७॥*][7]————[॥१८–१९॥*]
[8]·······कुमुच्च्युतयुधिवसुधाघातसप्रीत(····)करजां व्यसदाभूषिताः पान्तु त्वान्नवमीरदच्छविमुच [:*]-
श्रीकंठकंठांशवः[9] दोर्दंडवलयेहर्षनिष्यंदिद्दक्को भद्रचन्द्रार्धमौलेः प्रगुणयतु परव्रह्मलग्नः समाधिः[10]

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1 The whole of the latter half of this verse is lost.

2 After the end of the first half of the verse, Maisey read:—हरतु भवभयं पिंगलिम्नः पुरारेः, which is in fact the end of the next verse. Thus he has mingled parts of two verses and gave the reading continuously, not even putting the punctuation marks. His reading therefore is not helpful, and, as stated above, the impression too is indistinct at several places.

3 The letters in the brackets are lost on the original due to flaking off on the stone. and have been adopted from Maisey's reading.

4 Maisey read the last *aksharas* of this verse as भैरवं भैरवस्य; but they are indistinct in the impression. Here too he wrote all his reading continuously without showing the breaks. and thus it all becomes unintelligible.

5 Maisey read नः, but the consonant *v* is distinct in the impression. The first two letters in this line are lost in the original and have been adopted from his reading. Moreover, leaving these 14 *aksharas*. the whole verse is lost, as can be calculated from the space in the impression.

6 These four *aksharas*, which are lost in the original due to flaking, have been adopted from Maisey's reading.

7 Much of this verse is lost, as also of the following two verses. That they were two is known from the space in the impression.

8 The impression being very indistinct for the remaining portion of the inscription. I am obliged to give Maisey's transcript which does not show the exact portions lost, or those which he was unable to read at places. His transcript is not line by line, though I have retained it. The minor corrections made in brackets are mine, and in the rest the numbers of verses could not be followed due to lacuna.

9 Insert a double *daṇḍa* here, as it appears to be the last foot of a verse in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. The preceding line is obviously disconnected with it.

10 Metre: *Sragdharā*, which appears to end here. Maisey's reading of this verse is again full of omissions. as in some other cases also, below, which are not separately noted, every time.

परिचयं यं विपाकेन शून्यं निश्लिष्यन्नीश्वराङ्केऽप्युपनयतु स वः शाश्वतं मोदमीशः[1] प्राण(णं)ति सर्व्वे
सुराः किं चामुं रजनीषु राहुरसुरः स्वैरं समाक्रामति[2] पेस्यफिरदी (?) शाकं शून्यपदे निरस्यति यमुंच
(?) तिक्षिप्यत्यम्बू(म्बु)धिशुक्तिसंपुटकुटीक्रोडे तथान्यं मुहुः देवस्यास्य मुखाम्बुजद्युतिलवप्र भुवि वांछया
सरसिजश्रेणीभिरन्तर्जलं तत्कंठावधिमग्नपीनतनुभिस्तीव्रं तपस्तप्यते[3] काष्ठाकुंजरकुंभसंनिधिमिलत्प्रौढप्र-
तापानलं साक्षी विराधिरान (?) तद्धितम् । यः पीत्वामधुपर्क्कमुज्ज्वलयशः प्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीभुजां निःप्रत्यूहमहो
करग्रहविधिं चक्रे नृपाणां वरः ।(।।) केचिद्ब(द्र)द्धाः सहेलं निजभवनगताः मोचिताः केऽपि केचिद्गेहाद्गे-
हान्तराणि क्षणमिव गमिताः केऽपि नीताः प्रमोदं(दम्) । वा(बा)लापत्याश्च केचित् प्रतिपददयया प्राण-
वप्राश्रयोद्गाः क्षौ(क्षो)णीनाथस्य यस्योन्नतभुजपरिघेनारयः सारयश्च ।[4](।।)
दाडी(राढी ?)वक्त्रं निचुम्बत्सपदि विकर्षन्[5] कुन्तलं कुन्तलीनामाधुन्वन्नङ्गनारीकुच-
कलशलसच्चारुचीराम्बराणि । खेलत्कान्ताश्रमजलकणिका[5]दूषयल्लोलयैव देवः क्रीडन्निवास्ते मलयमरु-
दिव श्रीदशार्णाधिनाथः ।(।।) मेदिन्यां विषमेषुरित्यनुदिनं शृङ्गारवीरव्रताचार्य्यः श्रीपरमर्दिदेवनृपतिः ।
कैर्नाम न स्तूयते । शय्यायां चरणाङ्गणे च पतिताः कामिन्यश्च विरोधिनश्च शतशो येनामुना खंडिताः[6] ।
(।।) आकाश प्रसर प्रसर्य्यंत दिशस्त्वं पृथ्वि पृथ्वी भव
प्रत्यक्षीकृतमादिराजयशसां युष्माभिरुज्ज(ज्जृं)भितं(तम्) । प्रेक्षध्वं परमर्दिपार्थिव-
यशोराशेर्विकाशोदयाद्वी(द्रो)जोच्छ्वासविदीर्णदाडिममिव ब्रह्माण्डमारोहति ।(।।) चिन्तामणिर्यदि शिला न
किलाभविष्यन्मन्ये नचेत्पशुरसावपि कामधेनुः । वक्षो दलिष्यदुभयोरपि लज्जयास्मिन्वाञ्छाधिकं वितरति
द्रविणं नरेशे[7] ।(।।) निसर्गभक्त्या विदधे परमर्दिनरेश्वरः[।*]सोऽयमेतां निरस्तारिः पुरारिचरणस्तु-
तिम्[8] ।(।।)दाक्षिण्यतो मम गुणाग्रहणं न कार्य्यमार्य्याः कदाचिदपि दोषपदे भवद्भिः । कृत्यं तदेव पुनरत्र
विचिन्तयन्तु येनैव संभवति चेतसि वः प्रतीतिः[9] ! (।।) वीरश्रीपरमर्द्रिपार्थिवपतेरस्य प्रसादैकभूः पौत्र-
सद्गुणशिल्पिनोऽनृणसुतः पद्माभिधानः सुधीः [।*] देऊकेन
सहानुजेन तिलकः शिल्पक्रियाशालिनामालिख्य स्वयमुल्लिलेख गिरिजाभर्त्तुः प्रशस्तिं कृती[10] ।(।।)
अचरमचरमाद्रिव्याजवक्षोजलक्ष्मीमिलदुडुम-
यहारं धारयंत्यम्बरान्तम् । फणिपतिफणशय्याशायनी यावदुर्व्वी कृति-
रिह परमर्द्दिक्ष्मापतेस्तावदस्तु[11] । (।।) संवत् १२९८[12]क(का)र्त्तिक शुदि १० सोमे [।*]
मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ।

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[1] Here is the end of a verse in *Sragdharā*.

[2] A part of a verse in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[3] As above. The same metre in the next verse also, which is numbered 25 by Maisey in his transcript.

[4] Metre of this and the next verse: *Sragdharā*. This verse uses such expressions as are applicable to the enemies of the king and also to the bird known as *sārikā*.

[5] Here Maisey's reading is evidently wrong, as this word has three letters whereas the metre requires only two, the first of which has to be short and the second to be long.

[6] Metre of this and of the next verse: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. There is a play on the word *khaṇḍita*. The expressions used in this verse apply to *kāminīs*, as also to the enemies of the king. In the first case the second word of the third foot means *charaṇa*, *i.e.*, foot, and in the second, *i.e.*, in case of the enemies, *cha* has to be separated from *raṇa*, *i.e.*, battle.

[7] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[8] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[9] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[10] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[11] Metre: *Mālinī*. It is doubtful whether all the verses of this inscription were composed by Paramardin himself. The latter part of it contains his own eulogy, but from one of these verses we also learn that it is a eulogy of Purāri, though the expressions such as *dēva* are applicable to the king, suggest that the latter part was composed by some other person, probably the engraver, for whom we find only the word *ullilēkha*, meaning wrote on the stone (also). Under the circumstances the point cannot be decided.

[12] The year of the date is wrongly given for 1258, as Kielhorn has already drawn our attention to in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 354. Similarly, he has also remarked that the corresponding date is stated to be, in *A. S. I.*, Vol. XXI, p. 38, the 28th October, which is evidently a misprint.

No. 141 ; Plate CXXVIII

GARRĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF TRAILŌKYAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1261

THESE **two copper-plates,** each of which bears a complete record in itself, are stated to have been found in a tank near the village of **Garrā** (locally known as Gaḍhā), situated to the south-east of Chhatarpur, formerly the capital of a State and now the chief town of a *tehsīl* and district of the same name in the Vindhya region of Madhya Pradesh. The plates were sent by Pt. Shukdeo Bihari Mishra, then the Diwān of the State, to Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, who edited both the inscriptions together, with lithographs, in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XVI (for 1921-22), pp. 272 ff., and while doing so, he also stated that the plates were then "exhibited on loan in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow". Despite my constant attempts, however, I failed to know anything about the plates, and as fresh impressions could not be obtained, I edit the inscriptions here from the facsimiles accompanying K. N. Dikshit's article.[1]

The plates measure 34·2 by 20·95 cms. and 32·38 by 20 cms., respectively. Each plate is inscribed on one side only, and each of them has a small round hole of the diameter of ·95 cm., at the top, indicating that originally they were held together by a ring, which is now missing. In the middle of the first four lines on each of them is engraved the figure of the seated goddess **Lakshmī,** with four arms, holding a lotus in each of the upper hands, as we find on the Chandēlla charters. The writing on both the plates is protected by flat copper-bands, about ·95 cm. in breadth and ·3 to ·45 cm. in thickness, rivetted along the edges of the inscribed surface, approaching quite close to it and sometimes hiding beneath them a letter or two and completely also the last line on the first plate. The writing is well preserved, as to be judged from the facsimiles. Each of the records consists of 17 lines, but the last line on the second plate is damaged. The plates are stated to weigh 124 and 122 *tolas,* approximating to 1 kgm. and 45 grms., and 1 kgm. and 43 grms., respectively.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet. They are slightly advanced than those of the Sēmrā grant of Paramardin, with the Mahōbā and Bhārat Kalā Bhavan grants of the same king marking the intermediate state.[2] The noteworthy peculiarity of the alphabet in which these plates are engraved, is that the angular forms of the *aksharas* of the chronologically preceding inscriptions give place to their round forms. To note some of the more progressive forms of letters in the present inscriptions, the vowel *i* gives us its earliest form of the modern Nāgarī; see *iva-,* ll. 1 and 2, respectively (of both the plates); the vowel *ē* continues to be much similar to the consonant *p, cf. ēsha-,* ll. 5 and 6, respectively; the left-hand limb of *kh* begins with a loop as we have in the palatal *ś* see *khani,* l. 13 (first plate); *ch* has occasionally developed an angular loop, as in *chāṭa-,* l. 10 (second plate); *dh,* with its horn developed, has assumed its form as in the modern *Nāgarī,* see *madhūka-,* l. 13; and lastly, *r* occasionally resembles *ch,* as in *rā* (*rāüta*), l. 11 (second plate).

The **language** is Sanskrit, which is almost correct and except for one verse in the beginning and one towards the end, each of the inscriptions is in prose throughout. The **orthography** presents more or less the same peculiarities as to be found in the contemporary inscriptions, *e.g.,* (1) the use of the same sign to denote *v* and *b;* (2) the occasional reduplication of a class-consonant following *r.* (3) the wrong use of the consonant *m* for *anusvāra* in *samvidita-,* l. 8, but not in *saṁvat* in ll. 9 and 10, respectively in the first and the second plates; (4) the correct use of the sibilants, perhaps excepting two instances, *viz., -āśana-* (for *āsana*) and *-asva-* (for *aśva*), both in l. 13 in each plate. And lastly, we find in ll. 10-11 of the first plate a *daṇḍa* used to show that the preceding *rā* is the initial letter of *Rāüta.*

[1] Lastly, the plates were known to exist in the Lucknow museum. Subsequently, I had an opportunity to examine the plates in the Museum, and I found that they are not very thick, but the engraving being rather not very deep, the letters do not show themselves through on the reverse side. In the last line of the second plates, parts of letters already put by me in brackets, in the text, are lost with the copper.

[2] See Nos. 126, 130 and 138, respectively.

Each of the plates constitutes a royal charter, recording the grant of a village by the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious **Trailōkyavarmadēva** of the royal house of the **Chandēllas,** from his encampment at the village of Vaḍavāḍa, in favour of Sāvanta whose father, Pāpē was killed in a battle with the Turushkas. The first of the records relates to the grant of the village Kādōha, included in the territorial division Pāṇiūli (l. 7), and the second to that of the village of Lōhasihāṇī, in that of Vikrauṇi (l. 7). The first of the documents is **dated Friday, the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha in the year 1261** and the second, on **Friday, the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha in the same year.** Both the years, which are given only in figures, are to be referred to the Vikrama era. Calculating the corresponding Christian dates accordingly for both the inscriptions, K. N. Dikshit, the editor of the inscriptions has shown that the true equivalent of the first of the grants is **22nd April, 1205 A.C.,** and that of the second is **6th May of the same year,** according to the Southern Vikrama *expired* and taking the month to be *amānta* so far as the second date is concerned. Here we are also to note, as aptly remarked by him, that here we have instances of Northern Indian epigraphical dates calculated as southern expired Vikrama years with *amānta* months.[1] Thus the second grant was issued two weeks later.

Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak's invasion of the fort of Kālañjar, during the last days of the Chandēlla king Paramardin, in 1202 A.C., is well-known: and it is also known that Paramardin died a natural death during this invasion. Aibak succeeded in capturing the fort and subsequently directed his invasion on Mahōbā, which too was captured. This has been taken by some scholars to hold that Mahōbā and the surrounding regions were no longer part of the Chandēlla dominions.[2] Vincent Smith also observed that "the history of the Chandēlla dynasty, as one of the powers of Northern India, ends in 1203 A. D., and that Trailōkyavarman succeeded his father as a mere local chieftain, holding the eastern part of the ancestral kingdom of Jējākabhukti."[3] But it is clear from the present inscriptions that shortly after the catastrophe, Paramardin's son, Trailōkyavarman, rescued the country from the grip of the Muslims. He drove away the Muslim officers from both these places and the surrounding region, following them up to Kakaḍadaha, where an encounter appears to have taken place and his general *Rāüta* Pāpē seems to have lost his life in it. It is also significant, as remarked by Dikshit, "that the claim should be assumed over the place within two years of its loss"; and here we are also to note that in the Dhurēṭi copper-plate record, dated 1212 A.C., Trailōkyavarman is mentioned as the sole lord of Kālañjara,[4] and thus the paramount sovereign of the whole region of Bundelkhand. In one of the inscriptions of his successor he is also eulogised as a "veritable Vishṇu in lifting up the earth immersed in the ocean formed by the stream of the Turushkas."[5] All these references along with the paramount titles claimed by him in the present inscriptions, go well to indicate that Trailōkyavarman was not a mere local chief, as held by Smith and others, but a paramount lord of his ancestral dominions, and that he also raised the prestige of his house by clearing off the temporary flood of the Muslim invasion. The restoration of the Chandēlla rule in the region may be dated between 1202 A.C., when Aibak attacked Kālañjara, and 1205 A.C., the year of the present records, which furnish the earliest date for Trailōkyavarman.

Each of the inscriptions ends with a verse speaking highly of making donations, followed by the **sign-manual** of the king. The engraver's name is not mentioned in either.

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the inscriptions, **Kālañjara** (l. 5), is, as we have often seen, the well-known fortress in the Hamīrpur District of Uttar Pradesh; and all the other places have been identified by Dikshit in his article. Thus, **Vaḍavāḍa** the place of encampment

[1] *Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XVI, p. 273. According to the calculations made by him, the date of the second grant also shows its equivalent to be 19th of March, 1204 A.C., following the Northern Vikrama *expired,* if we take the month *pūrṇimānta,* which too was a Friday. But I agree with him in rejecting this solution in view of the fact that the two grants must have been recorded almost simultaneously. His rejection of this date appears to be justified in view of the consideration that both the grants which were issued by the same king to the same donee and with the same object in view, should have been dated according to one and the same system of counting.

[2] *D. H. N. I.,* Vol. II, p. 722.

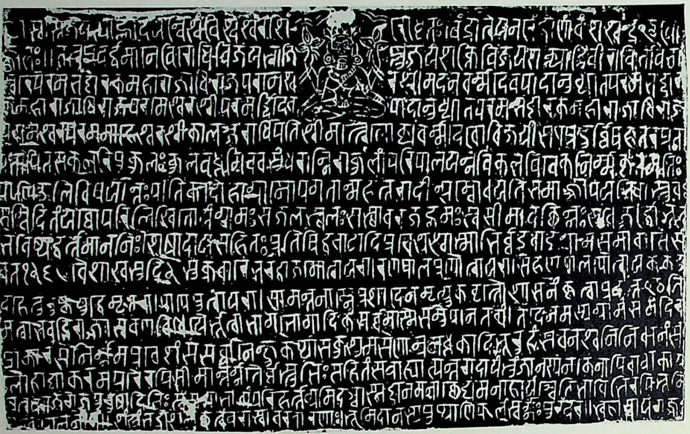
[3] *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XXXVII, p. 146.

[4] Below, No. 142, l. 5.

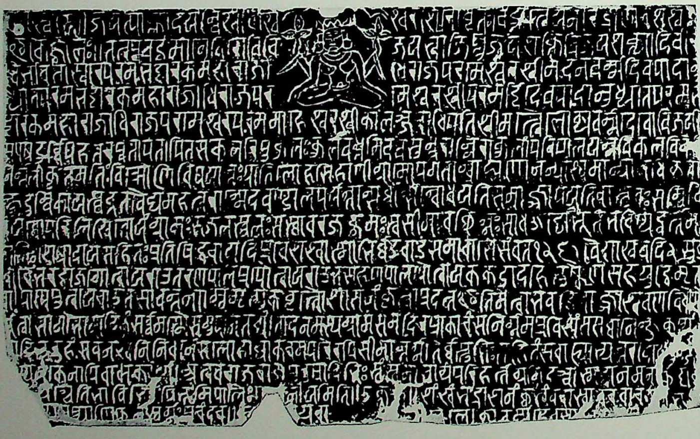
[5] See No. 145, text v. 7.

GARRĀ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTIONS OF TRAILŌKYAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1261

No. I



No. II



From Facsimile

of the king, appears to be identical with Beḍwāḍā in the Lalitpur sub-division of the Jhānsī District and situated in N.L. 24° 30′ and E.L. 78° 41′. It is most probably the same as Vaḍavāri of the Sēmrā grant of Paramardin,[1] and of the Sāgar plate of Trailōkyavarman, the latter of which is edited immediately below. **Kakaḍādaha,** where the battle is stated to have been fought (ll. 10-11) and which too is mentioned in the Sēmrā grant, has been suggested to be probably identical with Kakaḍwā or Kukurooa (N.L. 24° 28′; E.L. 78° 42′): this place also is in the Lalitpur sub-division. **Pāṇiülih** may have been Pannā, the headquarters of the district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh; and the granted village (of grant No. I) **Kādōhā** appears to be identical with Kōdōa (N.L. 24° 48′; E.L. 79° 52′),[2] now in the adjoining district of Chhatarpur. **Vikrauṇi** and **Lōhasihāṇi,** mentioned respectively as a territorial Division and the gift-village included in it (grant II, l. 7), may have been Bikaura in Sāgar District (N.L. 24° 13′; E.L. 78° 41′) and Lohāṇī, lying in N.L. 24° 23′; E.L. 79° 12′, in the Bijāwar *tehsīl* of the Chhatarpur District. A study of the situation of all these places clearly indicates that the first of the charters relates to a grant made in close proximity of the scene of the battle, and the second to a gift made in a region to its east, at some distance, and thus it is evident that Trailōkyavarman succeeded in re-establishing his authority in the central and also the western parts of his ancestral dominions.

TEXT[3]

I

[Metre : Verses 1-2 *Anushṭubh*].

1 [ओं][4] स्वस्ति [।*] जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वं विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः। चंद्रात्रेयनरेंद्राणां वंशश्चन्द्र इवो-

2 ज्ज्वलः ॥[१॥*] तत्र प्रवर्द्धमानविरोधिवि[5]जयभ्राजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्त्यादिवीराविर्भावभा-

3 स्वरे परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदनवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टार-

4 कमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपरमर्द्दिदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-

5 परमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालञ्जराधिपतिश्रीमत्त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मदेवो विजयी [।*] स एष दुर्व्विपहतरप्रता-

6 पतापितसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवधूमिव वसुंधरान्निराकुलां परिपालयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्म्म[ली*]कृतमतिः

7 पाणिउलिविषयान्तःपातिकादोह[6]ग्रामोपगतान्महत्तरादीन्सम्वो(म्बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति चास्तु (च । अस्तु) वः

8 सम्वि(संवि)दितं यथोपरिलिखितोयं ग्रामः सजलस्थलः सस्थावरजङ्गमः स्वसीमावच्छिन्नः साधऊर्द्ध्वो भूत-

9 भविष्यद्वर्त्तमाननिःशेषादायसहितः प्रतिषिद्धचाटादिप्रवेशश्चास्माभिर्व्वडवाडग्रामसमावासे[7] सं-

10 वत(त्) १२६१ वैशाखसु(शु) दि २ सु(शु)क्रवारे भ(भा)रद्वाजगोत्राय[8] रा ।[9] रणपालप्रपौत्राय रा । सहणपाल-
पौत्राय ककड[ा]-

11 दहे तुरुष्कयुद्धे मृत रा। पापेपुत्राय रा। सामन्तनाम्ने प्रशा(सा)देन मृत्युकवृत्तौ शासनं कृत्वा प्रदत्त इति

12 मत्वा भवद्भिराज्ञास्र(श्र)वणविधेयैर्भूत्वा भागभोगादिकं सर्व्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं(व्यम्) । तदेनमस्य ग्रामं समंदिर-

13 प्राकारं सनिर्गमप्रवेशं ससर्व्वा[श]नेक्षुकर्प्पासकुशुम(सुम्भ)शे(श)णाम्रमधूकादिभूरुहं[10] सवनखनिनिधानं स-

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[1] Above, No. 126, l. 8.

[2] It is noteworthy that this place is only a little south of Garrā where the plates were found.

[3] From lithographs facing p. 275 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol.XVI, subsequently comparing the text from the originals.

[4] A part of this *akshara*, as of some others below, is hidden beneath the protecting band.

[5] There is a redundant horizontal stroke running accross the vertical of the *mātrā* of this *akshara* and also across the one preceding it.

[6] This name can also be read as कदोह.

[7] Because of a superfluous stroke of the chisel the consonant of the third *akshara* of the name appears as *dh*.

[8] A redundant bar runs across the verticals of this *akshara*, as also noted by Dikshit. See also *n*. 3 above.

[9] This is, *Rāüta*. The *daṇḍa* here and in the following line is put to show that it is a contraction.

[10] The corrections are made here in view of the expression appearing in the second grant.

14 लोहाद्याकरमपरैरपि सीमान्तर्ग्गतैर्व्वस्तुभिः सहितं सवा(बा)ह्याभ्यन्तरादायं भुंजानस्य न केनापि वा(बा)धा काय[र्ा] [।*]

15 अत्र च राजराजपुरुषादिभिः स्वं स्वमाभाव्यं परिहर्त्तव्यमिदञ्चास्मद्दानमनाच्छेद्यमनाहार्यञ्चेति भाविभिरपि-भूमि-

16 पालैः पालनीयं(यम्) ॥ शंखं भद्राश(स)नं च्छ(छ)त्रं वरास्वा(श्वा) वरवारणाः । भूमिदानस्य पुप्या(ष्पा)णि फलं स्वर्ग्गः पुरंदर ॥[२॥] स्वहस्तोयं राज्ञः[1]

II

[Metre : As above].

1 [ओं][2] स्वस्ति ॥ जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वं[3] विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः । चंद्रात्रेयनरेंद्राणां वंशश्चन्द्र-

2 इवोज्ज्वलः ॥[१॥*] तत्र प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभ्राजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्त्यादिवीरा-

3 विर्भावभास्वरे परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदनवर्म्म[दे]वपादानु[4]-

4 ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपरमर्द्दिदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभ-

5 ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालञ्जराधिपतिश्रीमत्त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मदेवो विजयी [।*]

6 स एष[5] दुर्व्विषहतरप्रतापतापितसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवधूमिव वसुन्धरान्निराकुलां परिपालयन्नविकलविवे[क]-

7 निर्म्मलीकृतमतिः विक्रौणिविषयान्तःपातिलोहसिहाणीग्रामोपगतान्ब्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणानन्यांश्च मान्यानधिकृता-

8 न्कुटुम्वि(म्बि)कायस्थदूतवैद्यमहत्तरान्मेदचण्डालपर्यन्तान्सन्वो(न्सम्बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति चास्तु (च । अस्तु) । वः सम्वि(संवि)-

9 [दितं] यथोपरिलिखितोयं ग्रामः सजलस्थलः सस्थावरजङ्गमः स्वसीमावच्छिन्नः साधऊर्द्ध्वो भूतभविष्यद्व-र्त्तमा-

10 ननिःशेषादायसहितः प्रतिषिद्धचाटादिप्रवेशश्चास्माभिर्वडवाडसमावासे संवत् १२६१ वैशाखवदि २ सु(शु)क्र-

11 वारे भ(भा)रद्वाजगोत्राय राउतरणपालप्रपौत्राय राउतसहणपालपौत्राय कक्कडादहे तु[रु*]ष्केण सह युद्धे मृत[ाय]

12 रा । पापेपुत्राय राउतसावन्तनाम्ने मृत्युकवृत्तौ शासनं कृत्वा प्रदत्त इति मत्वा भवद्भिराज्ञाश्रवणविधेयै-

13 र्भूत्वा भागभोगादिकं सर्व्वमस्मै[6] समुपनेतव्यं(व्यम्) । तदेनमस्य ग्रामं समंदिरप्राकारं सनिर्ग्गमप्रवेशं ससर्व्वा[स*]नेक्षुकर्प्पा-

14 सादिभूरुहं सवनखनिनिधानं सलोहाद्याकरमपरैरपि सीमान्तर्ग्गतैर्व्वस्तुभिः सहितं सवा(बा)ह्याभ्यन्तरादायं [भुञ्जा]-

15 [न]स्य [न] केनापि वा(बा)धा कार्या । अत्र च राजराजपुरुषादिभिः स्वं स्वमाभाव्यं परिहर्त्तव्य[7]मि दञ्चास्मद्दानमनाच्छेद्यम-

16 [नाहा]र्यञ्चेति[8] भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः [पाल]नीयमिति ॥ उक्तञ्च ॥ शंखं भद्राश(स)नं च्छ(छ)त्रं वरास्वा(श्वा) वरवार[णाः] । भू[मि]-

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[1] The last line containing the name of the king is hidden beneath the copper-band. See the last line in the second inscription.

[2] As in *n.* 2 above.

[3] Dikshit read this letter as —स्वं and corrected it to — श्वं; but similar form of the palatal sibilant without the top-knot appears in some other instances also in the inscription, for which see *Vaiśākha*, in l. 10.

[4] The *akshara* in the brackets appears as दि.

[5] This *ē* looks exactly as *pa*.

[6] Dikshit read the letter as *rva*, but it is exactly as taken here in the transcript.

[7] The letter *t* here is double and not single as taken by Dikshit.

[8] The letters in brackets in this and the following lines are either completely or partly hidden beneath the protecting band, or are mutilated. The restoration, however, is not difficult.

17 दानस[य] पुष्पाणि फल[ं] स्वर्ग्गः पुरंदर ॥ [स्वहस्तो]य[ं] [राज]श्रीत्रैलोक्यवर्म्मदेवस्य [म]तं
मम [॥ छ ॥ छ ॥][1]

No. 142 : Plate CXXIX

SĀGAR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF TRAILŌKYAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1264

THIS inscription is on **a single plate** of copper which was found by Pt. Govind Sitaram Harshe, in course of digging a pit in his house, in 1943, in the Lakshmīpurā *mohallā* of **Sāgar** the headquarters of a district in Madhya Pradesh. The epigraph was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* of the Archaeological Survey of India, for the year 1946-47, and was edited by B. M. Barua and P. B. Chakravarti, in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXIII (1947), pp. 46 ff., and was re-edited, with a lithograph, by Dr. Sant Lal Katare in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXI (1957-58), pp. 70 ff.,[2] from an impression supplied to him by S. S. Patwardhan who was then the Curator of the Central Museum, Nagpur, where the plate is now deposited,[3] and the impression supplied to me by the Chief Epigraphist,[2] and another, by Shri V. P. Rode, the present Curator of the Museum, to whom my thanks are due.

It is a thick plate measuring 36·2 cms. by 26·67 cms., and is inscribed on one side only. It weighs 3 kgms. and 208 grms. It contains small round holes bored at intervals, on all the four sides, indicating that strips of copper were at some time fastened by rivets along its edges, to protect the writing, as to be seen on some other plates issued by the Chandēlla kings ; but the strips were destroyed some time subsequently. The inscription contains 19 lines of writing, and the *aksharas* are all well preserved, except in the last one which has altogether been broken with the lower left corner of the plate, and a few of the *aksharas* are damaged but can be made out with some perseverance, in two or three lines in the middle of the plate, which was vertically bent when received but had to be straightened.

The first four lines of the inscription are divided by the figure of a seated **Gaja-Lakshmī** engraved at the top, as we find generally in the charters issued by the house to which the present inscription also belongs. The letters are not of the uniform size, their average height being about 1·3 cms. in the first six lines, but from the seventh line their size is reduced and in the last 2-3 lines they are almost half of this size. Since much of the space available on the plate was in the beginning covered by a small portion of the text, the rest of the document was crammed into a much smaller space.

The **script** used is Nāgarī, resembling that of the immediately preceding Garrā plates and showing more or less the same sort of palaeographical peculiarities, *e.g.*, a confusion between the forms of *ch* and *v*, and occasionally between that of these letters and of *r*, *e.g.*, in *śirō-* and *narēndra-*, both in l. 1, *chāṭa-* in l. 10, and *-chara-* in l. 16. The letter *ṅ* continues to be without its dot, the conjunct *gg* is written as *gn* and the subscript *ṇ* as *l*, *e.g.*, in *jaṅgama*, l. 9, *nirggama*, l. 15, and *Kṛishṇa-*, l. 11, respectively. And lastly, *dh* marks a transitional state, appearing sometimes as *v* as in *vādhā*, l. 17, where we also note the verticals joined by a stroke, while in the other instances its left limb has a horn above, which is sometimes joined to the preceding

1 The reading from *ma* to the end in this line is as taken by Dikshit. But it is conjectural as all these *aksharas* are concealed beneath the copper-band.

2 In his article Katare called it as 'the Ṭehri plate', but as rightly remarked by the editor of the *Ep. Ind.*, while publishing the article, I prefer to name it as the Sāgar plate, after its find-spot. The record was also edited, with a photolithograph, by B. C. Jain, in *Vindhyabhūmi* (a Hindi magazine from Rēwā), in its special issue on archaeology, 1955, on pp. 51-52.

3 It is his No. 50 of 1946-47.

stroke of the *mātrā*, as in *virōdhi*, l. 2. The characters generally exhibit a distinct slanting curve at their right hand bottom.

The *aksharas* were well written, but their incision betrays carelessness on the part of the engraver, who, besides leaving some redundant strokes, is prone to make superfluous additions and omissions deforming their shapes, as we find in the Sēmrā grant of Paramardin.[1] Instances of this sort of slovenliness are pointed out in the text or the foot-notes appended to it.

The **language** is Sanskrit, which is generally correct ; and except for one verse in the beginning and two imprecatory verses in the concluding portion, the record is all in prose, being almost a copy of the preceding grant so far as the initial portion is concerned, the change being observed only in the formal portion. As regards **orthography,** (1) *b*, as usual, is denoted by the sign for *v*, cf. *vādhā*, l. 17 ; (2) the dental and the palatal sibilants are often confounded with each other even in very common words like *paśu* written with the dental and *kusuma* with the palatal in lines 14 and 15 respectively ; (3) a class-consonant following *r* is not unoften doubled, *e.g.*, in *parṇṇa-*, l. 16, and sometimes this sort of reduplication is also noted when the consonant precedes *r*, *e.g.*, in *tattra*, l. 2 ; (4) the sign of *anusvāra* is used more often than the sign of the nasal ; (5) the influence of the local element is noticed in the spelling of *Jāmadagnya* written as *Yāmadagnya* in l. 12 : and lastly, (6) the use of the *pṛishṭha-mātrā*, which is in some instances so put as to be confounded with a *daṇḍa* and *vice versa*.

It is a **royal charter** recording the donation of land by the illustrious king **Trailōkyavarman,** who is endowed with the usual royal titles and is also stated to be the sole lord of Kālañjara and belonging to the **Chandēlla** house. The initial portion mentions the genealogy of the king in the same way as the Garrā plates. The formal part of the present record begins in l. 7, stating that the king granted, from his encampment at Ṭiharī, the village Maṇḍāüra included in the *vishaya* (territorial division) of Vaḍavāri in the "administrative or territorial unit" in Sihaḍoṇi".[2] The donee was a Brāhmaṇa named Kulēśarman, who had hailed from Rawkōra and was a son of *Nāyaka* Gayādhara, a grandson of *Rāüta* Sīhaḍa and a great-grandson of *Rāüta* Naugrahaṇa (?).[3] He belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra*, with five *Pravaras*, *viz.*, Vatsa, Bhārgava, Chyavana, Aurvva and Jāmadagnya, and was a student of the Vājasanēya *śākhā*.

The inscription is **dated** in ll. 10-12, in the year 1264 (expressed both in figures and words), on the **second tithi of the dark half of the month of Bhādrapada,** on *Śukradina*, or **Friday**. The year must of course be taken as belonging to the Vikrama era, and, as has been calculated by Katare, the details of the date regularly correspond to **29th August, 1208 A. C.**[4]

Lines 14-18 contain the usual admonitions to give to the donee whatever might be due to him and not to obstruct him enjoying the gift; and with two customary benedictory and imprecatory verses followed by the **sign-manual** of the king Trailōkyavarman in ll. 18-19, the record comes to a close.

While dealing with the Garrā grants of 1205 A.C. we have seen that immediately after his accession Trailōkyavarman consolidated his strength, and driving away the Muslim forces from the region, he succeeded in regaining his ancestral kingdom some time before that date. The present grant, which was issued about three years subsequently, goes to indicate that in 1208 he was again in the same region in which lies the place of his camp mentioned in the present inscription, *viz.*, Siyaḍōṇi, which is only about 50 kms. due north-west of Vaḍavāri where he

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[1] Above, No. 126.

[2] It is difficult to reconcile the mention of *Sihaḍōṇi-sainyē*, l. 7, with *Ṭiharī-samāvāsē* in l. 10. While editing the inscription, Dr. Katare is inclined to hold that "the announcement of the grant was made at the Sihaḍoṇi military camp (*sainyē*), and the king, when he actually issued it, was residing at Tehri". Dr. D. C. Sircar, while publishing Katare's article, observed that "the language of the record shows that Sihaḍauṇi was the name of an administrative or territorial unit in which the gift land was situated" (*op. cit.*, p. 71, *n*. 4). But we find the *vishaya* actually mentioned in l. 7 as *Vaḍavāri*, and Dr. Sircar appears to have ignored it. It appears to me, however, that the grant was issued when the king was residing at Ṭebri and his forces were encamped at Siyaḍōṇi which is not far off from the camp, being only about 50 kms. distant from it. For the sake of some facility, kings have their camp often at a small distance from the scene of the battle, though not far from it.

[3] As we have so often remarked, this is another example to show how the surnames were subject to change with generations.

[4] Katare, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

was camped when the Garrā grants were made. On the strength of this we may also assume that in 1208 he had rather advanced further in the north.

Of the **geographical** names occuring in the record, Ṭiharī, the place of the king's residence when he issued the grant (l. 10), has been identified with the same village and also known by its longer name Ṭehri-Bāṇapur, near Ṭīkamgaḍh, the chief town of a district in Madhya Pradesh. **Maṇḍāüra** or Maḍaura, the gift-village (l. 7) has been identified with the modern Madaora in the Lalitpur sub-division of the Jhānsī District and lying about 45 kms. south of Ṭīkamgaḍh: and Ṭehrī is at almost the same distance to the south-east of Lalitpur. **Sihaḍōuṇi** (l. 7) is, of course, identical with Siyāḍōṇi of the inscriptions and has been taken identical with Sirōn *Khurd*, situated about 15 kms. west-northwest of Lalitpur. And lastly, **Vaḍavāri** (l. 7) is obviously the same as Vaḍavāḍa of the Garrā plate (No. 1) and is also mentioned in the Sēmrā grant of Paramardin. There is no sufficient data in the inscription to identify **Raikōura,** the original place of the donee, mentioned in l. 12.

TEXT[1]

[Metre : Verses 1-3 *Anushṭubh*].

1 ओं[2]स्वस्ति [॥*] जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वं विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः । चंद्रात्रेयनरेंद्राणां वंशश्चंद्व(द्र) इदा(वो)ज्ज्वलः[3] [॥१॥*]

2 तत्र प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभ्राजिष्णुजयशक्ति[4]विजयशक्त्यादिवीराविर्भावभा[स्व]-

3 रे परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदनवम्म(र्म्म)देवपादानुध्यातपरम-

4 भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपरमर्द्दिदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकम-

5 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालञ्जराधिपतिश्रीमत्त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मदेवो वि-

6 जयो [॥*] स एष दुर्व्विप(ष)हतरप्रतापतापितसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवधूमिव वसुंधरान्निराकुलां परिपालयन्न-

7 विकलविवेकनिर्म्मलीकृतमतिः सिहडोणिसैन्ये वडवारिविषया[5]न्तःपातिमंडाउरग्रामोपगतान्म्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणानन्यांख(श्च)

8 [6]मान्यानधिकृतान्कु[टु]म्वि(म्बि)कायस्थदूतवैद्यमहत्तरान्मेदचंडालपर्यन्तान्सर्व्वान्सम्वो(म्बो)धयति समाज्ञापय-

9 ति चास्तु वः सन्वि(संवि)दितं यथोपनि(रि) लिखितोयं ग्रामः सजलस्थलः सस्थावरजङ्गमः स्वसीमावच्छिन्नः साधज(ऊ)-

10 द्ध्वो भूतभविष्यद्वर्त्तमाननि[ः*]शेषादायसहितः प्रतिषिद्धचाटादिप्रवेशश्चा[स्मा*]भिः टिहरीसमावासे चतुःषष्ट्यधि-

11 कस(श)तद्वयोपेतसहस्रतमे सम्व(संव)त्सरे भाद्रपदे[7] मासि कृष्णपक्षे[8]द्वितीयायान्तिथावङ्कतोपि सम्व(संव)त् १२६४ भा-

12 द्र वदि २ मु(शु)क्रवारे , रैकोरविनिर्ग्गताय[9]वत्स ।[10] गोत्राय वत्सच्यवनौर्म्मया(जा)मदग्न्यपञ्चप्रवराय वाजश(स)नेयशा[खा]-

13 ध्यायिने राणक[नौ]ग्रहणप्रपौत्राय । राउतसीहडपौत्राय । नायकगयाधरपुत्राय नायककुलेशर्म्मणे व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय शा-

[1] From impressions.
[2] Expressed by symbol, which is more probably for *Siddham*.
[3] The vertical of the consonant *v* is not completely cut and it appears as *d*. A faint trace above the top-stroke indicates that the sign for the *mātrā* was incised very lightly and it could not come in the impressions.
[4] A redundant stroke makes the subscript of क्त appear as *bh*.
[5] Both these names appear as carved after rubbing out some other *aksharas* engraved originally. The first of the names may also be read as सिंहद्रोणि. The *anusvāra* on *ma* of the name that follows is doubtful.
[6] A redundant horizontal stroke appears between this letter and the *mātrā*, as in some other places also.
[7] Katare read the letter as *da*, but it is mutilated and the *pṛishṭha-mātrā* appears partially.
[8] The *akshara pa* is not fully cut, as also in some other lines below.
[9] The name can be read also as *Raukōra*.
[10] The *daṇḍas* in this and the preceding lines are redundant.

14 सनं कृत्वा प्रदत्त इति मत्वा भवद्भिराज्ञाश्रवणविध(धे)यैर्भूत्वा भागभोगपसु(शु)हिरण्यकरशुल्मा(ल्का)दिसर्व्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं(व्यम्)[1] [।*] ॥

15 तदेनमस्य ग्रामं समन्दिरप्राकारं सनिर्ग्गमप्रवेशं ससर्व्वाशनेक्षुक[र्पा]स[2]कुशु[सु]मसणाम्रमधूकादिभूरुहं सवनख-

16 निनिधानं सलोहलवण[तृण]पर्ण्णाद्याकरं[3] समृगविहङ्गमजलचरं सगोकुलमपरैरपि सीमान्तर्गतैर्व्वस्तुभिः सहितं

17 सवा(बा)ह्याभ्यन्तरादायं भुंजानस्य न केनापि वा(बा)धा कार्या। अत्र च राजराजपुरुषादिभिः स्वं(स्वं)स्वमाभाव्यं परिहर्त्तव्यं(व्यम्)[4]। (इ)दञ्चास्मद्दाम(न)-

18 मनाच्छेद्यमनाहार्यञ्चेति भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः [पा]लनीयं(यम्) ॥ उक्तञ्च ॥ षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे वसति भूमिदः। आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च [5]तान्ये-

19 [व नरके वसेत्] ॥ [२॥*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमि(मिं) प्रयच्छति। उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतं स्वर्ग्गगामिनौ[॥३॥*] स्वहस्तोयं राजश्रीत्रैलोक्यवर्म्म[णः॥*][6]

No. 143 ; Plate CXXX

DHURĒTI COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF TRAILŌKYAMALLA

[Kalachuri] Year 963

THIS inscription was first brought to notic by N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, who published a brief account of it in the *Annual Report, Archaeological Survey of India,* 1935-36, pp. 90 f., and also edited it, with a photolith, in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XXV (1937-38), pp. 1 ff. and Plate facing p. 5. Subsequently, a revised transcript with translation of it was published by Dr. V. V. Mirashi in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol. IV, pp. 369 ff. and Plate, from impressions provided by the Government Epigraphist. The plates from which Chakravarti took the impressions were preserved in the Treasury at Rēwā which was then the capital of a State and is now the headquarters of a district of that name in Madhya Pradesh ; but no information is forthcoming as to the present whereabouts of the original.[6] And as a fresh impression thereof could not be obtained, I edit the inscription here from the plate accompanying Mirashi's article.

The inscription is on two plates of copper, which are said to have been found by a cultivator in 1926, in course of ploughing his field in the village at Dhurētī, about 10 kms. south-east of Rēwā, the headquarters of a district in Madhya Pradesh. The edges of the plates are turned up all round the rim, and each of them measures 38·75 cms. broad by 26·67 cms. high. They

[1] The word *paśu,* mentioned here in the list of other taxes, probably means "the supply of bullocks for the conveyance of royal officers on tour". *Cf. a-paramparā-balīvarda-grahaṇa* in *E. I.,* Vol. XXVI, p. 149. Dr. Sircar interprets it in the sense of "cattle or animal for sacrificial purposes", for which see *I. E. G.*

[2] The bracketed *akshara* is cut as *ya.* There are some other instances of the type, not noted separately.

[3] Both the bracketed letters are misformed, and the *pṛishṭha-mātrā* of *lō* is cut closer to the preceding *akshara,* making it appear as *sā.*

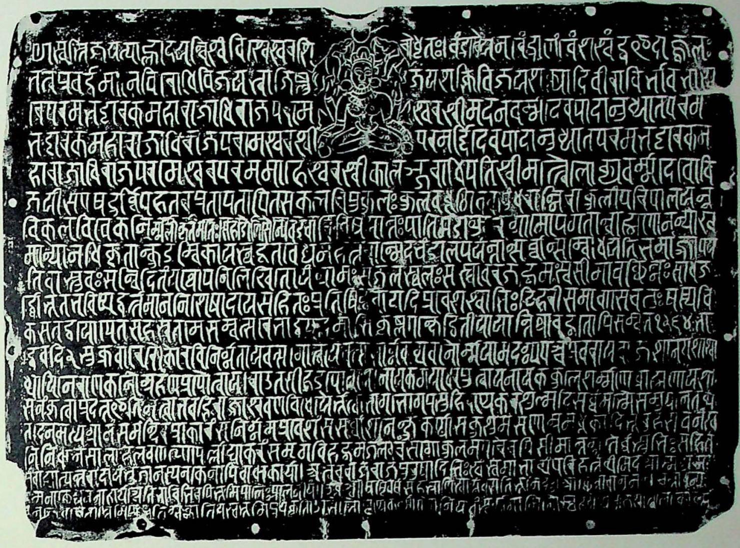
[4] *-midam-,* as it appears in the writing, cannot be defended and the expressions should be taken as I have corrected here.

[5] This *akshara* may also be read as *vā.*

[6] The portion of the plate bearing the last letter has peeled off, and possibly *dēvasya* after the name may have been intended.

[7] The plates appear to have sailed off to the British Museum along with the four other copper-plates which are stated to have been presented to it by the Rājā of Rēwā, for which see *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XVII, p. 244. *n.* 1. And as their present provenance is not definitely known, I prefer to call them after the name of its find-spot, following Mirashi.

SĀGAR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF TRAILŌKYAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1264

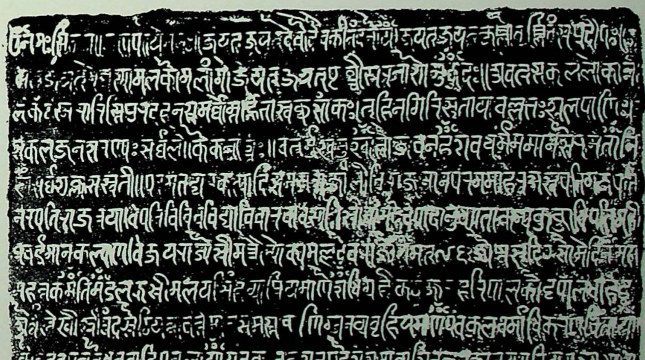


Scale: One-half

DHURĒTĪ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF TRAILŌKYAMALLA, KALACHURI YEAR 963

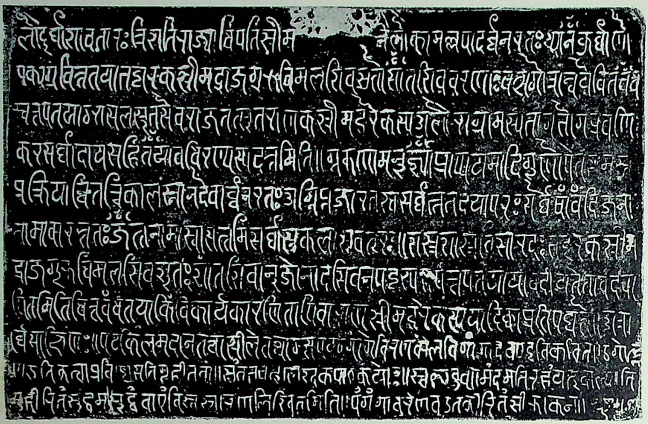
PLATE CXXX

i



DHURETĪ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF TRAILŌKYAMALLA, KALACHURI YEAR 963

ii



From Facsimile

were originally held together by a ring, which was cut off some time before Chakravarti examined them in the Treasury at Rēwā. The ring has a seal measuring about 17·14 cms. by 11·43 cms., bearing the figure of Gaja-Lakshmī and the legend *Śrīmat-Trailōkyamalla* in one line below it. The weight of the two plates along with the ring and the seal is stated to be equal to 190 klgms.

Each of the plates is inscribed on the inner side only: and the writing, which is well preserved in consequence of the raised rims of the plates, as stated above, consists of 22 lines, each of the plates containing 11 lines. The approximate height of the letters is about 1·3 cms., except in the last two lines where they are written in a slightly smaller size, in view of completing the remaining portion of the record in a limited space.

The **characters** are Nāgarī. In spite of our observation that the signs of the *mātrās* and *anusvāras* are gracefully treated, the mechanical work evinces extreme slovenliness. The record contains glaring mistakes of grammar, for example, often using the names without case-endings, as in l. 20, neglect of *sandhi*-rules even in a compoundword where it is necessary, and wrong *sandhi* in *-suto,* l. 13. The inscription was composed jointly by two village Paṇḍitas who had, as can be gathered from the gross errors occurring therein, very little knowledge of Sanskrit. The work of engraving is also sloven in omitting a letter here and another there, and occasionally also omitting strokes and limbs of letters: some of these foibles being possibly due to oversight. All these mistakes have been drawn attention to and corrected in the text or notes accompanying it.

With reference to the formation of letters, it may be pointed out that the vowel *ē* is confounded with *pa*, as in *ēka-*, l. 13. and *paṁ*, l. 22: and *ch* with *v*, *e.g.*, in *vichāra*, l. 6: and that it is at times rather difficult to distinguish between the palatal *ś* and the dental *s*, showing a sort of combination of both these *aksharas*.

The **language** is Sanskrit, which is often incorrect, as already stated above; and, excepting three verses in the beginning, the record is all in prose. There are no imprecatory verses as it is not a royal charter. The **orthographical** peculiarities are all as usual, for example, (1) the sign for *v* throughout does the duty to denote *b* also, as in *vaṁdha-*, l. 19; (2) occasionally there is a confusion between the correct use of the palatal and the dental sibilant, *e.g.*, in *-siva-śuta-*, l. 18; and lastly, (3) the *prishṭha-mātrā* is used only here and there. The somewhat rare word *pravaṇi* occurs in l. 14; and (4) often the signs of the *mātrās* and *anusvāras* above are gracefully formed.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Trailōkyamalladēva**; and its object is to record the mortgage (*vitta-bandha*) of a village by the Śaiva ascetic Śāntaśiva in favour of one *Rāṇaka* Dharēka, on a **date** which is expressed in l. 7, in words, as the **7th day of the bright fortnight of Jyēshṭha in the year 963.** The era, which is not specified, is taken by Chakravarti to be the **Kalachuri era,** and the equivalent Christian date, as calculated, is **the 9th of May, 1212.** But this fails to satisfy the requirements of the case, for, as rightly observed both by Chakravarti and Mirashi, in the *current* Kalachuri year 963 (1210-11 A.C.) the *tithi* fell on a Friday, and in the *expired* year 963 it fell on a Wednesday. We have therefore to agree with these scholars in their suggestion that the word *Sōmē* may have been wrongly written for *Saumyē* (*i.e.*, *Budhē*) in the inscription. Without offering any other justification on the date-problem, however, I feel it doubtful if the use of *Saumyē* to indicate *Budhē* was known to the composers of the inscription with their limited knowledge.

The inscription opens with the auspicious *Oṁ*, followed by salutation to Śiva and Gaṇapati and three verses thereafter, in honour of Mukunda, Śūlapāṇi (Śiva) and Sarasvatī, of which the last one is reproduced from the introductory portion of Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*. After this, the record refers in ll. 5-7 to the victorious rule of the illustrious Trailōkyamalladēva, whose epithets, besides the imperial titles commencing with *Bhaṭṭāraka* (*i.e.*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*), occur also as the lord of horses (*aśvapati*), the lord of elephants (*gajapati*), the lord of men (*narapati*), the overlord of the three *Rājas* (*Rājatrayādhipati*), and what appears rather curious, the lord of Kānyakubja (*Kānyakubjādhipati*).[1]

Noticing a copper-plate grant from Rēwā, dated in the (Vikrama) year 1298 or 1240-41 A.C., Cunningham has already pointed out that the king Trailōkyamalla mentioned therein is doubt-

[1] As suggested by Chakravarti, this title may possibly have been assumed by the Chandēlla ruler with the decline of the Gāhaḍavāla rulers who originally used it. See *op. cit.*, p. 3.

less the Chandēlla prince Trailōkyavarman[1]; and this view is also accepted by Kielhorn while editing the grant.[2] Here we follow these scholars in regarding both the names identical, and, in view of this, it would appear that this ruler evidently extended his sway around the Rēwā region at the cost of the Kalachuri ruler Vijayasiṁha (1188-1210 A.C.), and, in consequence of it, he adopted the titles of *aśvapati* and *gajapati* which were borne by the former. Here we may also note that this particular portion of the present inscription agrees very closely with the corresponding portion of the Kalachuri Vijayasiṁha's grants; and the writers of the present grant, who possessed only a smattering of Sanskrit, as seen above, copied this portion from some Kalachuri charters where these titles appear.[3]

In ll. 10-14 of the document it is stated that during the reign of the aforementioned king, *i.e.*, Trailōkyamalla, who had then encamped at Dhōvahaṭṭa included in the *pattalā* of Dhanavāhi, and on the date mentioned above, the Śaiva ascetic Śāntaśiva of the Vatsa *gōtra*, who was a son of the *Bhaṭṭāraka*, the holy *Rājaguru* Vimalaśiva, and who had attained the lordship of the Śaiva ascetics through the practice of self-restraint, observances, study of the sacred texts and meditation and who was the foremost among the learned and had mastered all lores,[4] had placed, by way of mortgage, the village Alaurā, with all its dues, *i.e.*, all the rights of collecting taxes, to the *Rāṇaka*, the illustrious Dharēka, the son of Sēvarāja, who was, in his turn, the son of the *Ṭhakkura* Rāsala. The taxes are not specifically mentioned in the record, nor the amount of money taken as loan: but the expression *yāvad=ādīyatē* (in l. 18) tends to indicate that the village was to be kept on pledge till all the dues were realised.

Vimalaśiva of the present inscription appears to be no doubt identical with the homonymous sage mentioned as the religious preceptor of the Kalachuri king Jayasiṁha (1163-1188 A.C.), the father of Vijayasiṁha, two of whose inscriptions we have, one dated in 1164-65 A.C. and the other in 1174 A.C.;[5] and though we have nothing on record in this respect, it is not unlikely that the sage may have received the village as a donation from the king who was, like the other Kalachuri kings, a devoted Śaiva.

We are further informed in ll. 15-19 that the deed was actually executed by Nādaśiva, a younger son of Vimalaśiva, with the authority of Śāntaśiva. Line 20 contains the names of eight persons as witnesses of the deed. In the end it is stated that the record was drawn jointly by two Paṇḍitas whose names were Viśvēśvara and Gaṅgādhara, and also that it was engraved by Sīrūka.

The record also names, in ll. 8-9, some officers who were then present, on duty. They are:— (1) the *Mahāmahattaka*, *Mantrin* and *Māṇḍalika* **Malayavarman**; (2) the *Sāndhivigrahika* (minister of Peace and War), the *Ṭhakkura* **Haripāla**; (3) the *Koṭṭapāla* (guardian of the fort) **Vāhaḍa** (Chāhaḍa?); and (4) the *arthalēkhin*[6] (keeper of accounts), the illustrious Chandraśrēṣṭhin. Of these personages, Nos. 1 and 2 have been identified with their namesakes mentioned in the Rēwā stone inscription of Vijayasiṁha, and No. 3 may have been the same as Vāhaḍavarman, the son of Sallakshaṇavarman, the feudatory chief of Kakrēḍi, figuring in a record from Rēwā.[7]

The mention of the name of Malayasiṁha in the present inscription deserves more than a passing notice. He is no doubt the same officer who had defeated a ruler of the name of Sallakshaṇa, in a battle fought at Karkarēḍī, modern Kakrēḍi, lying 45 kms. north of Rēwā, and forced him to acknowledge the suzerainty of Vijayasiṁha (1188-1210 A.C.), who was the last Kalachuri ruler, as we know from the Rēwā stone inscription of Vijayasiṁha, dated in the Kalachuri year 944, which corresponds to 1193 A.C.[8] Another inscription of the same king, the

[1] *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI. p. 147.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 230-31.
[3] This particular title which was originally assumed by the Kalachuri Karṇa was used not only by his descendants but by several other kings of other dynasties. See *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. c.
[4] In l. 17 below, he is also stated to have been proficient in weilding arms as in the *Śāstras*, reminding us of *Śastraṁ dvijātibhir=grāhyam=āpatkālēhy=upasthitē*.
[5] *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 63 and 64, respectively, in ll.22 and 17.
[6] This term is rendered by Chakravarti in the sense of 'writer of deeds' and by Mirashi, as 'Secretary'. But we take the word *artha* to denote accounts.
[7] For all these identifications, see *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 370 and *n.* 6. Also see *n.* in the text below where we have shown that the name may also be read as *Chāhaḍa*.
[8] *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 348, and text, v. 24.

date of which is not clear but is calculated to range between 1208-09 and 1210-11 A.C., mentions the same Malayasiṁha as a *Mahāmāṇḍalika* of the Kalachuri ruler.[1] And his mention in the present inscription as a *Mahāmahattaka*, *Mantrin* and *Māṇḍalika* of the Chandēlla prince makes it almost certain that within two or three years thereof, this erstwhile zealous feudatory of the Kalachuri king had to transfer his own allegiance to Trailōkyavarman who had by that time annexed the region around Rēwā from the Kalachuris, in whose dominions it had been so far included.[2]

Of the geographical names mentioned in the present inscription, **Dhōvahaṭṭa** (l. 10) has been identified by Chakravarti with Dhurētī, whereas Mirashi thinks it more likely to be identical with Dhōbhaṭ near Makundapur, about 16 kms. south by west of Rēwā. The former view is supported by the fact that the plates were actually found at the place, and the latter by a closer similarity in the names of the places, which, as far as I think, can hardly be regarded as a decisive argument. In favour of Chakravarti's identification of the place, it may also be pointed out that the village that was mortgaged, as to be seen below, is situated not only nearer to Dhurētī but also in the same direction. **Dhānavāhi,** the headquarters of a *paṭṭalā* in which the village was then included (l. 10), may be identical with the village of the same name lying about 35 kms. to the south-west of Dhōbaṭ, as already suggested by Mirashi. And I propose to identify the mortgaged village **Alaurā** (l. 14) with Laur[3] included in the present Mauganj *tehsīl* of the Rēwā District and lying about 48 kms. north by east of this city itself, on metalled road to Mirzapur. The geographical consideration thus suggests that the Chandēlla territory then extended in the east as far as the region of the present Rēwā District, including its north-eastern portion beyond the Kaimur range, in the early years of the thirteenth century A.C. That the northern portion of the district may have been under the Chandellās still earlier in Madanavarman's time is suggested from the find of a hoard of coins at Panvār which is in its northern part in the modern Tyōṁthar *tehsīl* of it.[4]

TEXT[5]

[Metres: Verses 1-2 *Mālinī*; v. 3 *Anushṭubh*].

First Plate

1 ओं नमः सि(शि)वाय ॥ गणपतये नमः ॥ जयतु जयतु देवो देवकीनंदनोयं ।[6] जयतु जयतु कृष्णो वृ̣ष्णिवंस(श)प्रदीपः ॥(।) ज-

2 यतु जयतु मेघश्यामल[:*] कोमलांगो जयतु जयतु पृथ्वी[भार][7]नाशो(शी) मुकुंदः ॥[१॥*] अवतु सकललोकान्नी-

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 366, text, ll. 9-10.

[2] N. P. Chakravarti attempts to make this date more precise. Drawing attention to an inscription of Vijayasiṁha of (Chēdi year) 982 (A.R., *A. S. I.*, 1935-36, pp. 89 f.) and pointing out that the record under consideration is later than it by one year, only, he suggests that the territory contiguous to the Rēwā town passed from the Kalachuris to the Chandēllas between the dates of these two records. But this view is not certain in consideration of the fact that the reading of the date in Vijayasiṁha's record is only tentative, as he himself stated, and its provenance too is unknown. The document is still unedited.

[3] For the disappearance of the first vowel of the name, we have a number of examples to cite, *e. g.* the name Araṇipadra later on changed to Raṇipadra and gradually to Rānōd (Shivpurī District, M.P.), for which see *J. M. P. I. P.*, No. IV, p. 12. Another parallel case where not only the initial vowel but also the consonant of the name has disappeared is that of Pāshāṇihrada changed to Saṇīdarī. See *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 45.

[4] *J. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. X (1914), pp. 199 f.

[5] From facsimile facing p. 372 in *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

[6] This *daṇḍa*, as also some others below, is redundant.

[7] This is how the two *aksharas* were read by Mirashi. The first, however, appears as *sra* and the second as *tr* with a trace below, as of the sign for medial short *u*. Can it be *sa(śa)tru* ?

3 लकंठ[:*] स्मरारिस्ति(स्त्रि)पुरदहनसमर्थो[1] मूर्द्धि(र्ध्नि)भास्वछ(च्छ)सां(शां)कः । तुहिनगिरिसुताया वल्लभः शूलपाणिः ।[2]

4 सकलजनशरण्यः सर्व्वलोकैकनाथः ॥[२॥*] चतुर्मुखमुखांभोजवनहंश(स)वधूर्मम [।] मानसे रमतां नि-

5 त्यं सर्व्वशुक्ला स[र*]स्वती[3]॥[३॥*] परमभट्टारक(के)त्यादिसमस्तराजावली[4]विराजमानपरममाहे[श्व*]रअस्व(श्व)पति[5]गजपति-

6 नरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिविविधविद्याविचारवाचस्पति[श्री]वामदेवपादानुध्याता(त)क(का)न्यकुव्जा(ब्जा)धिपतिमही[6]-

7 [प्र]वर्द्धमानकल्याणविजयराज्ये [श्री]मत्त्रैलोक्यमल्लदेवराज्ये संम(व)त् १६३ ज्येष्ठ मुदि ७ सोमे दिनं(ने) महा-

8 मह[त्त]कमंति(त्रि)मंडलक[श्री]मलयसिंह[7]व्याप्रियमाणे शंधिग्र[ही]कठक्कुरहरिपालकोट्टपालवाहड-[8]

9 अर्थलेखी[9][श्री]चंद्रस्रे ठि(ष्ठि) यथावर्त्तमानसमस्तवणिग्जनव्यवृहियमाणं पंचकुलधर्माधिकरणचिंतायां[10]

10 धोवहट्टपत्तने धनवाहिपत्तलायां यत्र क्वचन शुभप्रदेशसमावासितकटकात्[11]यमनियमस्वाध्याय

11 ध्यानानुष्ठानतप[स्वि*]चक्रवर्त्तिपंडितचक्रचूडामणिसै(शै)वाचार्याधिपतिसर्व्वविद्याकुस(श)ल[:*] क-

Second Plate

12 लौ दुर्व्वाशा(सो)वतारः त्रिशति(त)राज्याधिपतिस्त्री(श्री)मत्त्रैलोक्यमल्लपाद(दा)र्च्चनरतः[12]ध्यानं कुर्व्वाणो[13]

13 एकाग्रचित्ततया भट्टारक[श्री]मद्राजगुरुविमलशिवसुतो(तः) सां(शां)तशिवचरणाः[14] वत्सगोत्रान्वये(यो) वितवं(त्तबं)ध-

14 स्वरूपतया ठ[15]रासलसुतसेवराजत(स्त)त्सुतराणक[श्री]म[द्ध][16]रेकस्य अलौरा[17]ग्रामस्य भागभोगप्रवणि[18]-

15 करसर्व्वादायसहितं यावधिरण्यस्य दत्तमिति[19] ॥ गू(गु)रुणामनुज्ञ्यां(ज्ञां) प्राप्य यमादिगुणोपेत[:*] समस्त-

16 प्रक्रियान्विततित्र(स्त्रि)कालस्नानदेवार्च्चनरतः अग्निपूजारतस्च(श्च) सर्व्वभूतदयापरः सर्व्वेषां वंदिजना-

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[1] This *yati* has one letter more. Mirashi corrects it to पुरदहनसमर्थो. It may also be restored as त्रिपुरदहनदक्षो as already suggested by Chakravarti.
[2] This *daṇḍa* as also some others below is redundant.
[3] As already noted by Chakravarti and Mirashi, this verse occurs in Daṇḍin's *Kāvyādarśa*, I, 1.
[4] The *akshara* व्र is written above the line.
[5] The *sandhi* is neglected here, as also in some places below, sometimes not noted here separately.
[6] The medial *ā*-sign of *kā* is applied to the preceding letter by mistake.
[7] The third letter in this line looks somewhat like *nna*. Read मांडलिक श्रीमलयसिंहे
[8] The consonant of the first letter of the name can also be read as *ch*, for which see *chaṇḍa* and *pañcha*- in the next line. Read सांधिविग्रहिके ठक्कुर हरिपाले as suggested by V. V. Mirashi.
[9] A redundant stroke appears above the first letter in the line. Read *śrēshṭhi*-, which appears without any case-ending as some other titles and names below.
[10] Restore व्यवह्रियमाणे पंचकुलधर्म्माधिकरणे चिंतायां is redundant. It appears to mean 'with due deliberations'.
[11] As already noted by Mirashi, 'this expression seems to be out of place in a deed of mortgage'.
[12] It appears rather curious that the Śaiva ascetic should call himself as devoted to the feet of the king.
[13] Read कुर्व्वाण एकाग्र--
[14] Read शांतशिवः As already noted by Chakravarti, the name is here in the honorific plural whereas all the qualifying adjectives are in the singular.
[15] That is, ठक्कुर.
[16] The reading of the bracketed *akshara* is doubtful and I have followed Mirashi's reading.
[17] Here also I agree with Mirashi in taking the second *akshara* of the name as *lau*, and not *lī*, as taken by Chakravarti, remarking that *lau* which was first engraved was subsequently corrected into *lī*. Mirashi particularly draws our attention to similar *mātrās* of medial *au* in *Kalau*, ll. 11-12.
[18] Mirashi elsewhere takes this word in the sense of 'banker' (*C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 331, *n.*), but it does not suit here. The word, which is obviously derived from *pravaṇa*, meaning 'a descent' and also 'a place where four roads meet', appears to denote the customs duty charged here on articles brought from other places.
[19] The correct construction would be अलौराग्रामः . . . सहितः . . . . दत्तः Also read यावद्धिरण्यं

17 नामाधारभूतः जंतूनामास्वा(श्वा)सभूमि[:*] सर्व्वासु कलासु चतुरः ॥[1] शस्त्रशास्त्रविसा(शा)रदः भट्ट[ा*]रकस्री(श्री)म-

18 द्राजगुरुविमलसि(शि)वशु(सु)तः शांतशिवानुजो नादसि(शि)व(वे)न पट्टस्य ह(व)र्षरूपतया याव[दा*]दीयते तावद(दे)वा-

19 पि(र्पि)तमिति धि(वि)त्तवं(बं)धतया किंचि[त्*]कार्यकारणितापि वारणे स्त्री(श्री)मद्धरेकस्य यावदिच्छा[2]-प्रतिपद्यते[3] ॥ अत्रा-

20 र्थे साक्षिणः ॥ पट(ट्ट)किल मदने तथा सीले तथा ठ गांगे वि[4]रणधोल वि गांगादेव पट्ट वि कवित ॥ ठ गोल्-

21 ण[5]इति कृत्वा प्रविष्ये[6]सति गृ(ग्र)हीतव्यं(व्यम्) ॥ सु(शु)भं भवतु लेखकपाठकयोः ॥ स्वल्पवु(बु)ध्या मंदमतिरहं यत् वा(बा)ल्याति-

22 मु[द्गो]रितं[7] सु(शु)द्धमसु(शु)द्धं वा पं विस्वेस्व(श्वेश्व)रेण लिखितमिति ॥ पं गंगाधरेण [च] [।*]उतकीरितं[8] सीरुकेन(ण) ॥ ॥ ।[9]

No. 144 ; Plate CXXXI

CHARKHĀRĪ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF VĪRAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1311

THIS inscription, which is on a copper-plate, was edited along with three others,[10] by R. B. Hiralal, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX (1929-30), pp. 132 f., without a facsimile. The plates bearing all these inscriptions are reported to have been possessed by the Chief of the former State of **Charkhārī**, now a *tehsīl* in the Hamīrpur District of Uttar Pradesh, but there is no information as to their original find-spot or regarding the circumstances under which they were found. Hiralal's edition of the present inscription is not accompanied with a facsimile, as also of those of the other three edited along with it ; and as an impression too of it is not now forthcoming, I edit the record here from his transcript, adding my notes to it.

As said above, it is a **single copper-plate** which is stated to measure as equal to 38.5 cms. by 28.9 cms., with its rim raised to the height of about .5 cm. and rivetted with nails all round. It is inscribed on one side only and the inscription consists of 19 lines of writing. It weighs 2 kgms. and 689 grams. In the middle of the upper part of it, there is a hole, apparently made for a ring, which, with any seal if it was ever attached to it, is not forthcoming ; and thus it appears more likely that the hole was made not to join it with a second plate but (subsequently by the owner) to string the plate with some other plates, since the inscription on it is complete in itself. In the middle of the first six lines the writing is interrupted by a representation of the goddess **Lakshmī**, holding a lotus flower in each of the two upper hands and water-pots in the two lower hands. The letters are stated to have been well formed, showing an average size of .5 cm.

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[1] The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.
[2] The *akshara* न is written above the line.
[3] As remarked by Mirashi, the text is corrupt here and what is intended appears to be येच्छा मा प्रतिपद्यते
[4] This contraction cannot be explained. It probably denotes विद्वान् or त्रिवुध
[5] Probably a letter has disappeared at the beginning of this line, as shown by a trace.
[6] The text is again corrupt here. Probably प्रविष्टे is meant.
[7] Read बाल्यादुद्गीरितं
[8] For उत्कीर्णं.
[9] An ornamental design appears between the double *daṇḍas*.
[10] For the other three inscriptions, see above, Nos. 108, 132 and 151.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. The **language** is Sanskrit; and, except for one verse in the beginning and three in the end, the whole record is in prose. It shows the usual **orthographical** peculiarities, such as (a) often putting the dental for the palatal sibilant, as in *subha*, l. 19, and the palatal for the dental, as in *prśāda*, l. 14; (b) the reduplication of a class-consonant following *r*, *e.g.*, in *nirmmala-*, l. 8; and (c) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well. The influence of the local pronunciation of *n* for *ṇ* is seen in the spellings of *bhrājishṇu-* in l. 2, *gṛihṇāti* in l. 18 and *puṇya* in l. 18, but not in the same word in ll. 12 and 13. We may also note that the word *ujjvala* is wrongly spelt with a single *j* in l. 1.

The engraver, whose name is not mentioned, is also responsible for a few mistakes, *e.g.*, those of the omission of limbs of certain letters and of the signs of *anusvāra*, *visarga* and the superscript *r*, all of which have been corrected in the text, below. It is also doubtful whether all these were engraved lightly and may not have come out clearly on the impression from which Hiralal prepared the transcript.

It is a royal charter issued by **Vīravarman** of the **Chandēlla Dynasty.** The **object** of it is to record the grant, by Vīravarman, the sole lord of Kāliñjara, of the village Ṭumuṭumā, situated in the territorial division (*vishaya*) Ḍāhī, from (his camp at) Vilāsapura, in favour of the *Rāüta* Abhi, son of the *Rāüta* Haripāla, grandson of the *Rāüta* Devashamū of the Kāśyapa *gotra* and of the family of Chandrēśvara (ll. 12-3). The donee is stated to have performed a deed of valour in the struggle[1] with Dabhyuhaḍavarman, and the donation was made in recognition of the meritorious service rendered by him. He does not appear to have been a Brāhmaṇa, for, as Hiralal has rightly pointed out, his *pravaras* are not mentioned and as is also indicated by the family-name Chandrēśvara and his title *Rāüta*. But it appears rather curious that despite all this, the purpose of the grant is stated to be the promotion of the religious merit and fame of the king himself and of his parents (l. 13).

The grant is **dated**, in l. 12, on **Monday, the 8th** *tithi* **of the bright fortnight of Āśvina in the year 1311,** expressed in the decimal figures only. The year, of course, must be referred to the Vikrama era, and the corresponding Christian date, as calculated by Hiralal himself while editing the record, is **the 21st of September, 1254 A.C.**[2] The date is quite regular for *Chaitrādi expired*, or *Kārtikādi current* year. But as current years are cited very exceptionally, I am inclined to take it as the former.[3]

The arrangement of the contents of the record is similar to what we see in many other Chandēlla charters. Opening with the usual verse eulogising the house, it gives the genealogy of the donor, the details of the grant followed by the address to the inhabitants of the donated village, the date and the purpose of the grant, and finally, the benedictory and imprecatory verses.

The genealogical portion (ll. 3-7) mentions the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* Madanavarman, his successor the *P.M.P.* Paramardin, his successor the *P.M.P.* Trailōkyavarman and the latter's successor the *P.M.P.* Vīravarman, who was the sole lord of Kāliñjara. The succession of the first three of these names is well known; and we also know from the Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of Vīravarman himself, dated V.S. 1317,[4] that he was the son of Trailōkyavarman whom he succeeded. The present record, however, which is the only plate-grant of the king known so far, furnishes the earliest date for him.

While dealing with the Garrā plate inscriptions,[5] we have seen that the remarks of V. A. Smith as to the end of the Chandēlla dynasty as one of the important powers of North India, with the death of Paramardin in 1203 A.C., is baseless in view of the fact that the epithet *Kālañjarādhipati* is applied to his successor Trailōkyavarman; and since the same epithet is again borne by the latter's son and successor Vīravarman in the present grant, the conclusion is irresistible that Vīravarman had under his sway the whole of the region controlled by his father; and the evidence of the present inscription also goes to indicate that he had extended his kingdom up to the Sindh on the west, as we shall see while identifying the places mentioned

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[1] The word used here is *saṁgrāma*, involving the whole village, and thus the battle appears to have been severe.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 132.

[3] For an analogous example, see Kielhorn's remarks in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 115.

[4] Below, No. 145.

[5] Above, No. 141.

in the record. Some of the distant regions of his kingdom, however, appear to be slacking in control, as we know from the present inscription itself that the donee of the grant had performed a deed of valour by vanquishing Dabhyuhaḍavarman, whose identity remains uncertain. From his name ending in *varman*, Hiralal took him to be a member of the Chandēlla family, but S. K. Mitra, on the other hand, is inclined to hold that he was "either a usurper or a rebel trying to create troubles within the state",[1] though for want of any definite evidence, nothing on this point can be said with certainty. It can however be imagined that some of the remote provinces were probably not in full grip and caused troubles as is also shown by Vīravarman's struggle with the contemporary Yajvapāla king Gōpāla, only about 27 years subsequently,[2] in the same region, lying to the west of the Chandēlla kingdom in the neighbourhood of the Seondhā fort, which is in the modern Datiā District of Madhya Pradesh, on the Sindh, as correctly identified by Hiralal.

Of the **place-names** mentioned in the inscription, **Kāliñjara** (l. 6) is of course the well-known fort, and Vilāsapura (l. 12) is Pachhār, as we have seen above.[3] **Ḍāhī** is identical with the modern village of the same name, lying about 6 kms east of Bijāwar, the chief town of a *tehsīl* in the modern Chhatarpur District of Madhya Pradesh. **Tumuṭumā,** the gift-village (l. 8), I am unable to trace in the vicinity.[4] And last of all, **Sōndhī**, as already observed above, is the modern fort of the name in the Datiā District of Madhya Pradesh. It is about 60 kms. north by east of Datiā and connected with it by a metalled road.

TEXT[5]

[Metre: Verses 1-4 *Anushṭubh*].

1 ॥ ओं सिद्धिः ॥ जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वं विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः ॥[6] चन्द्राते(त्रे)यनरेन्द्राणां वंस(श)श्चंद्र इवोज्वलः[7] ॥ [१॥*]

2 तत्र प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभा(भ्रा)जिष्नु(ष्णु)जयस(श)क्तिविजयस(श)[क्त्या]दिवीराविर्भावभाश्व(स्व)रे

3 परमभट्टार[क*]महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदनवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यात् (त) ।[8] परम[भ*]ट्टारकम-

4 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपरमर्द्दिदेवपादानुध्यात ।[9] परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-

5 परमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीत्रैलोक्यवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यात ।[10] परमभट्टारकमहा-

6 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरश्रीकालिंजराधिपतिमहाराजशी(श्री)मद्वी-

7 रवर्म्मदेवो विजयी [।*] स एष दुर्वि(र्वि)षहतरप्रतापतापितसकलरिपुकुलः कुलवधूमिव निराकुलां वसुं-

8 धरां परिपालयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्म्मलीकृतमतिः ॥ डाहीविषयान्तःप[ा*]तिटुमुटुमाग्रामोपगता-

9 न(न्)वा(ब्रा)ह्मणानन्यांश्च मान्यान(न्) कुटुंवि(बि)कायस्थदूतवैद्यमेदचाण्डालपय(र्य)न्तान(न्) समस्तप्रजालो-
कान्संवो(बो)ध-

10 यति समाजा(ज्ञा)पयति च अस्तु वः स(सं)विदितं यथोपरिलिखितोयं ग्रामः सजल[स्थ]ल[:*] सस्थावरजंगमः

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[1] See *E. R. K.*, p. 135.

[2] See Bangla inscriptions, below, Nos. 162-174.

[3] In No. 129, *etc.*

[4] Hiralal has remarked that in this plate the consonant *s* is often engraved as *t*, and the vowel *a* as *ma*. And in view of this, if we presume that the last two *aksharas* of the name, which were engraved as *suā*, may have been read by him as *tumā*, the intended village is Tinsuā, which lies about 100 kms. south by west of Ḍāhī and about 45 kms. north-east of Sāgar, the headquarters of a district in Madhya Pradesh. The village contains an old temple attributed to the Chandēllas. See *Sāgar Dist. Gaz.*, Bhopāl, 1967, pp. 548 f.

[5] From Hiralal's transcript in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 133 f.

[6] One of the *daṇḍas* is superfluous.

[7] Read -ज्ज्वलः.

[8] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[9] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[10] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

11 स्वसीमावच्छिन्न(न्नः) साधऊर्द्धो [द्ध्वो] भूद्रु(तभ)विष्यतव(द्र)र्तमाननिःसे[शे]षादायसहितः प्रतिषिद्धश्चा(चा)-
टादिप्रवेस(श)श्चास्माभिःश्री-

12 विलासपुरे संवत[त्]१३११ आश्विनशुदि ८ सोमवारे पुण्यतीर्थोदकेन स्नात्वा भास्करपूजापुर(रः)सरं माता-
पित्रोरा-

13 त्मनः[1] पुण्ययशोविवद्धये(वृद्धये) ।[2] व(चं)द्रेश्वरान्वये क[ा]स्य(श्य)पगोत्राय राउतदेवषमूप्रपौत्राय राउतजग-
देवपौत्राय राउतहरि-

14 पालपुत्राय सोंधीसंग्रामे दभ्युहडवर्म्मयुद्धे कृतवीर्यातिस(श)ये प्रशा(सा)दे राउतअभिनाम्ने[3] शासनीक(कृ)त्य
प्रदत्त इति मत्वा

15 भवद्भिराजा(ज्ञा)श्रव[ण°]विधेयैर्भूत्वा भागभोगादिकं सर्व्वमस्मै समुपनेतव्यं तदेनमस्य ग्रामं समंदिर
प्राकारं सनि[र्ग]मप्र-

16 वेसं(शं)[स*]वाह्या(बाह्या)भ्यन्तरादायं भुंजानस्य वा(बा)धा केनापि न कार्या। अत्र च। राजराज-
पुरुषादिभिः स्वं स्वमाभाव्य(व्यं) परिहा(ह)र्त्तव्यमि-

17 दं चास्मत(द्)दानमनाहार्यं चेति[4] भाविभिरपि भूमिपालैः पालनीयं[5]। उक्तं च। शंखं भद्रासनं छत्रं
वरास्वा(श्वा)वरवारणाः। भूमिदा-

18 न[स्य] पुष्पाणि फलं स्वर्ग्गः पुरंदर ।[२॥°] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृन्हा(ह्णा)ति यञ्च(श्च) भूमिं प्रयछ(च्छ)ति[।°]
उभौ तौ पुन्य(ण्य)कर्म्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्ग्गगामि-

19 नौ ।[।३॥°] मम वंशे क्षतिक्षीणे कोपि राजा भविष्यति[।°] तस्य दासस्य दासोहं मम की[र्त्ति]र्ण(र्त्तिं न)
लोपयेत(त्)॥ [४॥°] सुभ(शुभं) भवतु ॥

No. 145 ; Plate CXXXII

AJAYAGAḌH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VĪRAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1317

THIS inscription was noticed for the first time, with a photograph and a somewhat incorrect abstract of its contents, by Sir Alexander Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI (1883-85), p. 51 and Pl. xiii-E. Subsequently it was edited by F. Kielhorn, with a translation but without a facsimile, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I (1888), pp. 325 ff. In this edition Kielhorn, who prepared the text of it from Cunningham's rubbings placed at his disposal by Fleet, has also pointed out the errors in Cunningham's account of it, which was based on its reading by his Simla Paṇḍit. The inscription is edited here from a fresh impression which I owe to the courtesy of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India.[6]

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1 The syllable च is omitted here either in the transcript or in the original.

2 The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

3 *Sandhi* is not performed here.

4 The use of च shows that it may have been preceded by अनाच्छेद्य, as we find in the other grants of the house.

5 Read पालनीयम्.

6 His No. B-189 of 1969-70.

The inscription is engraved on a rock above a well which is locally known as *Gaṅgā-Jamnā*, in the fort of **Ajayagadh**[1] in the Pannā District of the Bundelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh. It consists of fifteen lines, the first seven of which are on the proper right side and the remaining eight on the proper left side, both the portions being divided by a crack between them and showing the width of about 1·5 to 2 cms. The portion on the proper right side measures 72·40 cms. broad by 16·5 cms. high, and that on the proper left, 91·45 cms. broad by 16·5 cms. high. In Kielhorn's time it was "on the whole fairly well preserved", but as far as I can judge from the impression before me and comparing the same with the plate in the *A. S. I. R.*, the letters have suffered now a little on account of exposure, particularly in the last two lines on either side, though they can be made out with certainty. Only one *akshara* each at two places just close by the crack has disappeared, which is of minor importance: and I have read it from the photolithograph given by Cunningham. The average size of the letters is about 1·5 cms., except that they are slightly smaller in the last two or three lines on either side. The mechanical execution is also not free from slovenliness and redundant strokes of the chisel have deformed some of the letters here and there.

The inscription is written in the **Nāgari** alphabet of the 12th century A.C. Almost all the letters have assumed or begun to assume their modern form. However, to note some of the peculiarities of the writing, the vowel *i* differs in *īrshyā-*, l. 1 from that in *indu-*, l. 2; and *ḍ* in *khaḍga-*, l. 3 from that in *maṇḍapa-*, l. 13; *j* continues in its older form; see *jaya-*, l. 3; *bh* in *kumbha-* is more advanced than in *bhūshaṇa*, both in l. 2: and the letters *ch*, *dh* and *v* have developed their distinct individual shape; cf. *Dadhīchi-vaṁśē*, l. 8; *gg* continues to be engraved as *gn*, as in *durgga*, l. 6, and *ṇṇ* is shown by a single letter marked with a slanting stroke across it, as in *Karṇṇa*, l. 2. *B* has a distinct form of its own, as in *babhūva* in l. 10. And finally, *r* occasionally appears in its older form as in *ruchira-*, l. 13, where we find the *mātrā* marked below the letter.

The **language** is Sanskrit, which is correct; and except for the introductory *Oṁ Oṁ Siddhiḥ* and the date in the end, the record is metrically composed. In all there are 22 verses, all of which are numbered. The language is fluent and the style is chaste. The poet was conversant with the works of Kālidāsa, whose thoughts are reflected in vv., *e.g.*, 3, 6, 7, 8, 11 and 12. The **orthography** calls for no remarks other than the usual, *e.g.*, (1) the use of the sign of *v* to denote *b* except in *babhūva*, as stated above, and in *vudha-*, l. 14; (2) putting the dental sibilant for the palatal in some instances, *e.g.*, in *yasa-*, l. 13, and *vice versa* is the case in *śuta-*, l. 8, and *-śīmā*, ll. 9 and 10; and lastly, (3) *sh* is employed for *kh* in *Vaiśāsha*, l. 15. The sign of *avagraha* has been used six times, in ll. 1, 4 (twice), 5 and 8 (twice), to mark the elision of the initial *a* into *ē* or *ō*, except in one instance in *-varmm=ābhavat*, l. 4, to denote the *dīrgha-sandhi*. The final *m* is frequently substituted by an *anusvāra*.

The proper **object** of the inscription is to record that **Kalyāṇadēvī** the wife of the **Chandēlla** king **Vīravarman**, built a well, called *Nirjara-kūpa* (v. 18), established a place where water was to be distributed to travellers, furnished it with a water-pot and a pavilion, and also built a Śiva temple at Nandīpura (vv. 19-20). The *praśasti*, as the composition is called in v. 21, was written by Ratnapāla, the son of the poet Haripāla and the grandson of the poet Vatsarāja, and it was engraved by Rāma. The **date** of the record, as given in word-numerals in the next verse, is the Vikrama year measured by the seas (7), the moon (1), the fires (3) and again the moon (1), *i.e.*, in the **(Vikrama), year 1317** on **Thursday, the 13th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha.** According to Kielhorn's calculations, **Thursday**, the day mentioned in the record, falls on **14th April**; and the Vikrama year mentioned in the inscription is taken to be the Southern *expired* year, which is equivalent to **1261 A.C.**[2] The year 1317 and the date are repeated in figures in the last line, which also mentions the name of the king Vīravarman and of Jētana who was then holding office.

Usually a *praśasti* commences with the pedigree of the king in whose reign it was put up: and accordingly, the present inscription also devotes its first part comprising vv. 1-17 to this purpose. Invoking the blessings of the Ganges in the first verse and referring to the moon-born, *i.e.*, the **Chandrātrēya** (Chandēlla) race, in the second, the inscription introduces the illustrious

[1] For the situation of the place and its antiquities, see reference under No. 112, above.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 326; also see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 373, No. 198.

ruler **Kīrtivarman,** who was born in it, and adds that he was an Agastya in swallowing the ocean who was Karṇa and also Brahmā in creating the kingdom anew. We have seen above how Kīrtivarman succeeded in subduing the Kalachuri king Karṇa or Lakshmīkarṇa, who was then bent on wiping out the Chandēlla kingdom, and after vanquishing him, stabilized the kingdom on firm grounds.[1] Kīrtivarman's son was **Sallakshaṇavarman,** "whose sword took away the fortune of the Mālavas and the Chēdis" (v. 4). This king is presumed to have occupied the Chandēlla throne from about 1100 to 1110 A.C.;[2] and his contemporary on the throne of Mālwā should be taken to be only Naravarman who was then incessantly busy with the overwhelming Chaulukyas of Gujarāt. We have seen that during the time of Kīrtivarman the Chandēllas were well settled in the Bētwā region;[3] and from there Sallakshaṇavarman may have carried on a sweeping raid on some of the adjoining provinces which then formed the Paramāra territories. As for his success against the Chēdis, his contemporary on the Kalachuri throne was Yaśaḥkarṇa (1073-1125 A.C.), who had suffered a defeat at the hands of Naravarman's elder brother Lakshmadēva (*circa* 1086-1094 A.C.), as attested to by the Nagpur Museum stone inscription of Naravarman himself.[4] We have, no evidence, however, to conclude that the success of Sallakshaṇavarman against both these powers was more than a sweeping raid which did not result in any territorial gain.

The *praśasti* proceed to state that Sallakshaṇavarman was succeeded by **Jayavarman** (v. 4), and he by **Pṛithvīvarman** who resembled Pṛithu, the well-known legendary king, who was again succeeded by **Madanavarman,** who was constantly wrankling in the minds of his enemies (v. 5). Madanavarman's successor was **Paramardin** (v. 6), and the latter king was succeeded by **Trailōkyavarman** (v. 7). The relationship that each of these kings bore to his predecessor is not explicitly stated in the present inscription, but it is known from the other records of the house. Trailōkyavarman is again mentioned here as Vishṇu who lifted up the earth immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of the Turushkas; and this is a reference to his temporarily recovering the Chandēlla kingdom from the Muslim invaders who had captured the fort of Kālañjara, as we have already seen above.[5] Trailōkyavarman's son and successor was Vīravarman who is conventionally eulogised in vv. 8-9. Here ends the first part of the inscription, giving the account of the members of the royal house.

The second part which begins with v. 10, describes the descent of Vīravarman's chief queen Kalyāṇadēvī. The first personage spoken of here was Chādala who belonged to the race of Dadhīchi and who was a Kshatriya (*bhuja-janma*), and his son was Śrīpāla (v. 10). The latter's son was Mahēśvara who was revered even by crown-princes (v. 11). This person married Vēsaladēvī, the daughter of Gōvindarāja, and from this union was born Kalyāṇadēvī, who was the chief queen of Vīravarman (vv. 12-13). None of these names can be identified for want of evidence. The next three stanzas are devoted to eulogising Kalyāṇadēvī in a conventional way. Reverting to the main purpose of the inscription, here we are told in the usual way, that perceiving the fickleness of life, fortune and charms of youth and also that the creeper of good fame alone grows, Kalyāṇadēvī made this never-failing well (where the inscribed stone was found), and made the other provisions as seen above.[6]

There is only one **place-name** mentioned here, *viz.*, **Nandīpura,** which, as suggested by Kielhorn, may have been identical with Ajayagaḍh itself. But this name of the place is not found in any of the inscriptions of the house whereas Ajayagaḍh is often mentioned as Jayapura in them.[7]

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[1] Above, No. 113.
[2] As suggested by V. A. Smith in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 127.
[3] Above, No. 111.
[4] Above, No. 33.
[5] See No. 141.
[6] This is as presumed by Kielhorn. But I have seen in my personal visit to the spot that the well has a natural reservoir of water constantly trickling from the hill above.
[7] See, *e.g.*, No. 128, l. 2.

TEXT[1]

[Metres: Verses 1, 5, 13 and 19-22 *Anushṭubh*: vv. 2-4, 6-12, 14-15 and 18 *Upajāti*; and vv. 16-17 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*].

1 ओं[2]ओं सिद्धिः ॥ अर्द्धमीशतनोर्द्दृष्ट्वा शिलोच्चयसुताहृतं(तम्)[3] । ई[र्ष्य]येव कृशा शीर्षे पातु
वोऽमरवाहिनी ॥१॥ स्मरैकमित्रं नयनप्रमो-
2 दी जीयाछि(च्छि)रोभूषणमिन्दुमौलेः । इन्दुर्यतः श्रीचपलत्वदोषनोदी धरायामुदियाय वंस(श): ॥२॥
कुंभोद्भवः कर्ण्णपयोधिपाने प्रजेश्वरो नूतनराज्यसृष्टौ । त[त्रा]-
3 स विद्याधरगीतकीर्त्तिः श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्म्मक्षितिपो जगत्यां(त्याम्)॥३॥ सल्लक्षणो मालवचेदिलक्ष्मीलुं[टा]कखड्गः
क्षितिपश्च तस्मात् । जयैकधामा जय-
4 वर्म्मदेव[स्तस्मा]च्च राज्यं प्रशशास वीरः[4] ॥४॥ पृथ्वीवर्म्माऽभवत्तस्माद[थ] राजा पृथूपमः । ततोपि
मदनः क्ष्माभृद्राज्येऽभूद्रिपुमन्मथः[5]॥५॥ अथाभव[च्छ्री]-
5 [प]रम[र्द्दि]राजो[6] वा(बा)लोपि[7] नेता रिपुवीरहन्ता । [साम्रा]ज्य[ल]क्ष्मीर्यमिहानुरक्ता पतिंवरेवाशु
समाजगाम ॥६॥ त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मक्षितिपोऽथ राज्यं [श]-
6 [शास दु]र्गप्रविधानवेधाः । तुरुष्ककुल्यांवु(बु)धिमग्नधा[त्री] समुद्धृतिं विष्णुरिव प्रतन्वन् ॥७॥ रणाजिरे
कृत्तरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाप्तिसंमोदितनाकक[न्य]ः । तस्यात्मजो वीरमही-
7 [महेशी][8] जयत्यसौ निर्म्मलवीरधर्म्मः[9] ॥८॥ तार्क्षे(क्ष्यें)ण वल्गन्विहरन्वृषेण दुष्टप्रहन्ता रिपुरा[शि]-
भेत्ता[10] । किं विष्णुरीशः किमु वेति दृष्टो जयत्यसौ विश्वजनैर्न्नमस्यः ॥९॥
8 दधीचिवंसे(शे)ऽद्भुतसत्य[धा]मा श्री[चा][11]दलोऽभूद्भुजजन्मवंद्यः । अ[था]स्य साक्षादिव वीर[ध]र्म्मा(र्म्मः)
श्रीपाल इत्यास शु(सु)तो वरिष्ठः ॥१०॥ मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तैरपि वंदनीयो महेश्वरस्तत्तनयो बभू-
9 व । यं [रा]जमानं वृषलीलयैव यथार्थनामानमुदाहरन्ति ॥११॥ गोविंदराजक्षितिपालपुत्री तेनोपयेमे
सुचरित्रशी(सी)मा । लोकोत्तरैर्या चरितैः प्रपूज्या शिवेव[12] नित्यं पतिदेवतानां(नाम्) ॥१२॥
नाम्ना वे[स?][13]-

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[1] From an impression.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] The consonant of *su* appears more like *ś*.

[4] Kielhorn read the preceding letter as *dhi*, but it has no horn on the left limb, as the other letters in this inscription.

[5] Kielhorn translated this expression as 'a god of love to opponents', and added in a *f.n.* that 'it admits of no other interpretation, as the word *madana* itself is one of the synonyms of *manmatha* (*op. cit.*, p. 329, n. 26). But this sense is not applicable here and we have to take the word *manmatha* in its literary meaning, *manāṁsi mathnāti*, *i.e.*, wrankling (as a thorn) in the minds of (his adversaries). In this verse, moreover, the word *tasmāt* has to be taken in the sense of *tasmādanantaram*, *i.e.*, after him, and not from him as we know that Pṛithvīvarman was an uncle of Jayavarman.

[6] The *aksharas* in the brackets have now totally disappeared.

[7] This letter appears as *dh*. The expression *bāl = ōpi nētā* reminds us of an analogous instance of the Pāla King Gōpāla III, who came to the throne when he was a child. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 232.

[8] These three *aksharas* are now totally lost and Kielhorn's reading is adopted here. But possibly *mahēndrō* appears to have been originally engraved here.

[9] The word *Vīra* in the first quarter of this verse is a contracted form of the name of the king; and following this clue, I read *-varmmaḥ* (*varmma*) here, as the first of these letters is without a horn on its left limb, as the second in this expression.

[10] Perhaps it may be read as त्रिपुराभिभेत्ता.

[11] As Kielhorn also remarked, this letter may have a *mātrā* or an *anusvāra* above. The Kshatriya caste is fabled to have sprung from the arms of Brahmā.

[12] *Śivā* is a synonym of *Pārvatī*. Kielhorn read *śivēna* which cannot be construed here.

[13] The consonant of the first letter may also have been *d*; and the second letter is mutilated.

10 लदेवीति सौंदर्यगुणशालिनी। कल्याणदेवीति सुता तस्या अथ यशस्विनी ॥१३॥ सेयं सदा श्रीरिव कैटभारे[:] श्रीवीर[राज्ञो] महिषीत्वमाप्ता [।] मनोहरैर्या[1] चरितैरुदारैर्बभूव पुण्यैः परिकीर्तनीया ॥१४॥[।] किं वर्ण्यते चारुचरित्रशी(सी)मा [विशुद्धकीर्त्ति]-

11 प्रथिता जगत्यां(त्याम्)। या सत्यवाचा भुवनप्रसिद्धं धर्म्मंप्र[भुं][2] तं सहसा जिगाय ॥१५॥ तेषां वंद्यतमा वसिष्ठदयिता स्थाणोः शरीरार्द्धकं[3] भ्राजिष्णु गिरिजां नमन्ति किल ते गंगापि तैः संस्तुता। ते [का]मप्रमदास्तुतिव्यवसिता येषां न दृग्गोचरा [स]त्या-

12 द्यैः प्रथिता गुणैः शुचितनुः कल्याणदेवी [गि]रा ॥१६॥ [आयु]:श्रीवयसां स्थितिं कमलिनीपे(प)-त्रोल्लसद्वारिणस्तुल्यां प[ण्य]नत[भ्रु वो?][4] निपति[ता] मोहांधकारे घने। [ए]कां कीर्त्तिलतां विलोक्य सुचिरं स्थास्नुं तदुत्पत्तये सत्यौदार्यगुणा⌣—⌣[5] मचिरात्कल्या[ण]-

13 देवी [स्थि]रं(रम्)[6] ॥१७॥ [स्त्रली?]मथेयं व(ब)लिश[स्त्र?[7]]गु[प्तां] निश्चित्य चक्रे कृपया परीता जीवातवे पूर्ण्ण[त]नुं पयोभिः सुधोपमैर्निर्ज्जरकूपमेनं(नम्) ॥१८॥ सा पा[त्रं][8] प्रददावेकं[9] निर्ज्जरस्य यस(श)स्विनी। पुण्यमे[10]तत्प्रप(पा)याश्च मंडपं रुचिरं व्यधात् ॥१९॥ सागरोपमकासा(रं)?

14 [सो]मशेखर[11]मंदिरं(रम्)। नांदीपुरे[12] चकारासौ यशोधवलितावनिः ॥२०॥ वत्सराजकवेः पौत्रो हरिपालकवेः सुतः। रत्नपाल इमां शुद्धां प्रशस्तिमकरोद्वु(द्बु)धः ॥२१॥ सागरें[द्व]ग्निसुधांसु(शु)-मिते[13]

15 विक्रमवत्सरे। उच्चकार विसु(शु)द्धा[त्मा] विद[ग्धो] राम[नाम]कः ॥२२॥ संवत् १३१७ रा[14] श्रीजे[त]नव्यापारे ॥ श्रीमद्वीरवर्म्मराज्ये ॥ वैशाष(ख) शुदि १३ गुरौ ॥[15]. . . . .

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[1] The reading is certain, but Kielhorn read *sva-charitairu-*, which is not possible besides that it also offends against the metre.

[2] This is as read by Kielhorn; but both these letters are distorted and it is possible that *-dhvajaṁ* may have been the intended reading.

[3] Read —र्के.

[4] Both these *aksharas* are damaged beyond recognition and I have adopted Kielhorn's reading here.

[5] The sense requires here something like *vidhātu-*, which also suits the metre.

[6] Kielhorn read these two letters as *girā*, which cannot be construed. The first of the letters is indistinct but *r* is certain.

[7] The nine *aksharas* ending with *stra* are distorted and are adopted here from Kielhorn's reading. It is, however, not known why such a place needed a protection as mentioned here.

[8] Originally *trē*, perhaps altered to *tra*, as Kielhorn observed.

[9] The *anusvāra* is faintly visible on the impression.

[10] Originally *mai.*

[11] The first two letters in this line were read by Kielhorn as *mahā*, but I am confident about my reading which is also applicable here.

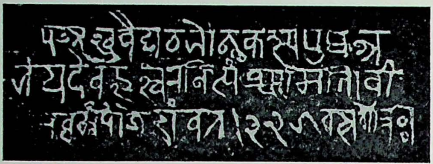
[12] The bracketed *aksharas* are now totally lost and I have adopted them from Kielhorn's reading.

[13] The letters *sudhā* are repeated here and the first combination of them is probably struck off in the original. Moreover, the first *akshara* we have to read as *sā*. This quarter, though of the *anushṭubh* class, offends against the metre *ślōka* which requires the sixth letter to be long.

[14] Read *Rāüta*, or *Rāṇaka.*

[15] Kielhorn found about eleven *aksharas* here which were illegible in his impression. The impression before me, however shows only eight and they appear as वाचकस्य [शुभमस्तु-] The line is complete, without space for any other letter.

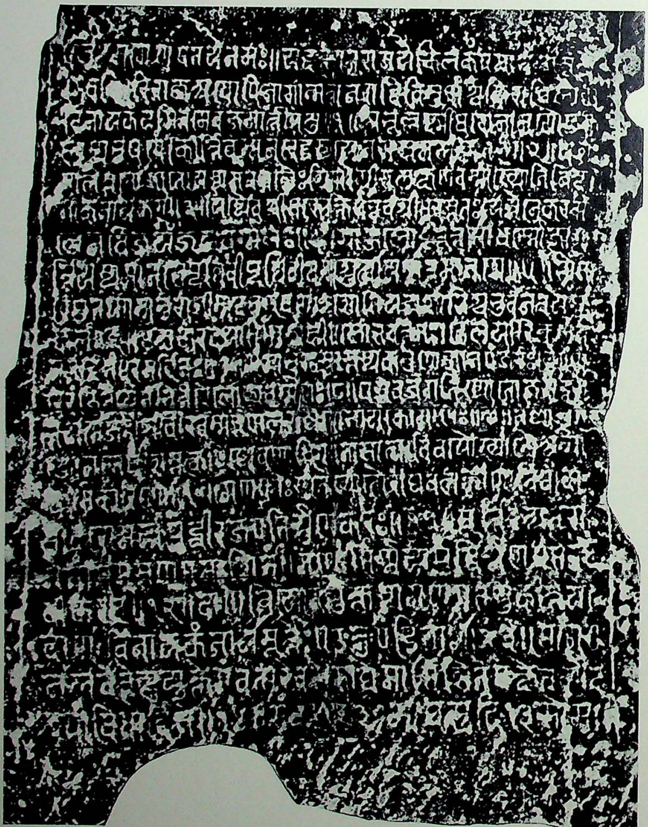
AJAYGAḌH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VĪRAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1325



From Facsimile

AJAYGAḌH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VĪRAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1337

PLATE CXXXIV



Scale : Five-twelfth

No. 146 ; Plate CXXXIII

AJAYGAḌH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VĪRAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1325

THIS inscription is incised on a wall of a temple in the fort of **Ajaygaḍh** in the Pannā District of the Vindhya region of Madhya Pradesh. It was first noticed by Alexander Cunningham in 1884-85, and he also transcribed and translated the record in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI, p. 51 and Plate xiv-F. It is edited here from the same plate.

The record contains three lines, the last of which is slightly longer than the other two. The characters are Nāgarī of the thirteenth century A.C., to which the record belongs. But they are very badly formed, for example, the letter *ṇa* in *praṇamati* (l.2), *tsa* in *vatsa* and *r* in *-rājē* (both in l.3), can be recognised only by the context. **Palaeographically,** the two forms of the initial vowel *a*, one in *asva* and the other in *abhaya*, both in l·1, go to indicate that this letter was in a transitional stage. The initial short *i*, which is the fore-runner of its modern form, shows its loop and the tail as a hook; see *Iśvara* in l. 2. *S* the first member of a conjunct consonant *sva* in l. 1 and 2, begins with a loop as of *ś*. As regards **orthography,** what is worth noting is that the consonant following *r* is doubled in *-varmma-*, in l. 3.[1]

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, which is full of grammatical and other errors. The sign of a *visarga* of the nominative singular form in *putra*, l. 1, and *Abhayadēva*, and *i(ī)śvara*, both in l. 2, have not been engraved, and in *saṁvat*, l. 3, the final consonant is not marked. In this word the palatal sibilant is also used for the dental. Errors in technical execution are in *Vīravvarmmarājē* for the correct *Vīravarmmarājyē*, in l. 3.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the adoration of one Abhayadēva of the Vatsa *gōtra*, who was a son of *Ṭha* (*Ṭhakkura*) Bhōjaka, who was expert in curing horse diseases, in the reign of **Vīravarman,** whose genealogy is not mentioned but who was evidently the **Chandēlla** king ruling in the country around Ajayagaḍh from *c.* 1247 to 1286 A.C. The record is **dated** only in figures, *i.e.*, (V.) **S. 1325** or **1268 A.C.** For want of details the exact date cannot be worked out.

The name of one Bhōjūka figures in the Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of Vīravarman's successor, Bhōjavarman.[2] It is possible to identify the Bhōjaka of our record with this Bhōjūka, and the calculation of the time of both these persons would favour this view. But in the absence of any definite evidence on this point, nothing can be said with certainty.

TEXT[3]

1 सिद्धम्[4][॥][5] अश्ववैद्य ठ. भोजकस्य[6] पुत्र(त्रः) अ-
2 भयदेव(वः) इ(ई)श्वर(रः) नित्यं प्र[ण]मति[7]। वी-
3 रव्व(व)र्म्मराजे(ज्ये) [।*] शं(सं)वत(त्) १३२५ व[त्स]गोत्रः।[8]

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[1] These remarks are based on the Plate given by Cunningham, which seems to be an eye-copy.
[2] Below, No. 150, v. 19.
[3] From Pl. xiv-F in Cunningham's *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI.
[4] Expressed by a symbol.
[5] The two strokes following the symbol probably represent the punctuation mark.
[6] The letter *Ṭha* is an abbreviation for *Ṭhakura*. The reading of *ja* is not certain.
[7] The syllable in the brackets is not well formed.
[8] The letter in the brackets is badly incised : and the *daṇḍa* in the end is endowed with a top-stroke which is combined with that of the preceding one.

No. 147 ; Plate CXXXIV

AJAYGAḌH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIRAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1337

THIS inscription is incised on a rock bearing the statue of Gaṇapati in relief, on the fortress of Ajaygaḍh, the headquarters of a *tehsīl* in the Pannā District in the Bundelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh. It was found by General Alexander Cunningham in 1883-84, and noticed by him, with a transcript of the last two lines containing the date and with a lithograph, in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports,* Vol. XXI (1883-85), p. 52, and plate xiv-G. Subsequently, its contents were summarised by N. P. Chakravarti in the *Annual Report* of the Survey for 1935-36, p, 91 ; but it was not transcribed so far. It is edited here for the first time from my own transcript prepared from an inked impression kindly supplied by the Chief Epigraphist, and also from the lithograph published by General Cunningham.

The inscription consists of twenty-one lines of writing in a lined border on all the four sides, and covers a space 35 cms. broad by 42 cms. high. The height of the individual letters is about 1·5 cms. The technical execution is rather crude, betraying want of skill not only on the part of the writer but also on that of the engraver ; and what is besides is that the writing has suffered considerably due to the influence of weather and peeling off some of its portions, particularly in ll. 9-17. Even in the portion that is now preserved, some of the letters can be made out only with patience and perseverance.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī of the twelfth century A.C. The antique and modern forms of the letter *j* are to be seen side by side in *vijayaṁ jaya-,* l. 7; *m* and *s* are often engraved alike; and it may also be noted that sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between the signs of *ch, dh, v* and *r,* those of *g, n, m* and those of *t* and *r,* some of the examples of these being afforded by *nāga-,* l. 2, *hasita-* and *jaganti,* both in l. 3, and *Śrīdhara-,* l. 6. And finally, the superscript *s* often appears without the tail of the left limb so as to resemble *m, e.g.,* in *yasya-,* l. 5.

The language is Sanskrit; and with the exception of the customary adoration to Gaṇapati in the beginning and the portion containing the date, in figures, in the end, the whole record is metrically composed. The total number of verses is 14; they are all in the *anushṭubh* metre, except the first one which is in *Indravajrā.* Grammatical mistakes are few and of the minor type.

As regards **orthography,** we may note that (1) *b* is denoted by the sign for *v,* except in *babhūva,* l. 12 and *-buddhi-,* l. 16; (2) the letter following *r* is generally doubled, *e.g.,* in *kīrtti-,* l. 4; (3) *prishṭha-mātrās* are used throughout, with a few exceptions as in *Sōmē,* l. 21; (4) the word *vimukha* in l. 2 is spelt with *sh*; (5) the sign of *avagraha* appears only once in l. 7, though there are some other occasions for it; and, finally, (6) the word *ujjvala* is wrongly spelt as *ujvala,* in l. 10.

The immediate **object** of the inscription is to record the installation of a statue of Gaṇapati, *Vāṇī-Vināyaka* as the name occurs therein, by Vāsudēva, a son of Gaṇapati, who was the younger brother of Jagadvīra, the minister of Vīravarman (v. 12). The family name of the king is not mentioned in the record, but he was undoubtedly the **Chandēlla** king of that name and the son of **Trailokyavarman,** as can be known from the genealogy recorded therein, from **Kīrtivarman** down to him. The date of the record is expressed in the last verse, by word-numerals, *viz., Sāgara* (the ocean), standing for 7, *anala* (fire), for 3, *Vēda* for 3, and *Indu* (the moon), for 1, and thus giving the year 1337. The *tithi* is stated to be the **13th of the bright fortnight of Māgha** and the week-day **Monday** The date is repeated in decimal figures in the end; and according to the calculations made by Cunningham, the corresponding Christian date is **3rd February, 1281 A.C.,** which fell on Monday, showing the date to be quite regular.[1]

Beginning with the auspicious symbol for *siddham* and paying obeisance to Gaṇapati, the inscription has one verse to invite the blessings of the same deity. This verse is followed by a list of the names of (the Chandēlla) kings from Kīrtivarman to Vīravarman, as already stated above, and it records the names of ministers and the other distinguished officers, under each of

[1] Also see *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIX, p. 25, No. 16.

them, also showing that they all belonged to one and the same family to which Jagadvīra belonged. The names of the kings and the other officers mentioned herein may be tabulated as follows:

No.	*King's name*	*Officer*	*Other details*	*Verse*
1.	Kīrtivarman	Lakshmīdhara	ornament of the king's court	2
2.	Sallakshaṇavarman	Yaśaḥpāla	(minister of Sallakshaṇavarman)	3
3.	Jayavarman	Śrīdhara	a military officer under Jayavarman ; devoted to Vishṇu & Śiva	4
4.	Prithvīvarman	Gōkula, or Gōḍala[1] (?)	(minister of Prithvīvarman)	5
5.	Paramardin[2]	Mahīpāla	(an officer under Paramardin)	7
6.	Trailōkyavarman	Mādhava	Trailōkyavarman	8
7.	Vīravarman	Jagadvīra	(minister)	9

The inscription further states that the minister Jagadvīra had a younger brother of the name of Gaṇapati, who is poetically called here Gaṇādhīśa : and he had two sons Vāsudēva and Rajapati (vv. 10-11). We further learn that Vāsudēva, who is called here *mahābuddhi* (of great intellect),[3] installed the image of Gaṇapati in honour of his father who actually bore the name Gaṇapati.

The inscription is closed with the date which we have already discussed above.

All the kings mentioned in this record are well known with their precise relationship in the Chandēlla house, and there is nothing new about any of them here. The importance of the present record, however, lies in the fact that it reveals for the first time the name of Jagadvīra, the minister of Vīravarman, with his pedigree for the last seven generations, as we find in some other Chandēlla records also.[4]

TEXT[5]

[Metres: Verse 1 *Indravajrā ;* vv. 2-14 *Anushṭubh*].

1 सिद्धम्[6] । ओं नमो गणपतये नमः ।। यद्दंतदानसमये किल कंपमानं लम्वो(म्बो)दरं
2 ⌣ व ⌣[7] चिराज[म]धोपि नागान्मत्त्येंन[8] चाधि(?)विमुषां(खां)श्च कि[राधि]लोका-[9]
3 न्वैनायकं हसितमेव जगन्ति पा[तु] ।।१।। अभूल्लक्ष्मीधरो नाम गौडकु-
4 लस्य[10] भूषणं(णम्) । कीर्त्तिवर्म्मनरेंद्रस्य येन राज्यमलंकृतम् ।।२।। यशः-
5 पाले(ल)स्ततो जातो यस्य —[11]वर्त्तनिःश्रिया । श्रीसल्लक्षणवर्म्माख्यो निविश्टे(ष्टे?)

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[1] This name cannot be distinctly read in the impression.

[2] Verse 6, which is not complete, may have recorded the name of Madanavarman and his minister or an officer under him.

[3] What is really intended is 'of sharp intellect (*kuśāgra-buddhi*)'.

[4] For example, see No. 149, below.

[5] From an inked impression kindly supplied by the Chief Epigraphist and also from Pl. xiv-G in Cunningham's *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI.

[6] Expressed by a variant of the symbol.

[7] The first and the third of the letters in the line are lost in the impression and in the plate in *A. S. I. R.* and their consonants appear somewhat like *bh* and *dh*, respectively, but the whole word cannot be made out. It is also noteworthy that this foot of the verse contains one *akshara* more than necessary.

[8] Read नागान् । मर्त्येन.

[9] The reading of both the *aksharas* in the brackets is uncertain, but it appears that what was possibly intended is च करोति.

[10] The reading *kula* is certain, but better restore it to –वंश–, for the sake of metre.

[11] This letter is mutilated. In the plate in *A. S. I. R.* it appears as *ma*, but the sense is not clear. The following नि: may have been नै: also.

6 नाकनायकम्[1] ॥३॥ यस्यै(स्ये)न्दुश्रीधरे[2]भक्तिर्व(र्ब)भूव श्रीधरस्ततः । य[स्तेने]करवा-[3]
7 लेन विजयं जयवर्म्मणः ॥४॥ गो[कु]लो भूत्ततो[4] धर्म्मो जाग-
8 र्त्ति यस्य मानसे [।*] पृथिवीं पृथिवीवर्म्मा शु(शृ)त्वा य[न्मं]त्रमा ⏑ ‒ [5] ॥५॥ – –
9 विश्रुत – – नुरागी – ⏑ व(ब)भूवतां(ताम्) । भूशोभियद्याशोभिश्च भूवनत्रयमु-
10 ज्वलं(ज्ज्वलम्) ॥६॥ सत्यवीरदयासिंधुर्महीपालोभवत्ततः । फलं य — कु————————
11 सद्वंसं(शं) ? परमर्द्दिनः[6] ॥७॥ [श्री]माधवः सुतस्तस्य क ⏑ णो[7] कालपंजरः । ⏓ ⏓
12 निरंजितं येन वि[त्तं] त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मणः ॥८॥ व(ब)भूव जगति ख्यातो जगद्वीर-[8]
13 स्तदात्मजं । श्रीवीवरर्म्मभूपालराज्ये यो नायकौ मणि : ॥९॥ तस्यानु-
14 जोगणाधीशस्तत्कनिष्ठो ⏑ णाभिधः । नासत्याविव[9] ख्यातौ धन्यौ
15 ⏓ ⏓ ⏑[10] कारिणौ ॥१०॥ गणपतेः सुतौ ख्यातौ राघवलक्ष्मणाविव । वा-
16 सुदेवो महाबुद्धी राजपतिर्ग्गुणाकरः ॥११॥ मूर्त्ति वं[घ]तरा
17 मेतां समस्तपापनाशिनीं(नीम्) । गणपतिर्म[हा]बुद्धिर्ग्गणपतेरची-
18 करत् ॥१२॥ [दाणवियोस][11]युक्तस्य गणपतेस्सुकीर्त्तये ।
19 वाणीविनायकं नाम मूर्त्तेः पठन्तु पंडिताः ॥१३॥ सागरा-
20 नलवेदेन्दुयुक्ते संवत्सरे वरे । माघे मासि सिते पक्षे त्रयोद-
21 श्यां विधौ दिने ॥१४॥ संवत् १३३७[12]माघ सुदि १३ सोमे ॥

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[1] Perhaps something like नाकनायकनिर्विशेषः is intended, in the sense of 'was as prominent as Indra'. विजिग्ये (?)

[2] That is, he was devoted to both Vishṇu and Śiva. The letters are mutilated, and it is not known if –स्येन्दुशेखरे is intended.

[3] The verticals of *vā* are jointed by a stroke as of *dhā*.

[4] The reading of the bracketed letter is not certain; it may also have been डु or ड्ढु. From the lithograph in *A. S. I. R.*, the name appears to have been पाड्ल, but nothing is certain.

[5] Both these *aksharas* are obliterated and their consonants appear to have been *t* and *m*, respectively. A word meaning 'governed' may be expected here. With some hesitation Chakravarti read here the name Bhōja (?).

[6] Most of the letters of the latter half of this verse are either altogether lost or partly visible. One would expect here the name of Madanavarman and of either his minister or his subordinate.

[7] The traces indicate that these two *aksharas* may have been *draṇṇē*, but the complete word cannot be made out so as to give some sense. The last two *aksharas* in the line may have been *nityaṁ or sadā*, to fill in the gap.

[8] Chakravarti read this name as Jagaddhara; but besides the fact that it would not suit the metre, I find the sign of the *mātrā* (of long ī) very clear in the impression.

[9] That is, the two Aśvins (physicians of gods). It is unfortunate that the letters showing the names of the two brothers are broken here.

[10] Only traces of these three letters are left. A word like सुकृत which also suits the metre, may have been written and engraved here.

[11] The consonant of the first *akshara* in this line is *d*, as also read by Chakravarti, but it appears to be the engraver's mistake who left the middle portion of the vertical in the process of carving, of which we have a number of examples. *Dāṇī-* would also give no sense.

[12] The unit figure is mutilated but the reading is certain.

No. 148 ; PLATE CXXXV

KĀLAÑJAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF VĪRAVARMAN

(Fragmentary)

THIS inscription was first transcribed and translated into English by Lieut. F. Maisey, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. XVIII (1848), pp. 317 ff., and some thirty-five years subsequently, it was again noticed by General Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Vol. XXI* (1883-85), pp. 38-40. Neither of these writings is accompanied by a lithograph, and the record too has not been critically edited so far. At my request, the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India favoured me with a fresh impression of the inscription which showed that the record is highly weather-worn and several *aksharas* have become illegible or are completely lost owing to the flaking off of the surface of the stone, here and there, whereas some others, being damaged or obliterated, have become altogether illegible. Under the circumstances, I prefer to give below the transcript of it made by Maisey, together with my notes and occasionally taking help of the afore-mentioned impression.[1]

Maisey found the record inscribed on a soft sand-stone leaning to the left of a pillar, opposite the entrance of the cave in the fort of **Kālañjar** in the Narainī *tehsīl* of the Bāndā District of Uttar Pradesh.[2] It is at present kept in the sculpture shed in the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha which is near by, as reported by the technical assistant who prepared the fresh impression for my use. And it is possible that during the process of shifting it from place to place, the stone, which was already a fragment of an apparently very large inscription, has furthermore suffered. It contains 31 imperfect lines. The total height of the writing is 90.5 cms.; and the length of the lines is about 38 cms. in the beginning and the end, some of the lines in the middle being one or two cms. longer. An idea of the original length of the lines can be had from the writing which is now preserved; thus for example, the first line which now has 37 letters, appears to have lost the latter half of a verse in *Mālinī* (*i.e.,* 30 letters) and the whole of a verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, except 6 letters which begin the second line. And thus calculating the number of the letters which are lost, to be 30 of *Mālinī* plus 70 of the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita,* along with the signs for punctuations *etc.,* it can fairly be conjectured that the lost portion was only slightly less than the double of that which is now available. The inscription, moreover, appears to have lost some lines at the bottom also, of which no correct estimate can be made. The height of the individual letters is about 2 cms.[3]

The **script** in which the record is written is Nāgarī; and the **language** is Sanskrit. Except for a small sentence saluting Śiva, as usual, the extant portion of the record is all metrical. The last number of the verse is 72; some of the verses are totally and some others are partially lost. Nothing can definitely be said as to the **orthographical peculiarities,** as Maisey's transcript of it suffers from inaccuracies, as already stated above. In the extant portion there is no definite mention of what was intended to record; it appears, however, to have been the setting of some images as can be judged from the last lines of it. The **date** and the other features, for example, the names of the composer and the engraver, if at all recorded in the end, are also lost.

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[1] It may be noted here that Maisey's transcript is not only inaccurate but is occasionally wrong also. For example, in l. 19 he writes *pratyakshamudvīkshya* and joins the following *tē* with the next word, whereas *udvīkshyatē* is the verb used here; and again in l. 28 he does not take *sphuranti* separately, as it vividly appears. Nor does he mark the double-*daṇḍas* on either of the sides of the numbers of the verses, the existence of which can be seen in the impression. Moreover, somtimes he continues writing, without showing the breaks, what could be ligible to him in the later portion of the line. All these things have made confusions in his transcript. I have, however, made some minor amendments in the text below, *e.g.,* changing the place of a letter here and there, marking the double *daṇḍas,* as required, and putting question-marks wherever the sense is not clear.

[2] *J. A. S. B.,* Vol. XVIII, p. 193. For another record found by the side of it, see above, No. 140. For the description of the place, see above, No. 110.

[3] For all these observations the impression was very helpful. It also shows some later scribbling at the top and on the proper right side of the stone. This seems to have no connection with the present inscription.

In spite of the deficiencies, however, the record is important, as will be seen by noticing its contents. After paying the formal homage to Śiva, in a small sentence, the inscription adores Kṛishṇa, as can be judged from the description given in the first verse, and possibly pays homage to some other deities also in some of the following verses, as it can naturally be presumed. Coming to the historical portion, verse 12, a part of which is now preserved, appears to eulogise (the Chandēlla) **Yaśōvarman,** as indicated by the expression *sutō yaśaḥ*, his name along with that of his father, is lost; and his great-grandson **Vijayapāla** is mentioned in l. 7, without this relationship. The next line mentions **Vijayapāla's** son whose name is again lost but who, from the Ajayagaḍh inscription of **Vīravarman** using almost similar expressions,[1] is no other than Kīrtivarman. A portion of v. 19, which is now preserved in parts, states that this king "removed (repulsed) Karṇa in the form of an ocean", which is evidently a reference to his conquest of the Kalachuri Karṇa. The same Chandēlla prince is further eulogised as penetrating into a part of Mālava, which is of course, a new statement indicating his victory over the army of his contemporary who was the Paramāra king Udayāditya the details of which are not known.

Verse 10 of the record introduces (Kīrtivarman's) son **Jayavarman,** who was devoted to Nārāyaṇa, and, as stated in v. 25, being weary of the government, he made the throne over to a person whose name is lost in the earlier portion, giving us only the latter part of it as "varman". This successor of Jayavarman is well known to have been his younger brother Pṛithvīvarman, and the clear statement that he was entrusted with the government by Jayavarman solves the whole problem of succession here. Jayavarman is also stated to have proceeded to the Ganges in v. 25, which again, is fragmentarily preserved. Verses 29-33 describe Pṛithvīvarman's successor **Madanavarman,** who vanquished the lord of the Gurjaras, as Kṛishṇa vanquished Kaṁsa. This statement appears to have a reference to Madanavarman's success over the Chaulukya king Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (1109-1143 A.C.), who, after annexing the kingdom of Mālava, proceeded to invade Kālañjar, as recorded in the Gujarāt chronicles.

Verse 36 introduces Madanavarman's younger brother **Pratāpavarman,** who is not otherwise known. He looked after those "who were maimed, sick and distressed", and was also brave and liberal.

The names of **Paramardin** and his son **Trailōkyavarman** are again lost in the record, but fortunately, that of **Vīravarman,** the son and successor of the latter king, is completely preserved at the end of l. 22. The description of his bravery that follows is all figurative; but from v. 59 we learn that he constructed temples, planted gardens and excavated tanks and wells here and there. No definite places are shown in this description. The next verse informs us that he donated (to Brāhmaṇas) gold weighing against himself, and further we learn that he installed Nīlakaṇṭha (in the form of *liṅga*) and the images of Kamalā (Lakshmī) and Kālī in splendid temples. He also performed sacrifices.

The composition is a *praśasti,* as the word is used in l. 30: and just following it, we find the word *Vallakīvīra-nāma*. It is not known whether it was the name of the person who composed the record or the expression may be taken as applicable to Vīravarman himself, meaning that he was "expert in playing on lute".[3]

The extant portion of the inscription ends here, leaving us in the dark as to what it may have stated below.

Besides **Gurjara** and **Mālava** which are well known, the extant portion of the record does not mention any geographical name.

TEXT[3]

1 ओं नमः शिवाय। अनुसरति सरोषे पारिजाताय तस्मिन् सपदि किल यथार्था रोदसी संबभूव[4]।

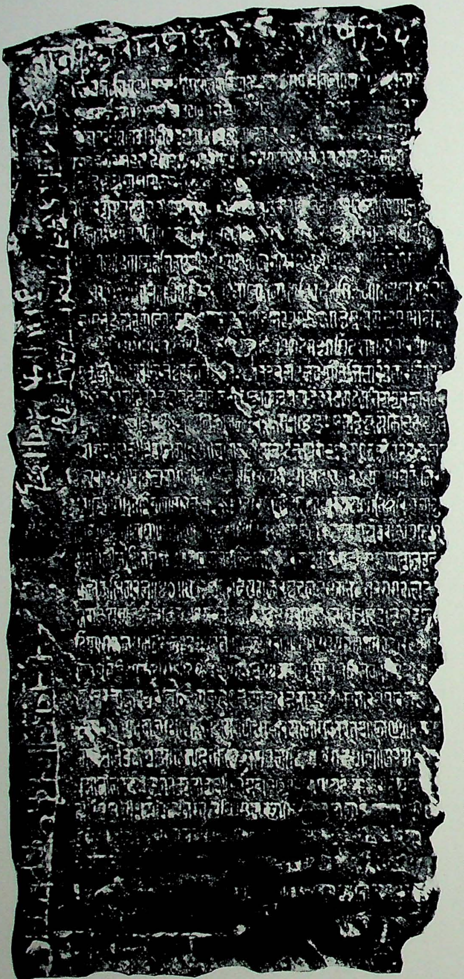
[1] No. 147.

[2] Cf. *Trividha-vīra* in case of Arjunavarman (*Paramāra*), in No. 47, v. 19, above.

[3] From Maisey's transcript in *J. B. A. S.,* Vol. XVII, pp. 317 ff. As already observed, the reading is fragmentary and also often incorrect, but I have no means to amend it.

[4] Metre: *Mālinī*, the latter half of which is lost. Here is a reference to the mythological story where Kṛishṇa wrested the divine tree from Indra. See *Vishṇupurāṇa*, Chs. 30-31; *Brahmapurāṇa*, Chs. 203 204, etc. The legend is the theme of a *mahākāvya* entitled *pārijātāharaṇa* by the poet Karṇapūra (Mithilā, 1956).

KĀLAÑJAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF VĪRAVARMAN (FRAGMENTARY)



From Photograph

2 कोऽपरः श्रोपरः[1] ॥१॥ भूयेऽस्मिन्वद विघ्नराजविजितं किं तम्भितं(?) नो पराम् द्येभूयतवन्धुमा निवर्वि । (?)
3 ·भुजान्तरेऽपि यश्चिकीड़ किं तन्नृणाम् ॥४॥ अव्याप्ताहितदृष्टिपृष्ठविलसंत्सारदक्षक्रिया यो
4 वियदतिप्रसिद्धमहिमा भूमीधरे भूसुरः ॥६॥ नारायणो वृत्तवतां विहाय मोदाकुलाताव[2](?)
5 क्तिर्द्वितीयस्य सुतो यशोगः भुवं भारात्मयशोभिरासीद्वेलाधरोदक्षगत-
6 राभिरन्ययमदन्तमनोकरेणुः ॥१२॥ तस्मिन्निन्दामनार्द्रस्थितिमनुवदति क्षोणिपाले[3]
7 जित् अजनि विजयपालस्तत्सुतो भूमिपालः शिततरतरवालध्वस्तराजन्यमालः[4]
8 सूनुः कुम्भोद्भवाभो नमितावनीभृत् यो दक्षिणाशाभरणीकृतात्मा कर्णार्णवं तूर्णमपा-
9 चकार[5] ॥१९॥ मालवाधिपकुरङ्गलोचनालोचनाम्बुनिवहेन सिक्तया मण्डपोन्नतशिर[6]-
10 स्य सूनुर्जयवर्म्मदेवः प्रणीतनारायणपादसेवः सश्रीकपर्व्वस्वधिगम्य पूर्णान्यिज्जाद[7](?)
11 वर्म्मणि निधाय भारं भुवः परिश्रान्तः अवगाहितुं प्रपेदे स नृपस्त्रिदशापगानीरम् ॥२५॥
12 मुक्तजीवास्ते परस्मिल्लक्ष्यमाप्नुवन्[8] ॥२८॥ तदनु मदनवर्म्मा भूमिभारं बभार द्विपग[9]-
13 गाढं मुखमभिवदनं प्राप्य दृष्टयुक्तनन्दीच्छन्दोपान्तेद्यपेदेंतरजय(?)मभिन्यस्य रक्तोभवन्यः[10]
14 मुनाजीयत गुर्ज्जरेशः क्षणेन कृष्णेन पुरेव कंसः[11] ॥३३॥ नेता दिग्जयकौतुकव्यसि[12]
15 शश्वत्खलु कीर्त्तिमालम्[13] ॥३५॥ भ्राता कनीयान् मदनस्य राज्ञः प्रतापवर्म्माभवदुत्प्रतापः
16 सङ्कुच्य क्वापि लीनं विकलमतिकृशं नष्टगर्व्वादविष्टं रुग्णं सन्तापयुक्तं निर[14]-
17 नां श्रोतुं स यावद्विगुणास्यचक्षुः। प्रभुर्लसद्वीरगुणो नरेपो(शो?)न्यस्य दातातिविरञ्चिनायु[15]
18 म्पिनीनयनयोस्तापं द्विषन्मानसे जाड्यं तद्विमुखामाजिषुकमलावराङ्गागृ (?)
19 संसर्गलीलायितम्[16] ॥४५॥ शूरोयं ननु किं कलानिधिरसौ प्रत्यक्षमुद्वीक्ष्य तेजातानन्दन
20 कलकस्तिगरल (?) ॥४७॥ सकलपदवाहेयुगजरथदलनसमवनसरसकल[17]
21 नगजं यस्य विश्वं विजेतुः समरविजयकीर्त्तिस्तम्भरूपोर्जुनोऽभून्निचि दुनिमह[18] (?)
22 दिष्ट्या सकलसुमनसां मानसं व्यानशे यः कामं वामः स सर्वम्वशमयमनयद्वीरवर्म्मा[19]
23 तापाघनेविटपकुटीसङ्कटे सन्निकृष्टं जैत्रे यात्रासु यस्मिंश्चलति नवलजिह्नम[20] (?)
24 क्षोम्बरं नानापत्ररथान्विताकुलकलव्याहारहूताध्वगं कौमारं स्वपुरांव्य[21]

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1 Metre: *śārdūlavikrīḍita*, of which only six letters are preserved, and the same of the next two verses which are partly preserved. The number of the verse to be read 2, as shown by the impression in which it is slightly wornout.

2 Metre of this and the next verse: *Upajāti*. The reading here is often incorrect and also offending against the metre.

3 Metre: *Sragdharā*.

4 Metre: *Mālinī*. Insert a *daṇḍa* after *jit* and at the end of the line.

5 Metre: *Indravajrā* or *Upajāti*. Insert a *daṇḍa* before *yō* in the preceding line.

6 Metre: *Rathōddhatā*. Insert a *daṇḍa* after *siktayā*, as also below, wherever necessary, which have not been separately pointed out.

7 Metre: *Upajāti*.

8 Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

9 Metre: *Mālinī*.

10 Metre: *Sragdharā*.

11 Metre: *Upēndravajrā* or *Upajāti*, which cannot be ascertained as the first half of the verse is lost.

12 Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

13 Metre of this and of the next verse: *Upajāti*.

14 Metre: *Sragdharā*.

15 Metre: *Upajāti*. Probably *yuḥ* is intended.

16 Metre of this and the next verse which is partly preserved: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*. Read *udvīkshatē* as one word. Errors of this type are often to be found in Maisey's transcript, for which see note in the edition of this inscription.

17 This line is full of errors but I have no means to show the correct reading.

18 Metre: *Mālinī*, the half of which is not marked, as in some other cases, as already noted.

19 Metre: *Sragdharā*.

20 Metre: *Sragdharā*. The first twelve letters in this line cannot be correctly construed and the last two offend against the metre. The transcript is obviously incorrect.

21 Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

25 हाप्रस्तुतादेवालयोद्यानतडागवापीः स कारयामास च तत्र तन्त्र[1] ॥५९॥ सोवो (?)
26 माधनुर्विदुपाश्रयोदमदितीव यः स्वर्णतुलावितीर्णा सहस्रशो मेरुम[2] -
27 यो नीलकण्ठं कमलां च कालीं न्यवीविशत्सद्मसु शोभनेषु यज्ञे श्रौत नयने (?)
28 सार्द्धं पृथुश्रीः यत्रैतानि स्फुरन्ति प्रसृमरपृथुल[3]
29 दुर्दाह न्मां श्रान्तापूर्व्वं तदनुपदमिलत्तारतम्यक्रमेण
30 षु स्वस्थाने यो नृपो...........शले (?) प्रशस्तिर्वल्लकीवीरनामसत्यमुदे-
31 प्रदा[4]...............................॥७२॥ भास्वतो ५[5] मुपाख्याति...........................

No. 149 : Plate CXXXVI

AJAYGAḌH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHŌJAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1345

THE stone which bears this inscription was discovered by General Steward and, according to James Prinsep, he presented it to the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. In the Catalogue of the Society Vol. XV, it is inserted as 'a stone slab from **Ajaygaḍh** in Bundelkhand with a Sanskrit inscription' or 'a stone bull from Kālañjar with a Sanskrit inscription'. For the first time the text of the inscription, with a specimen of the letters (7 ll. facing p. 881). and a translation, was published by Prinsep in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. VI (1837), pp. 881 ff., and Plate XLVIII, with specimen facsimile. Subsequently, a brief account of the record was given by General Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI (1883-84), p. 52, where it is mentioned that the inscribed stone existed (in his time) in the Indian Museum. The corresponding English date of it was calculated by Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I (1888), p. 332, *n.*; and D. R. Bhandarkar included it in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 620. The record was finally edited by H. L. Srivastava in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 98 ff., and a Plate.[6] It is edited here from an impression which was kindly supplied to me, at my request, by the authorities of the Indian Museum where the slab is now deposited. Later on, I also compared my reading from an impression kindly supplied by the Chief Epigraphist (No. B 245 of 62-63).

The inscription consists of 21 lines of writing, covering a space about 1·20 metres broad by 0·82 metres high. The letters are beautifully formed and carefully cut, the signs of *mātrās* being ornamentally treated. The average height of the letters ranges between 2·5 and 3 cms., except in the last line where they are smaller in size and are also partially preserved and more or less lost or damaged. Besides this, except for two and four *aksharas* respectively at the beginning of lines 18 and 19, which are totally lost due to the breaking off of the lower part of the right corner of the stone, and one or two others here and there, which are partially abraded or broken away, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation.

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[1] Metre: *Upajāti.*
[2] Metre: *Upajāti.* Here also Maisey's transcript is not accurate and there are metrical errors in it.
[3] Metre: as above. Insert a *daṇḍa* after *shu.*
[4] Metre of this and the next verse: *Sragdharā.*
[5] Though worn out, this is a letter and not the figure, as can be seen from the impression. Is it वृ ?
[6] The transcript of the inscription published by Prinsep is full of errors to be found almost in every line, and the opening sentence showing salutation to Vāsudēva is altogether omitted by him. H. L. Srivastava also invited attention to the statement of Prinsep's Assistant pt. Kamalakanta who remarked that "he was not responsible for the various defects of grammar, prosody and rhetorics occurring in the text since he read as he saw it and copied it so." All these mistakes were corrected by Shri. Srivastava in his transcript in the Vol. of the *Ep. Ind.* referred to above.

The **characters** are Nāgarī, resembling those of the other inscriptions from Ajaygaḍh or Kālañjar.[1] As regards the individual letters, attention may be drawn to the form of the initial *a* which somewhat resembles *sr*; see *avētya*, l. 16; to the vowel *i* which has assumed its modern Nāgarī form but with the loop and the tail detached from the main body, see *iti*, l. 6; to *kh* which begins with a loop, cf. *maukhya-*, l. 8; to the similarity between *ch* and *v*, either of which occasionally also resembles the left limb of *g*: see, *e.g.*, *bibhrat-* and *chakita*, both in l. 1; to *ṇṇ* which is marked by a single letter with a slanting bar across it; see *pūrṇṇa-*, l. 1; to *dh*, the left limb of which shows a cornered horn joined not to the lower limb but to the top of the vertical; *e.g.*, in *vadhū*, l. 3; to the palatal and the dental sibilants which are sometimes so formed as to show a combination of both these letters and thus cannot be easily distinguished; *e.g.*, *sa* in l. 18, and the first of which also shows two forms as in *śruta* and *prakāśa-*, both in l. 15. The letter *b* has a sign of its own, as in *bibhartu*, l. 1 and *babhāra*, l. 8, but it is often confounded with that of *v*, the loop of which is sometimes marked circular but more often rectangular.

The **language** is Sanskrit; and except for *Oṁ namō bhagavatē Vāsudēvāya* in the beginning, which is partly lost, the date in figures in ll. 19-20 and the names of the writer and the engraver at the end, the inscription is metrically composed. In all there are thirty-eight verses, which are all numbered.[2] The number of the last verse is wrongly entered as 24 for 38. The verses are composed in an artistic style and the poet is fully justified in comparing the composition to 'an invaluable fabric which he has woven by fibres of letters of manifold complexion and has highly decorated it (with *alaṁkāras*)'. But with all this, the inscription is not altogether free from literary foibles. Though written in a fluent style, it has some grammatical errors, *e.g.*, in the use of *vidadhan* for *vidadhat* in l. 2 (probably a scribe's mistake) and in *bhavanō* for *bhavanaṁ* in l. 6. To note some other points, the use of the word *jantu* (creature) for a person is not happy; the expression *kshālita-kāya-sundaraḥ* in v. 19 is inappropriate, for it is not the body but the mind that is purified by good deeds; and the long expression *munibhyō mudam=ādadhāti* in v. 29 is used only for the sake of alliteration. Verse 22 does not admit of a proper construction. But despite this, the poem is of a high order.

As regards **orthography**, (1) *b* in some cases is denoted by the sign for *v*, *e.g.*, in *vibhartu*, but not in *bibhrat*, both in l. 1; (2) when *r* is a superscript the following class-consonant is frequently doubled, as in *mārgga-*, l. 8 and *ruchir=mmurāriḥ*, l. 2, but not in *mūrtir=diti*, l. 1; (3) *s* is occasionally put for *ś*, *e.g.*, in *visuddha*, l. 10, and vice versa frequently, as in *nivāśa-*, l. 9. Besides these general points, the final *m* at the end of a verse or a stich is sometimes wrongly changed to an *anusvāra* though we find its correct use also; the *anusvāra* is wrongly replaced by *m* as in *samvat*, l. 19; the use of the dental nasal and *anusvāra* is seen side by side, as in *amaṁḍayanmaṇḍanam*, l. 14; medial dipthongs are more often expressed by the *ūrdhva-mātrās*; the sign of *avagraha* occurs only twice in ll. 12 and 17; and the *kāka-pāda* only once at the end of l. 5. Local element is responsible for writing *śēmukhī-* for *śēmushī-* in l. 8 and also in the forms of the names in l. 11; and finally, the sign for the medial *ā* is sometimes engraved closer to the following letter so as to appear its *prishṭha-mātrā*, *e.g.*, in *kamalē*, l. 10, which was read as *kamāla* by Prinsep himself.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king **Bhōjavarman** of the **Chandrātrēya (Chandēlla) Dynasty** (v. 25). The immediate **object** of it is to record that his minister Nāna constructed a temple of Hari, or Kēśava at Jayadurga, or the fort of Ajaygaḍh, for the increase of (his own) fame (vv. 33-34). But in reality the inscription furnishes an account of the clan known as that of the Vāstavya race of Kāyasthas to which Nāna belonged, and also that of his ancestors. The inscription was composed by the poet Amara;[3] and was written by *Paṇḍita* Suhaï, the son of the illustrious *Ṭhakura* Ayan, who was in charge of the fort at Jayapura (Ajaygaḍh)

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[1] For example, Nos. 145-148, above.

[2] The number of verses wrongly appears as 39 instead of 38 since a portion in prose showing the date in l. 20 is also numbered, as 38, and this number is continued. It is not known whether a name was given in verse 38 which is now lost. In fact, there is no sufficient space for it. But at the same time it appears curious that the father's name in v. 38 is lost (?).

[3] And not Amarapati as read by Cunningham in his *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 52. Similarly, *chitravarṇām* in v. 36 is an adjective of the composition (*vākpaṭīm*) and does not mean that it was written (on the stone) in ornamental letters, as Cunningham wrote and commented upon.

with its highway. It was engraved by Gōpala.[1] The record is **dated** at the end in ll. 19-20, first in word-numerals (v. 37) and then in figures in prose, as in **Vaiśākha** of the year measured by *kshaṇada, i.e.*, the moon (1), Śiva's eyes (3), *śruti, i.e.*, the Vēdas (4) and *bhūta, i.e.*, the elements (5). Thus the year is **1345** (Vikrama). It is here noteworthy that this method is contrary to the usual rule of reading the figures from right to left (*aṅkānāṁ vāmatō gatiḥ*). The *tithi*, the fortnight and the week-day, if at all given in it, are lost at the beginning of l. 20

After the customary obeisance to Vāsudēva, the inscription has as many as ten verses in praise of, respectively, Viśvamūrti (Vishṇu), Murāri, Hari and the incarnations of the deity in the forms of tortoise, Varāha, Nṛisiṁha, Vāmana, Paraśurāma and Rāma. It then mentions the great sage Kāśyapa, who was born of Brahmā (v. 11). Kāśyapa had two sons Kuśa and Sanābha (v. 12), the first of whom was residing at Kauśāmyapura (v. 13), perhaps the modern Kauśāmbī (?). He was the Chief minister of a king whose name is not mentioned (v. 13). He was a renowned kāyastha and his intellect was highly esteemed by learned persons (v. 14). His family was known as Śrīvāstava as it was an abode of wealth (v. 15). In that family was born Hārūka whose son Jālhaṇa was a resort of excellences and was like the preceptor of the gods in helping kings in their work of the world (administration) (vv. 16-17). His son was Gaṅgādhara, who possessed noble qualities and who was a devotee of Vishṇu (*Kamalāpati*) and was therefore called Kamalē, thus signifying his name (vv. 18-19).[2] From him was born Mālēka, who was of pure body and possessed all merits (v. 20). Mālēka had four sons named Padmasiṁha, Ratnasiṁha, Jagasiṁha (Jagatsiṁha) and Kumarasiṁha (Kumārasiṁha) (v. 21). Ratnasiṁha had three sons who were all self-controlled (v. 22). The eldest of them was Nāna, who was handsome in form, devoid of pride, clever, a resting-place of knowledge, and because of his exhaulted rank he attained honour and dignity in the royal assembly (v. 23). He was minister of Bhōjavarman who belonged to the royal house of the Chandrātrēyas *i.e.*, the Chandēllas (vv. 24-25), The next four verses are devoted to glorify Nāna in a conventional poetic way and to say that he bore his name significantly. His son was Pṛithvīdhara (v. 30). The following two verses inform us that Nāna constructed a temple at Jayadurga and installed in it the image of Hari. Verse 35 expresses the desire that the temple may stand so long as the mountains, the earth, the gods, the seas and the Sun and the moon endure; and the next two verses furnish, respectively, the name of the poet who composed the record, and the date.[3] The next verse (38) probably mentions a name which is lost. This man had two sons by his wife Champakā (v. 39). The names of these sons were Suma and Antar-nātha.[4] They were righteous. Then follows a passage in prose which probably mentions the names of the writer and the engraver, as seen above; and wishing blessings to the builder of the temple, the inscription ends.

The genealogy of Nāna as recorded in the inscription, is of little historical interest, but what is here noteworthy is that his ancestors were hereditary ministers under the Chandēlla kings. Some of them we know from the Ajaygaḍh inscription of the time of Kīrtivarman which mentions Jājūka and Mahēśvara of the Vāstavya family of the kāyasthas, and also from the Mahōbā inscrip-tion of V.S. 1240 which speaks of the great and illustrious Vāstavya family, in which was born Sūhila, whose son Jayapāla composed the *praśasti* and also constructed the temple where the stone bearing it was originally set up by Mādhava who too belonged to the same lineage.[5] The inscription that follows here mentions another family of the same clan, as we shall see on the proper occasion.

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[1] The line giving these names is partially broken and this is what could conjecturally be culled out from what remains.

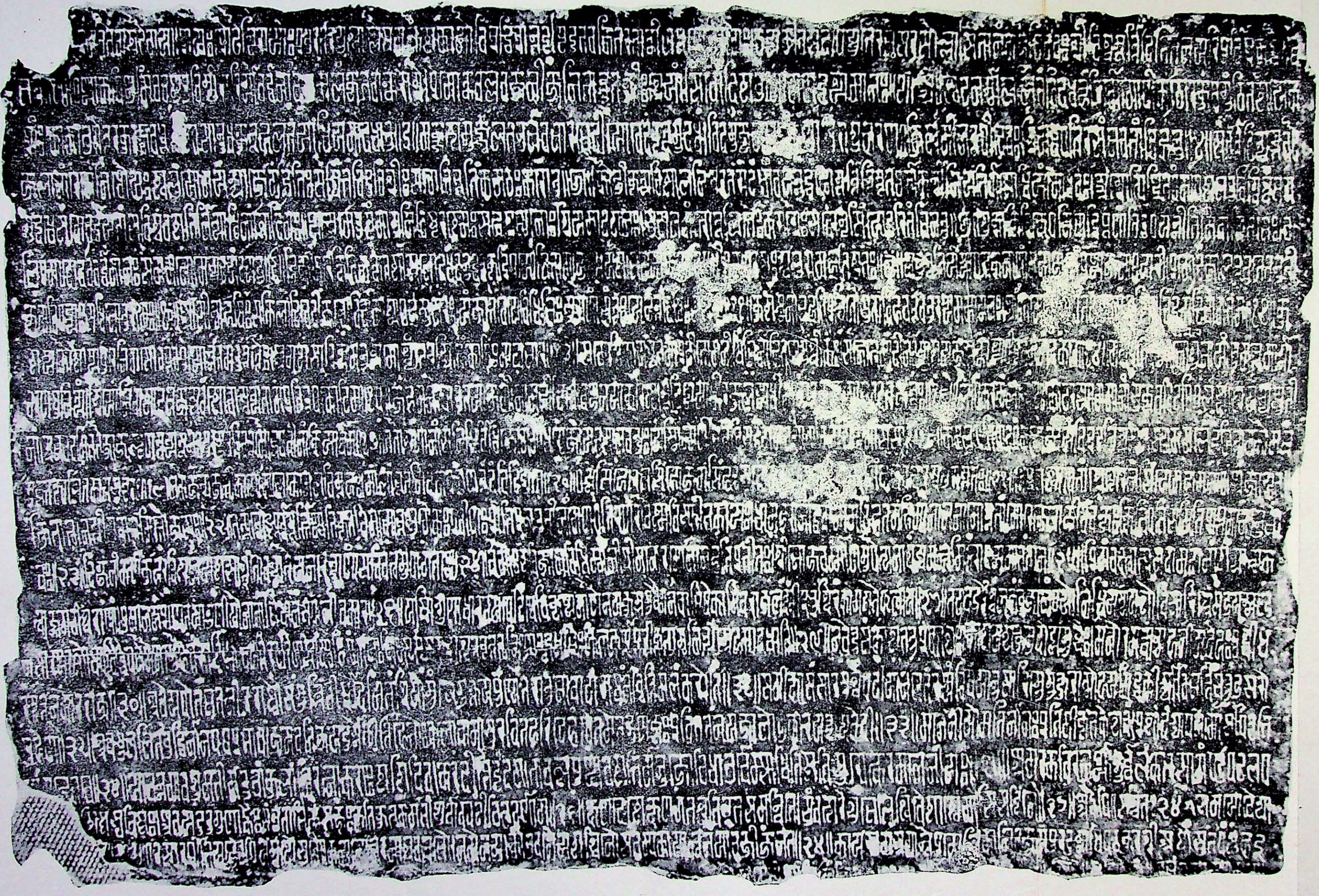
[2] From the construction it is not clear whether Hārūka himself was called Kamalē or he had a son of that name. I take the first of these alternatives more probable than the second, as taken by Shri Srivastava.

[3] As already stated above, this part is broken.

[4] Here the construction which is not clear precludes the possibility of knowing the two names clearly.

[5] Above, Nos. 112 and 136 respectively. Kielhorn and following him, Srivastava, drew attention to some other inscriptions mentioning the Vāstavya family. These records are: (1) the Mallār inscription of the Chēdi year 919 or 1167-68 A.C., (*Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 42, l. 27); (2) Seṭ-Maheṭ inscription of V.S. 1276 or 1219-20 A.C. (*Ind. Ant.*, XVI, p. 62); and (3) the Garwa inscription of V.S. 1199 (Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, XVII, p. 234). And to this list we may add the Ratanpur stone inscription of the Kalachuri year 1207, or 1149-50 A.C. (*C. I. I.*, IV, p. 483, No. 93). Also see the word *Vāstavya* in the Index in *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV.

AJAYGAḌH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHŌJAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1345



Scale : One-fourth

This is the first known record of the reign of Bhōjavarman of the Chandēlla house of kings, though his exact relationship with any of them is not mentioned in it. The latest known date of his predecessor Vīravarman is V.S. 1342, or 1284 A.C., and from this it is evident that Bhōjavarman succeeded Vīravarman sometime between these two years. It is not possible to know the exact relationship between the two rulers from this or from any other record known so far, though he appears to have been the son or a younger brother of Vīravarman.[1]

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Kauśāmyapura** (l. 8) cannot be identified for want of details, though the name suggests its identification with the modern Kauśāmbī or Kōsam, on the Yamunā, near Allahabad, as stated above. **Jayadurga** (l. 17), which is also mentioned as **Jayapuradurga** in l. 20, is evidently the fort of Ajayagadh, as seen so often.

TEXT[2]

[*Metres*: Verses 1 and 23 *Sragdharā*; vv. 2-4 and 35 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 5, 8, 13-16, 18, 25-28, 30, 31 and 32 *Upajāti*; v. 6 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 7, 10 and 29 *Upēndravajrā*; vv. 9 and 12 *Drutavilambita*; v. 11 *Indravajrā*; vv. 17, 33 and 36 *Mālinī* v. 19 *Viyōginī*; vv. 20-22, 24, 34 and 37 *Anushṭubh*; and v. 39 *Vaṁśasthavila*].

1 [ओं नमो][3] भगवते वाशु(सु)देवाय ॥ प्रायः प्रौढेन्दिरायाः प्रचुरतरसुरवाश्लेषमक्लेशकायो
वि(वि)भ्रद्विभ्रान्तदृष्टि द्रुतचकितरतोत्कीर्ण्णपूर्ण्णानुरागः । उद्य[च्छ्री]वत्सदीपद्युतिरभसरसोल्लासिता-
नंगहेतिर्देवः श्रीविश्वमूर्त्तिर्दितितनयरिपुर्विभ्रमंम्वो(मं वो)[4]वि-
2 भर्त्तु ॥१॥ पिण्याकपिण्डमिव चण्डरुचिर्म्मुरारिर्ग्गोवर्द्धनाच[ल]मलंकृतवान्कराग्रे[5] । प्रेमोत्कवल्लवजनी-
जनिताद्भुत[श्री]: श्रेयांसि वो दिशतु गोगणदृश्यमानः ॥२॥ आखेटनर्म्मललितं विदधन्ह(द्ध)रिर्वो
गोपीकठोरकुच(गुंकुं)ठितशा(सा)यक-
3 श्रीः । कामातुरोत्तरकुरङ्गवधू[विला][6]सान्ध[न्ध]न्कुतूहलतया धियमादधातु ॥३॥ मज्जत्समुज्ज्वलतनुर्भवभा-
रभेदी यो वेदवृन्दमुदधाविदमुज्जहार[7] । सं(शं)खासुराशु(सु)हरणः किल मीनरूपी देवः श्रियः[8]
पतिरसं(घं) भवतां विहन्तु ॥४॥ संवर्त्तविन्यस्ततटे
4 जलानां रेमे निधौ यः खलु यो[ग]युक्त्या । जगद्धृतिः संस्थितचिद्रुचिश्रीः स वो विभूतिं कमठः
करोतु ॥५॥ क्रोडीकृत्य विशालनिष्ठुरतरां दंष्ट्रां वहन्नुद्धहो मूर्त्तिम्वि(र्त्तिर्वि)स्तृतधर्म्मनियतिर्वाशो-
(सो)[9] धियां माधवः । औग्रा(ग्र्या)त्पिण्डितपंकपेशलरुचिम्वि(र्चि वि)श्वंभरा-
5 मुद्दधे सं(शं) वो वर्द्धयतां स विश्ववश(स)तिर्नित्याधिनाशोदि[त]ः[10] ॥६॥ सुमेरुश्रृंगाग्रनिविष्टरश्मेः
सहश्र(स्र)भानोः श्रियमादधानः । सुदा[नवां]तोत्तलितैः कराग्रैः स वो नृसिंहो दुरितं भिनत्तु ॥७॥
शुक्राक्षिविक्षेपमिषाद्रिपूणां विरूपयन्नीतिमिवामिताभः । व(ब)-[11]
6 लिप्रमादोद्धव[12]वर्द्धमानः स वामनो मे(वो?)म्युदयं ददातु ॥८॥ द्विजकरे क्षितिमक्षतशासनो
दधदनुद्धवक्रद्रिपुयोषिताम् । जययशोभवनो(नं) जयति प्रधीः स परशुः खलु राम इति श्रुतः
॥९॥ समुन्नतिर्यस्य पराक्रमाणां महाजने पुण्यजनोपहारी । प्रमोदजालन्तनुते तनुत्री-

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1 As already noted by N. P. Chakravarti, who also conjectured that Bhōjavarman reigned only during the minority of Hammīravarman. See *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1935-36, p. 92.

2 From an impression.

3 The letters in the brackets are totally lost and the next two letters are mutilated. Originally engraved तते, corrected later on to वते.

4 The consonant of the superscript of *rvi* is so formed as to resemble *sh*.

5 The *akshara* in the brackets has totally disappeared.

6 These two letters are lost, leaving only the verticals of the second.

7 Read उदधेरि—.

8 Originally श्रियं, later on corrected to श्रियः.

9 An attempt appears to have been made to correct the consonant of this letter to *s*.

10 By a wrong stroke this *akshara* appears as *gaḥ* or *vāḥ*.

11 There is a *kāka-pāda* sign at the end of this line.

12 probably उद्धुर–, meaning 'magnanimous', is intended.

7 कृतो विपद्भयः स धिनोतु रामः ॥१०॥ आसीन्महर्षिः स किलादिवेदी छन्दोविदां काश्यप इत्युदारः। यं जातवेदो विधिभिः सुराणां संतृप्तये हन्त विधिः सस[र्ज्ज] ॥११॥ कुशसुनाभ इति प्रथितौ सुताविह व(ब)भूवतुरस्य महात्मनः। अपि तमोहरणे तदनुत्तमं शशिरविद्वयमत्र[1] दिवोगतम् ॥१२॥ कु-

8 शस्य कौशाम्यपुरे निवासो व(ब)भूव पुण्योन्नतचारुमूर्त्तेः। अवाप्य साचिव्यमनु(मु)ष्य मौख्यं तत्र स्थितिं कोपि पुमान्व(न्ब)भार ॥१३॥ स कोपि कायस्थतया प्रतीतो मनीषिभिर्मानित[शे]-मुखी(षी)कः। सद्गोत्रमादीनवमाशयज्ञस्तत्काश्यपीभूतमलंचकार[2] ॥१४॥ गवां प्रपंचेषु[3] तनौ शुभायां सुमन्त्रमार्गा-

9 चरणेषु नित्यं(त्यम्)। श्रियो निवाशा(सा)दभजत्स वंशो वास्तव्यतामप्रतिरूपकोटिम्[4] ॥१५॥ जह्ने मनश्चारुतया जनीनां महीक्षितां दण्डनयांकुरैश्च। सुविद्यया धीरकुलस्य धीमान्हारूकनामाभवदत्र जन्तुः[5] ॥१६॥ लिपिकरकुलकोटेः कोटरस्यागमानां सुकृतविटपिमूलस्याश्रयस्य द्युती-

10 नां(नाम्)। अभवदमिततेजा जल्हणस्तस्य सूनुः सुरगुरुरिव भूमौ भूपतीनां क्रियार्थम् ॥१७॥ ततो गुणानां स निधिर्विधिज्ञो गंगाधरोजायत मानवे[न्द्रः][6]। यस्मिन्मणीभूतविसु(शु)द्धदेहे तमोगतिर्नाश्रयमाससाद ॥१८॥ कमलापतिपादपंकजे हृदयं वि(बि)भ्रदनिन्द्यमानसः। कमले इति नाम कोमलं

11 सुकृतक्षालितकायसुन्दरः ॥१९॥ ततोजन्यजनीकाशो मालेकोमलविग्रहः। मालाभूतामिदं यत्र गुणवृंदं विदिद्युते ॥२०॥ पद्मसिहो रत्नसिंहो जगसिंहः सुतोत्तमाः। जाता कुमरसिंहश्च चत्वारस्च(श्च) तुरास्ततः ॥२१॥ ते[षु][7] संख्यावतां श्रेष्टो(ष्ठो) रत्नसिंहो महामनाः। अजायंत ॥[8]

12 जितात्म(त्मा)नस्त्रीन्सुतानामतौजसः ॥२२॥ तत्पूर्व्वोडपूर्व्वमूर्त्तिः प्रतिकृतविमदोभूत्सुमैकः प्रवीणः प्रीतिप्रज्ञा-रुचीनां गणपतिरपरोवेश्म विस्फीतकायः। धाम ज्ञानोद्भवा(द्यमा ?)नामविहतमहिमा नाननामोन्नतांगो रेजे राजीवचक्षुः क्षितिपतिसमितिप्राप्तमानानुभा-

13 वः ॥२३॥ दिग्जनीकर्णकुहरविश्रान्तयशसान्तु ते। चन्द्रात्रेयनरेन्द्राणां सचिवत्वमुपागताः ॥२४॥ श्रीतयोः स विज्ञाननिधिर्मनीषी मनोरमो नान इति प्रतीतः। श्रीभोजवर्म्माणमुपेत्य नाथं स्वम[न्त्र]-मित्रोदयमाततान ॥२५॥ प्रियंवदत्वात्प्रमदामदानां[9] श(स)भ्यात्मक-

14 त्वाज्जगवी(ती)श्वराणां(णाम्)। पुमान[यं] प्राणतया गुणी यो नानाभिधानं सफलीचकार ॥२६॥ यस्मिन्गुणाधारतया प्रदिष्टे विकृष्यमाणे नयकुम्भमुच्चैः। नवाभिषेकामिव राजलक्ष्मीं प्रभुश्चिरं कामयते फलाय ॥२७॥ तदा व (ब)हुप्रेंखलकंवु(बु)जालं पयोनिधिं यस्य यशो विसारि। अमंडयन्मण्ड-

15 म(न)सारशोभाधिकेन [रू]पेण मानोनुहारि ॥२८॥ विहारिणी यस्य दिगंगनाभिः समं समृद्धा श्रुतवृत्तवृत्तिः। मरुद्वधूभिः किल कर्ण्णपूरीकृता मुनिभ्यो मुददादधाति ॥२९॥ नवेन्दुसंकाशतनु-प्रकाशः प्रकाशयं(यन्) सत्कुमुदो(दौ)घमुच्चैः। मनोरमत्वान्महनीयदेहः पृथ्वीध-

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1 This and the preceding *akshara* which were originally omitted were subsequently written in a smaller form below the line.

2 Above *mā*, there appears to have been the sign of *anusvāra*, which was engraved at first and scored off later on.

3 This *akshara* is engraved as *shṭha*.

4 What is intended here is *Śrīvāstavya* which would not suit the metre.

5 The use of this word is not befitting here. Recast as हारूकनामात्र पुमान्बभूव.

6 Srivastava read मानव(व)न्धु: but I agree with Prinsep in my reading. The matra on *va* is faintly visible and the last of these *aksharas*, thought misformed, looks more like *ndraḥ* than *ndhuḥ*. The reading also suits the metre.

7 This letter has left only traces and it was read by Srivastava as *shu*, following Prinsep, but *shāṁ* may also be equally possible.

8 The *daṇḍas* are redundant and the *visarga* on *ya* is doubtful. Read अजीजनत्. In the latter half of this verse the correction is made in view of the metre but grammatically it is wrong.

9 Perhaps जनानां is intended.

16 रस्तत्तनयो रराज ॥३०॥ अवेत्य पोतं भवनीररासौ(शौ) समुत्तितीर्षो(र्षु) र्दयितं श्रियोमु(मुम्) । स मुक्तये पुण्यतरानुभावादाराधनीं वृत्तिमलंकरोति ॥३१॥ समीक्ष्य संसारसुखं पटीयानापातरम्यं[1] विषयानुसारि ।[2] मुमुक्षुरात्मोदयमिद्धकीर्त्या वि(वि)भर्त्ति सत्तुंडसरो-

17 रुहेण ॥३२॥ अथसुललितवु(बु)द्धिर्नान एष प्रभावी जयवति जयदुर्गे कीर्त्तिहेतोः कलावान् । सुरचितहरिदेहं पै[त्र]मेतद्गुणज्ञः प्रविततनयजालोऽकारयत्कृत्यवेदी ॥३३॥ माननीयो मति(माननीय-मति)र्नानः प्रतिमीकृतकेशवं(वम्) । प्रशादं(प्रासादे) स्थापयामास पितृवि-

18 [श्राम]हेतवे[3] ॥३४॥ यावन्नगा वशु(सु)मती मरुतां कुलानि रत्नाकराः शशिदिवाकरदीप्तिवृंदम् । तावत्स पुष्यवसतिर्मनुजो विधातुर्वेम्शा(श्मा)धितिष्ठति सुरोत्करमाननीयः ॥३५॥ अमरकविरनर्घ्या-ङ्गुर्वलंकारसारां पटुपदलप-

19 [नीयामेष][4]शिष्ट स्थविष्ठः । अवयदुरुगुणङ्कैः संभृताभिज्ञसंज्ञः कृतिकुतुकमभीप्सुर्वा[क्प]टीं चित्रवर्णाम् ॥३६॥ क्षणदेशक्षणगतश्रुतिभूतसमन्विते । संव[त्स]रे[5]शुभेलेखि वैशाखे मासि सद्दिने ॥३७॥ अङ्केपि ॥ सम्व(संव)त् १३४५ समयो वैशा–

20 [ख. . . . .][6] ॥ [प]रस्परं प्रितियुजौ प्रियम्व(यंव)दौ [सुमेकनामान्त][7]रनाथवल्लभौ । नयेन युक्तौ भुवने यशस्विनौ स चम्पकायान्तनयावजीजनत् ॥२४(३८)॥ काय[स्थ]वास्तवान्वे(न्वये) प्रतोलि-कान्वितजयपुरदुर्गाधिपठकुरश्रीअयौसुतपंसुहड[8]–

21 . . . . [केन मितां [शूर्षि] लिखितः सकारश्रीगोपाल. . . . .][9] शुभं भवतु कारकस्य ।[।]

No. 150 : Plate CXXXVII

AJAYGADH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHŌJAVARMAN

(Undated)

THIS inscription was found by General Cunningham on a slab near the Ashṭa-Śakti image at the Tirhāwan Gate of the fort of **Ajaygaḍh** in the Pannā District of the Bundelkhand region of Madhya Pradesh.[10] It was brought to notice by him in the *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI (1883-1885), pp. 47, 53 and 88 and Plate xv, and was subsequently edited by Dr. F. Kielhorn, with translation but without a facsimile, in the *Epigraphia Indica*,

1 The *mātrā* of *nā* is mixed with the following one.

2 The *daṇḍa* is placed closer to the letter that follows it.

3 The lower parts of the bracketed *aksharas* are lost.

4 The letters in the brackets have peeled off and the reading of Srivastava is adopted here. While composing this verse the poet had in his mind the idea expressed in the *Naishadhīya-Charita*, I. 12, which compares Nala's fame to a cloth-piece woven by his (or his warriors') dexterity on the battle-field.

5 The horizontal stroke of this *akshara* is faintly visible.

6 Six or seven *aksharas*, which may have mentioned the *tithi*, the fortnight and the week day, are lost here.

7 The letters in the brackets are damaged and have been adopted here from Srivastava's transcript. But the meaning is not clear. Prinsep read सुतौ सुकर्म्मोत्त–.

8 The second *mātrā* on this *akshara* is partly abraded and it is not known if that too was scored off in the original. The syllable *paṁ that* follows is a contraction of *Paṁḍita*, *i.e.*, *Paṇḍit*; its use in a *samāsa* cannot be grammatically defended. Perhaps we have also to read the two names as Ashan and Suhaḍa, as they appear below in No. 193.

9 The whole portion which is in brackets is incised in smaller letters which are not very clear in the impression and here I have adopted Prinsep's readings as also done by Srivastava. The first seven *aksharas* are probably to be amended to — केन निम्मितां सूक्तिं

10 For the situation of this place and its description, see above, No. 112.

Vol. I (1888), pp. 330 ff. The record is edited here from a fresh and excellent impression which I owe to the kindness of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India.

The inscription consists of 16 lines of writing, and covers a space measuring 2·8 metres broad by 64 cms. high. The average height of the letters is about 2·5 cms, which, with the *mātrās* above, reaches up to 4 cms. The last of the lines, which is engraved close below the beginning of l. 15, in very small characters, is only about 30 cms. long and some of the letters in it are lost whereas some others are not clear in the impression, though, possibly, they can be read with certainty on the original stone.[1] Besides this, the penultimate line, which shows a peeling on the surface of the stone, has completely destroyed eight *aksharas* at the commencement and the four that follow them are visible only in their lower parts. Leaving off these breaks, however, the record is in a tolerably good state of preservation. The letters are beautifully formed and neatly engraved, but we also note a number of mistakes when the original engraving is altered and also that the sign of the *visarga* and of the vertical strokes are often omitted, as pointed out in the text, below.

The characters are Nāgarī. They closely resemble those of the immediately preceding inscription which too was discovered at the same place and was incised near about the same time. Thus they naturally share the same peculiarity in their formation, but to mention some other points, the *akshara ṅ* has developed its dot, *e.g.*, in *saṅgha*, l. 2 ; *p* is frequently confounded with *y* ; see *tulya* written as *tulpa* in l. 7, and *vice versa*, *satya* as *satpa* in l. 10 ; the slightly differing forms of *s* may be noted in *āsan*, *sarppa* and *śaśi-*, all in l. 1, *saha-* in l. 5, and *samara-* in l. 6 ; and lastly, *h* is often devoid of its left-hand stroke, as in *mōha-* and *kuhara-*, both in l. 4.

The **language** is Sanskrit ; and except for a short sentence showing adoration to Kēdāra (a form of Śiva), the whole record is in verse. In all there are thirty-two verses which are all numbered. The language is no doubt fluent, as also remarked by Kielhorn, but the composition is not of a very high order, as can be known from mistakes of grammar, prosody and rhetorics occurring therein. For example, *shaṭ-triṁśatiḥ* or *-taḥ* is used for *shaṭ-triṁśat* and *samadhigamya* for *adhigamya*, in ll. 1 and 2 respectively ; *yuktaḥ* for *niyuktaḥ* in l. 5 ; *niśipati* for *niśāpati* in l. 4, and *krīyatām* (or *kāryatām*) in l. 15, which cannot at all be grammatically defended. The expression *nalinī-gaṇatā* in v. 7 is less known and possibly wrong ; a redundant *cha* occurs in v. 28, *tu* in v. 10 ; *saṁ* is very often used ; and the word *sadā* has been put not less than ten times in vv. 6, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 24, 25, 27 and 29. Verses 4, 19 and 20 do not admit of a proper construction, as to be shown below while giving the text ; and lastly, redundant words are often put up merely to fill up the verses, *e.g.*, *kalpā* in v. 2, *āśu* in v. 7, *lōka* in v. 10 and *mōksha-kārī* in v. 11.

As regards **orthography**, we note (1) the use of the sign of *v* for that of *b* as in *vuddhi-* l. 14, though the latter has its own sign, *e.g.*, in *prababhūva* in l. 6 but not in *babhūva* in the same line ; (2) a confusion between the use of *ś* and *s*, *e.g.*, in *-praśūna-*, and *subha-*, both in l. 6 ; (3) a class-consonant under a superscript *r* is generally doubled, as in *kandarppa*, l. 1 ; and (4) the *pṛishṭha-mātrās* are mostly used. Besides these, the sign of the *jihvāmūlīya* and that of the *upadhmānīya* occurs each once in l. 2 ; the *avagraha* has been used only twice in ll. 6 and 7 where its form slightly differs from each other ; the influence of the local element is to be seen in the use of *sh* for *kh* in *-ākshyē*, l. 8 and *prakshāla*, l. 14 ; and in *vigaṇajya* in ll. 8 and 10. And lastly, *vāgmin* is spelt as *vāṅgmin* in l. 13 and *ujjvala* as *ujvala* in l. 9. The *kāka-pada* sign is occasionally used.

The proper **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple by Subhaṭa, the Superintendent of the treasury of the king **Bhōja,** or **Bhōjavarman** as it would appear from vv. 28-31, and that this shrine was dedicated to the god Kēdāra, as we also know from vv. 28-31 and from the introductory salutation and v. 1. But this main object is only very briefly stated in the inscription which gives a detailed account of the clan to which Subhaṭa belonged, *i.e.*, the Vāstavya race of the Kāyasthas some of the members of which held high position under the Chandēlla kings. The record is **not dated** and moreover, it is abruptly closed ; and it may rightly be presumed that the concluding portion thereof may have been continued on a separate stone which is not forthcoming. It may have contained the description of the temple, wishing

[1] I have, however, succeeded in deciphering most of these *aksharas* which Kielhorn found illegible in the impression supplied to him. See the last *f.n.* in the text below.

it to stand for ever, the date and the names of the poet and the engraver.[1] However, to judge from the characters and also from the fact that it was set up by a counsellor of the king Bhōjavarman of the Chandēlla Dynasty, the record may be assigned to the short period between 1286 and 1289 A.C. when this king was occupying the throne, and thus it belongs almost to the same time as of the one dealt with here, immediately before.

After the customary salutation to (the god) Kēdāra and a verse paying obeisance to the same deity, the inscription introduces the Kāyastha clan of the Vāstavyas which is here said to have originated from Vāstu[2] himself, who was residing at Ṭakkārikā, the foremost among the thirty-six towns, where dwelt the people of the writers' caste, and which, by the crowds of its residents, was made to resound with the chants of the Vēdas (vv. 2-4). One of the descendants of Vāstu was Jājūka, who was proficient in all the sciences and arts, and was endowed with the title of *Ṭhakkura*; and he was entrusted by the invincible king **Gaṇḍa** with the work of superintending all the affairs (of the State) and (for this service), to enjoy the village of Dugauḍā, granted to him by means of a copper-plate (v. 7). The record further informs us that one of Jājūka's descendants was Māhēśvara,[3] who assisted **Kirtivarman,** the crest-jewel of the princes, in the Yellow-Mountain districts, and in recognition of this service, he was appointed an officer to guard the *viśikhā* (high-road) of Kālañjara and also enjoyed the donation of the village Pipalāhikā (vv. 7-9). Māhēśvara spoken of here is evidently identical with his namesake who is mentioned, along with Jājūka, in the undated Ajaygaḍh inscription of the time of Kīrtivarman ; and the details about both these persons are all recorded in the same inscription, as seen above.[4]

The inscription proceeds to state that in course of time one Gaṅgādhara was born in that family ; he was a favourite counsellor of the king **Paramardin** who entrusted him with the high office of a chamberlain (v. 10). Gaṅgādhara's younger brother was Jauṇādhara, who took delight in deeds of war (v. 11). They had a younger brother named Mālādhara who too was a great hero (v. 12). In course of time was born in that family one Ālhū ; he was full of energy and was entrusted with the administration of (guarding) the streets (*pratōlī*). He lived happily in the fort (v. 13). Ālhū's son was Subhaṭa, whose son again was Vīdana, who was a store-house of knowledge ; he was entrusted by the king whose name is not mentioned, with the affairs of the realm (vv. 14-15). Vīdana's son was Vāśē, who possessed excellent qualities of influencing people, and the king **Trailōkyavarman** appointed him to the high office of guarding the fort with endowments of the village of Varbhavāri (vv. 16-17). This officer is described as having established Trailōkyavarman's kingdom by killing in a battle the irresistible Bhōjūka, who, seized with the frenzy of war, was rendering the kingdom into two (vv. 19-20). This Bhōjūka, as suggested by Kielhorn, may have been identical with the *Ṭhakkura* Bhōjūka, father of Abhayadēva of the Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of the time of Vīravarman, dated 1268 A.C.[5] But there is no definite evidence to prove this identity. However, the expression that "Bhōjūka was rendering the kingdom into two" goes to suggest that he was an internal enemy who had gained considerable importance at that time.

Vāsēka's younger brother was Ānanda, who was then an officer in charge of the fort of Ajaygaḍh (Jayadurga) and who had brought under control the Bhillas, the Śabaras and the Pulindas who were then residing there (vv. 21-22). He was a great warrior and a zealous devotee of Durgā ; and he is also said to have been liberal, righteous and skilled in the use of weapons (vv. 23-25). His sons were Gōpati, Mahi(hī)pāla and Subhaṭa. The last-named person is stated to have been virtuous, a leader of the eloquent and possessed praiseworthy character ; and was

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1 Here we may cite the instance of the Udaipur *Praśasti* (No. 24), the latter portion of which was engraved on a separate stone discovered later on.

2 The word *vāstu* means the site of a house or a building and here it probably denotes Viśvakarman, the architect of gods. Vāstavya originally means a resident, for which, cf. *purēṣya vāstavya-kuṭumbilāṁ yayuḥ, Śiśupālavadha,* I, 66.

3 The vowel of the first syllable being lengthened here evidently for metrical purposes. The name occurs as Mahēśvara, above, in No. 112, v. 7, and Jājūka in *ibid.*, v. 5.

4 Here the reading is *Kālañjarasya viśkhābhidhānaṁ* and in No. 112 *dvāravarādhikāraṁ* (v. 8). Evidently both these expressions mean the same thing, particularly in view of the fact that the main gate of the fort along with its adjoining streets had to be carefully watched by a strong guard, because of its strategic importance. Thus the word has to be taken as *viśikhā* and not *viśikha* as read by Kielhorn who was unable to explain it. However, *viśikha* appears to denote the commander of the fort.

5 Above, No. 146.

the chief Superintendent of the treasury and a counsellor of the illustrious king **Bhōjavarman** (vv. 26-29).

The next four verses are devoted to eulogise Subhaṭa, but the description is all conventional. Verse 31, which is now partially lost, states that 'considering the world to be a resort of three kinds of pain, and wealth to be as unsteady as the motion of a swing, and also that it is religious merit which alone accompanies a man when he enters another body, and that fickle is the life of man', he ordered a temple to be built.

The inscription is silent as to the place where the temple referred to here was built; but there is no doubt that it was Ajaygaḍh itself where the inscribed stone was discovered. That the temple was dedicated to Kēdāra is evident from the opening stanza and the verse following it, as we have already seen.

The next verse (32), where we naturally expect something more about the temple, leaves the purpose in hand and states that Subhaṭa had three sons, two of whom were Kīrtirāja and Kumāra, and the name of the third was Harirāja, as I see in the next line which is shorter and in smaller letters and which looks more like a continuation. This line cannot be completely deciphered, as stated above, and in what connection these three sons of Subhaṭa are mentioned is also not known. It is however possible that this portion, which may have said something more about the temple and may also have furnished the names of the poet and the scribe, was perhaps continued on another slab which is not forthcoming, as we have already remarked.

The Chandēlla kings mentioned in the present inscription without speaking about their mutual relationship, are Gaṇḍa, who is eulogised in v. 6, (his great grandson) Kīrtivarman in v. 9, (his seventh descendent) Paramardin in v. 10, (his son) Trailōkyavarman in v. 19, and lastly, (his grandson) Bhōjavarman in v. 29. The description, though written in an artistic style, is merely conventional and provides no historical information which is new, except in the case of the wise Vāsē or Vāsēka, who is stated to have killed in a battle the irresistible Bhōjūka, as seen above, and about his younger brother Ānanda who was the governor of the fort and subjugated the wild tribes (v. 22).

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present inscription, **Ṭakkārikā** the orginal home of the Vāstavya family of the kāyasthas (v. 2) cannot be definitely located as there are several places mentioned by this name, as seen already.[1] However, in view of its being in the neighbourhood of the place of the inscription, it may probably be the same as situated either in Bihār, near Gayā, or in the modern Uttar Pradesh.[2] **Jayadurga** (vv. 17 and 24) is evidently the fort of Ajaygaḍh in the Pannā District of Madhya Pradesh, where the stone was discovered, while **Kālañjara** (v. 11) has already been shown to be the place of that name in the Bāndā District of Uttar Pradesh. The village **Dagauḍā** (v. 7) is perhaps identical with Digaurā, as already remarked, and **Pita-śaila** is the same as the hills known as Pītadri or Pēṭ hills in the Ṭīkamgaḍh District of Madhya Pradesh.[3] The rest of the places, *viz.*, **Pipalāhikā** (v. 9) and **Varbhavarī** (v. 17) cannot be identified. The first of these names occurs also in No. 112 above, in its last verse, and the second is probably the same as Vaḍavārī, mentioned in No. 126, l. 8.

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[1] See above, No. 51 (p. 179).

[2] *Ibid.* It may also be noted that the Kaḷas-Budrukh grant of Bhillama III of the Yādava house mentions this place as situated in Madhyadēśa (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 121) which roughly corresponds to the modern Uttar Pradesh.

[3] See above, No. 112.

TEXT[1]

[Metres: Verses 1-11, 18 and 23 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 12-14, 16-17, 21-22, 24-27 and 29 *Upajāti*; v. 15 *Indravajrā*; vv. 19-20, 30 and 31 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 28 *Mālinī*; v. 32 *Anushṭubh*].

1 ओं[2] नमः केदाराय ॥ गङ्गातरङ्गतरलीकृतसर्प्पराजवे[ष्टा]य चारुशसि(शि)खण्डविभूषणाय । कन्दर्प्पदर्प्प-
शमनाय सुरार्च्चिताय केदाररूपवि[धृ]ताय[3]नमः शिवाय ॥१॥ षट्त्रिंशतिः[4] करणकर्म्मनिवासपूता
आसन्पुरः परमसौख्यगुणातिरिक्ताः । तन्मध्यगा विबुधलोकमता[5] वरिष्ठा टक्कारिका समजनि
स्पृहणीयकल्पा ॥२॥ स[र्व्वोपकार]करणै-
2 कनिधेः स्वकीयवंशस्य पात्रसुभगस्य द्विजाश्रयस्य । कल्पावसानसमयस्थितये पु[रीं][6] यां वास्तुः स्वयं
समधिगम्य समाससाद ॥३॥ तस्यां श्रुतेर्न्निनदसङ्कुनिनादितायां वास्तव्यवंश विनककरणास्त आसन् ।
आशाः समस्तभुवनानि यदीयकीर्त्त्या पूर्ण्णानि हंसधवलानि विशेषयन्त्या ॥४॥ विद्याश्चतुर्द्दश कलाः
सकलाः समीयु[7] पद्माभिरा-
3 ममिव वल्लभमायताक्ष्यः । यं गर्भसंस्थमविलम्बितमद्वितीयं दुःखं वियोगजमसंवृतमुद्वहन्त्यः ॥५॥ तद्वंशतः स
उदपादि नरेश्वरेण गण्डाह्वयेन युधि दुर्ज्जयतां गतेन । जाजूकसंज्ञ इति ठक्कुर[ध]र्म्मयुक्तः[8]
सर्व्वाधिकारकरणेषु सदा नियुक्तः ॥६॥ आराध्य[9]तं नृपतिमण्डलमण्डनैकं देवं गदाधरमिवाच्युतवा-
समाद्यम् ।
4 कायस्थवंशनलिनीगणतादिनेशो ग्रामं दुगौडमपि ताम्रकमासु(शु) लेभे ॥७॥ तत्सन्ततौ सकलवाङ्मय-
पारद(६)श्वा[10]भूभूषणं निशिपतेरिव कान्तिभर्त्ता । मोहान्धकारकुहरेषु निपातहर्त्ता माहेश्वरः
समभवत्सुकृताभिसर्त्ता ॥८॥ यः पीत[शै]लविषयेषु महीपतीनां चूडामणिं समनुसेव्य समार्ज्जयच्च ।
श्रीकीर्त्तिवर्म्मनृपतिं वि-
5 शिषाभिधानं कालञ्जरस्य पिपलाहिकया समेतम्[11] ॥९॥ तस्मिन्कुले महति सज्जनलोकजुष्टे गङ्गाधरः
समुदभूत्सचि[वो]भिरामः । नूनं विचार्य परमर्द्दिनरेश्वरेण युक्तः [कञ्चुसकि]तया[12]परया तु धीरः
॥१०॥ जौणाधरस्तदनुजः सहकर्म्मचारी सदा[13]रतः समरकर्म्मणि मोक्षकारी । तौ वीरमार्ग्गमनु
सृत्य गिरौ [गरिष्ठे]

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1 From an impression.

2 Denoted by a symbol.

3 The vowel-sign of the bracketed letter is indistinct and the expression has to be taken in the sense of *vidhṛita-Kēdāra-rūpaya*, as already remarked by Kielhorn who gives the parallel example of *dēha-baddha*.

4 This expression, which grammatically cannot be defended, is used for metrical exigencies, and *tiḥ* is not changed to *tēḥ* in the original, as supposed by Kielhorn. This appellation is better known by its modern name Chhattīsgaḍh which signifies (the region or country of) thirty-six forts but not cities, as Kielhorn also remarked. But though the word *gaḍh* primarily means a fort, in its secondary sense it may be taken to denote a town which was thus fortified. The word *karaṇa* that follows is used to denote the occupation of a Kāyastha. It also means a document, for which see *C. I. I.*, IV, p. 150, l. 35.

5 In many cases in the record the sign for *b* and *v*, though separate, are not distinguishable. Also see *tirōbabhūva* in v. 27, below.

6 The *anusvāra*, about which Kielhorn was doubtful, is clear in the impression before me, though indistinct in the Plate.

7 A *kāka-pada* sign is engraved here. The fourteen *vidyās* referred to here are the four *Vēdas*, the six Vēdāṅgas, the Mīmāṁsā Nyāya, Dharmaśāstra and the Purāṇas.

8 The word *dharma* has to be taken here to denote a title or a distinguishing feature.

9 Originally *ārādhya* and later on the sign of the *mātrā* put above the second letter. The word *tāmraka* is used here in the sense of *tāmra-paṭṭa*, a royal grant, authorising him to enjoy the village. Cf. *śāsana* in v. 6 of No. 112, above.

10 Originally वाङ्मय with the superfluous *ma* struck off later on. *Niśi-* is wrongly put here for *niśā-* which would not suit the metre, as also म lengthened in the fourth foot.

11 Originally samētām, with the *mātrā* of *tā* scored off later on.

12 Originally कुञ्चिकतया, which is later on corrected. This one and the preceding two errors have also been noted by Kielhorn. Also read *niyukta* in place of *yukta*.

13 The reading of *sa* is certain, but the metre requires this letter to be long, *e.g.*, *nityaṁ* which also gives the same sense.

6 कालञ्जरे युयुधतुर्व्विशिखाच्छलेन[1] ॥११॥ तथैव मालाधरनामधेयस्तस्य द्वितीयोऽजनि वीरमुख्यः । सुरैः सदा कल्पतरुप्रशू(सू)नैरभ्यर्च्चितो यः समरेषु रेमे ॥१२॥ क्रमेण तस्मिन्प्रबभूव धीर आल्हू प्रतोलीरुचिराधिकारः । येनावरुद्धे कलुषे वृषेण सदैव रेमे रभसेन दुर्ग्गे ॥१३॥ तस्यात्मजश्चापि व(ब)भूव रम्यः सु(शु)भान्वितः सो(शो)भन-

7 नामधेयः । चित्रैश्चरित्रैः ककुभां मुखानि यश्चित्रयामास सु(शु)चिर्गु[णौ]घैः ॥१४॥ विद्यानिधानं तनयश्च तस्य विद्याधरैस्तुल्प(ल्य)तनुर्बभूव । यस्मिन्नृपो वीदननामधेयौ[2]विन्यस्य राज्यं सुमना[:*] सदैव ॥१५॥ वशं[3]पुराभ्येति जनस्य चि[त्तं] । त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मक्षितिपस्य [चा]त्र । इतीव वाशेरचिताभि-धानो वभूव पुत्रोऽस्य गुणैरुदारः ॥१६॥ कार्यक्षमन्तं वि-

8 गणज्य(य्य) राज्या(जा) दुर्ग्गे जयाक्षे(ख्ये) विशिषाधिकारे । नियोज्य तस्मै व्यतरत्प्रसिद्धं ग्रामं सदा व[र्भ]वरीति नाम्ना ॥१७॥ तस्मिन्मनोरममयं सुरसद्म वापीं वास्तव्यवंशतिलकः सुजलां च रम्याम् विज्ञाय देहमचिरं चिरतां सिसृक्षुः प्राचीकरत्तदनुया(पा)धिकलेवरेण ॥१८॥ तत्रायं परिपन्थिपार्थिव-चमूकक्षेषु दावानलो द्वैराज्यं जन-[4]

9 यत्त(न्त)मप्रतिहतं कृत्वा कृतान्तातिथिम् । भोजूकं युधि युद्धदुर्म्मदनिधिं वासे(शे ?)कनामा सुधीर्भूयो येन महीशवंशतिलकस्त्रैलोक्यवर्मा कृतः[5] ॥१९॥ स्फीतं राज्यमकंटकं गुणिगणाक्रान्तातिसर्व्वास्पदं दानेनो-ज्व(ज्ज्व)लवद्विधाय विधिवत्सीमाः समस्ता अपि । तेनालम्भि(म्बि) महीधरे जयपुरे कैलासवासोपमे वासो वासववास-

10 दर्प्पदलनो रम्यप्रतोलीकृते[6] ॥२०॥ अस्यानुजः पुण्ययशा उ[दा]र आनन्दनामा प्रथितः पृथिव्याम् । सदैव लोकं मदयन्तमाराद्यं सत्प(त्य)नामानमुदाहरन्ति ॥२१॥ भियामभूमिं विगणज्य(य्य) चैनं दुर्ग्गाधिकारे नृपतिः प्रचक्रे ।[7] आज्ञाकरान्प[ल्लि]निवासिनोयं चकार [भि]ल्लान्नस(श)व(ब)रान्पुलिन्दान् ॥२२॥ तस्यात्मजोभवद-

11 षौ[8]रुचिराभिधानो विद्यासु तासु सकलासु सु(शु)चिः कलासु । यो लीलयैव विहरन्समराङ्गणेषु । तीव्रानरातिनिवहान्कुणितामनैषीत् ॥२३॥ दुर्ग्गे जयाख्ये प्रबलासुरौच्चर्व्विध्वंसनो[9]स्तोत्रपरंपराभिः[।*] दुर्ग्गां स्तुवन्नेष सदैव भक्त्या कृतांजलि[:] पुण्यतमासु(मु)पास्ते ॥२४॥ गुणैरुदारः सुकृतैकचारः पा-[10]

12 पापहारः सुजनैकसारः । शास्त्रादिविद्यानिपुणः प्रवोणः कलासु रेजे स सदा यशस्वी ॥२५॥ तस्यात्मजो गोपतिनामधेयो विद्यावदातो नृपतिप्रपूज्यः । श्रियां गिरां चाप्यविरोधवासो वंद्यः सतां साधुजनैक सेव्य[:*] ॥२६॥ तस्सानुजन्मा महिपालनामा सौंदर्यसौ(शौ)र्यप्रवरो रराज । यं वीक्ष्य[11]

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[1] Kielhorn doubtfully read *-kulēna* and stated that the construction is wrong. But the bracketed *akshara* appears to be *chha,* as was also guessed by him. The lower parts of both the consonants are joined, and thus it is not *ku.* The expression means *viśikhāyām* (on the highway) or *viśikhābhiḥ* (with arrows). For this use of *chhalēna* cf. *parikhā-valaya-chhalēna* and *parikhā-kapaṭa-* in the *Naishadhīya-Charita,* II, 95 and 79, respectively.

[2] Read *-nāmadhēyē.* The correction appears to have been made in the original, as also noted by Kielhorn.

[3] Originally *vā,* with the second vertical scored off by two horizontal strokes. The idea of connecting *vaśa* with the name *vāśē* is peculiar. *Atra* in this verse is also unnecessary.

[4] A *kāka-pada* symbol appears here and also at the end of the next line.

[5] The construction in this verse is faulty, as the verb which is used in the active voice in its first three quarters is suddenly changed to the passive in the fourth.

[6] As also noted by Kielhorn, the verse does not admit of a proper construction. Besides, the redundant use of words may be noted in the second quarter and in *Kailāsa-vāsōpamē,* which means only Kailāsa. Here *ati* is misplaced.

[7] Possibly *ā* is changed to *a* in the original, as also noted by Kielhorn.

[8] The consonant of this letter is deformed and a part of it is lost in a scratch on the stone. But it is definitely lingual and not dental as read by Kielhorn. Compare the form of this letter in *-aṅgaṇēshu* and *-anaishīt,* which is unlike that of *s* occurring in *tāsu sakalāsu kalāsu* in the same line. Ashau appears to be the name of his son.

[9] Read प्रवालासुरोच्चैर्व्विध्वंसिनी' *Rauchcha* is altered to *rōchchhai* and *sa* to *si* in the original, as also noted by Kielhorn.

[10] A *Kāka-pada* sign is engraved here.

[11] The sign as above. The name Mahīpāla is changed to Mahipāla in the first foot of this verse is probably for metrical exigency.

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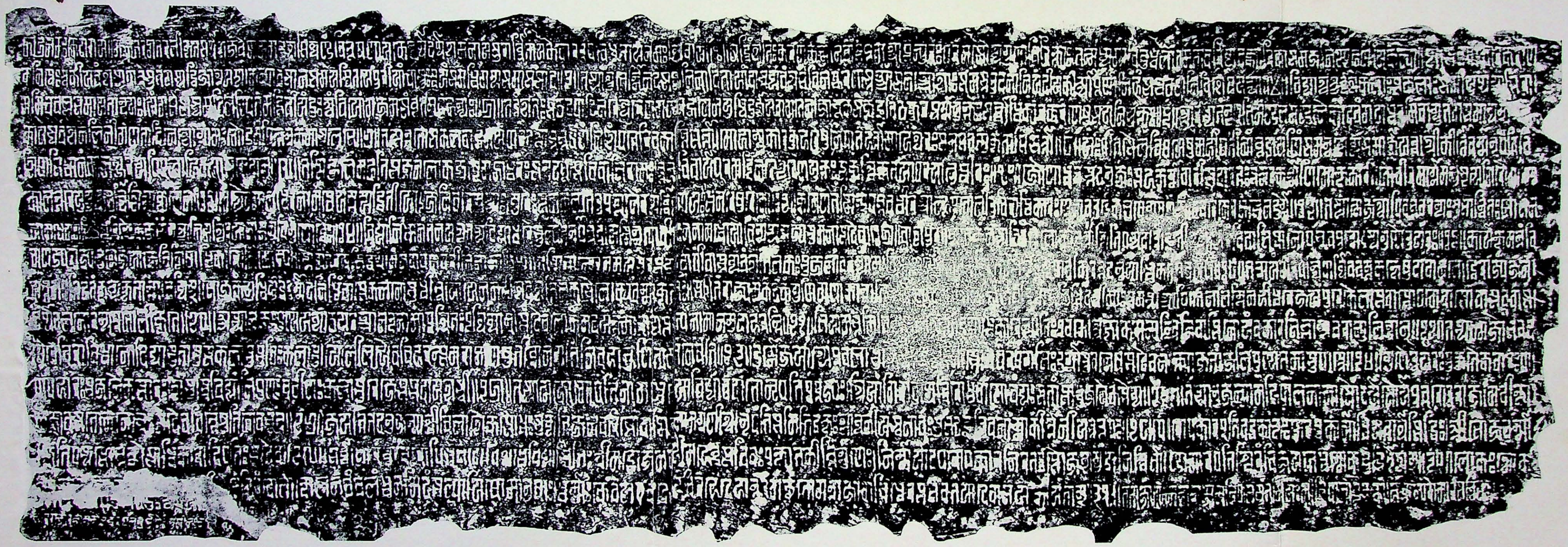
Madras-600 005

AJAYGAḌH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHŌJAVARMAN, (UNDATED)



From Facsimile

13 लज्जावस(न)तो मनोभूः सदैव चित्तेषु तिरोव(व) भूव ॥२७॥ जयति तदनुजन्मा श्रोविलाशे(से)क्सौघः
सुकृतिजनवरिष्ठो वाङ्गि(ग्मि)नामग्रणीश्च । नृपतिसमितिदक्षः श्लाघनीयस्वभावः सुभट इति च नाम्ना
कीर्त्तनीयस्वरूपः ॥२८॥ परोपकारप्रतिव(ब)द्धकांक्षः प्रारब्धकार्याधिगतार्थसिद्धिः । श्रीभोजवर्म्मा-[1]

14 क्षितिपस्य सोभूत्कोसा(शा)धिकारादि(धि)पतिः सदैव ॥२९॥ सर्व्वाभारघुरंधरोपि[2] सुभटो विश्वासविद्या-
स्थितिः श्रीमद्भोजमहीमहेन्द्रसचिवः प्रक्षा(ख्या)तकीर्त्तिर्ग्गुणैः । निर्म्मर्यादपरोपकारनिरतः सौजन्यमुद्रा-
निधिर्भाण्डागारपतिश्चिरं विजयते धर्म्मैकवु(बु)द्धिर्भृशम् ॥३०॥ लोकः शोक-

15 ⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑—[दुःखत्रयो] मंदिरं दोला[न्दो]लनचंचलं धनमिदं स्वल्पायि(यु)षो मानुषाः
धर्म्मः केवल एव[3]देहविरहे देहान्तरं गच्छतो गन्ता[त्या ?]गविधेरसंभवतया[4]देवालय[:] क्रीयताम्[5]
॥३१॥ततो जाता महाप्राज्ञा महिपालसुतास्त्रयः[।*]कीर्त्तिपालो वृहत्कीर्त्तिः कुमारो मारसन्निभः[6] ॥३२॥

16

No. 151 ; Plate CXXXVIII

CHARKHĀRĪ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF HAMMĪRAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1346

THIS is one of the four inscriptions edited for the first time by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX (1929-30), pp. 125 ff. The plates of all these records are known to have been found in the possession of the Ruling Chief of **Charkhārī,** an old State in Bundelkhand, which has later on integrated with the modern Uttar Pradesh and is now the chief town of a *parganā* in the Hamīrpur District in it. The provenance of the plates is unknown; but as we further learn, they were all received, through the Director-General of Archaeology in India, by Hirananda Sastrī, who was then the Government Epigraphist and who supplied their impressions to Hiralal for editing the inscriptions. But excepting the present one, none of the records edited by him is accompanied by a facsimile. The inscription on the present plate is edited here from an impression which was subsequently prepared and which I owe to the kindness of the Chief Epigraphist.[7]

The inscription is incised on one side only, of a **single copper-plate,** measuring 29 cms. broad and 21.5 cms. high. All round the plate there is a flat rim, about 1.2 cm. broad, fastened on very tightly by twenty rivets (five on each side).[8] The weight of the plate is recorded to be 48 *tolas, i.e.,* 559.86 grams. From the impression the plate does not appear to be well preserved. Its surface has been corroded here and there, resulting in the loss or damage of a few *aksharas* making their forms indistinct. The inscription consists of twenty lines of writing, the last of which is only 6 cms. long. In the middle of the first four lines is engraved the figure of the

[1] The *mātrā* of the letter is perhaps struck off in the original.
[2] The prefix *ā in ābhāra* is redundant.
[3] Either of these words would have denoted the intended sense and one of them is superfluous.
[4] The reading of the bracketed *akshara* is doubtful.
The impression shows that the first two of these *aksharas* may have been altered to *kārya* in the original. But *Kāryatām* is equally wrong as *krīyatām*.
[6] Here the inscription ends abruptly and the next line which is in smaller letters reads [ह]रिराजो रजो-- (जो)मुक्तोभवंरय(वन्नथ)लगर्गुणैः। [सु]सी(शी)लः क........
[7] It is his No. A-48 of 1956-57. The impression from which Hiralal edited the inscription must evidently have been taken some time before 1929-30 when his article appears in the Vol. of *Ep. Ind.* for that year.
[8] The rivets appear to be thick as can be judged from their marks on the impression, and the one in the middle of the top of the plate appears to have been lost probably making Hiralal conjecture the vacant place for a ring-hole.

four-armed goddess **Lakshmī,** seated on a lotus and holding lotus-flowers in both of her upper hands which are raised, and a water-pot on the palm of each of the remaining two.

The **characters** are Nāgarī, but, to judge from the impression, there are cases where the exact forms of the letters cannot be clearly made out. For example, besides the fact that *ch* is almost similar to *v*, the form of this letter is often confounded with that of *r*, as in *vīra-*, l. 2, that of *d* with *h*, as in *vadi,* l. 13, and that of the dental *s* with the palatal *ś*, as in *Viśvēsvara,* l. 1, and occasionally also with that of *t*, *e.g.*, in ll. 3 and 6 where the two letters appear as *tyādi,* as they may have been intended to be, but the same also appear as *sāhi* in l. 5. This sort of confusion here and there is also responsible for the fact that some of the letters cannot satisfactorily be deciphered in l. 14 and l. 15, as to be seen in the transcript.

Nor is the mechanical execution satisfactory. The interiors of most of the letters show marks of the working of the tool of the engraver, who has also deformed some of the *aksharas, e.g., bhrājishṇu* in l. 2 is engraved as *-pnu,* by omitting the slanting stroke which distinguishes *sh* from *p*, and *rāja* in l. 4 has become *saja* by a redundant stroke between the letter *r* and the vertical following it, *matpara-* in l. 4 is engraved as *masana,* and *sahasrā-* in l. 17, as *mahapā.* Occasionally the upper curve of the medial *i* is omitted, as also the sign of the *visarga,* as in ll. 11-12. The writer too is equally responsible for commissions and omissions; for example, he wrote *paryantān* as *prajantān* in l. 10, *Bhārdvāja* for *Bhāradvāja* in l. 13, and has made confusion between *r* as a superscript and a subscript, *e.g.*, by writing *tartta* for *tatra* in l. 2 and *svagra* for *svarga* in ll. 17 and 19, by omitting some words from the draft, as in l. 12, by putting unnecessary punctuation marks as in ll. 3-7, and occasionally marking the same as to appear signs of *pṛishṭha-mātrās* or of the secondary *ā*. Mistakes of the writer who possessed only a smattering of Sanskrit, and also of the engraver who appears to have been a novice, are to be noted throughout the record, as pointed out in the notes to the text.

The **language** is Sanskrit, full of errors as stated above; and with the exception of the first verse which generally occurs at the beginning of the Chandēlla grants and four customary and benedictory verses at the end, the record is in prose. The first verse is not numbered and the last four are numbered from one to four. With respect to **orthography,** we note (1) the use of the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in many places, and *vice versa,* occasionally, *e.g.*, in *subha-,* l. 13 and *śakala* (for *sakala*), l. 8; (2) the doubling of a class-consonant, *e.g.*, in *karmma-,* l. 19; (3) denoting *b* throughout by the sign for *v*, *e.g.*, in *brāhmaṇa-,* l. 9; (4) showing the medial dipthongs by the *pṛishṭha-mātrā* here and there; (5) the use of the dental nasal for the lingual in *punya-,* l. 19, and *vice versa* in *saṁkalpēṇa,* l. 15, and writing *ujjvala-* with a single *j* in l. 1, *kṛimi* as *krami* in l. 18; (6) not marking the consonant *t* in *saṁvat,* l. 13, but on the other hand, wrongly marking it in *anudhyāta* in ll. 4-6. And lastly, it is interesting to note that the *visarga* after *bhi* in *rājabhiḥ,* l. 16 and *pitṛibhiḥ,* l. 18 is changed to *s* before the same letter.

It is a royal charter issued by the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Hammīravarmmadēva** of the **Chandēlla** house; and its **object** is to record the donation of the village Kōkaḍa or Kīkaḍa (?) in the Vēdēsaitha (nya?) *vishaya.* The donees were two Brāhmaṇas, who appeared to have been brothers, *viz.,* the *Paṇḍita* Śrīdhara and the *Paṇḍita* Ābhē of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra,* and the sons of Sahila, grandsons of the *Ṭhakkūra* S(Ś)ubharāja and great-grandsons of the *Ṭhakkura* Vidyādhara.[1] The grant was made on **Sunday, the twelfth** *tithi* of the **dark fort-night of Bhādrapada of the (Vikrama) year 1346,** when the *nakshatra* was Pushya. The *tithi* and the year are expressed in numerical symbols only, and the day has been calculated by Hiralal to regularly correspond to **Sunday, the 11th September, 1289 A.C.**[2] The charter was written by the Paṇḍita Raum (Rāma) pāla. It does not contain the sculptor's name.

After an auspicious symbol followed by the verse eulogising the Chandrātrēya (Chandēlla) dynasty of kings, the document mentions the names of **JayaŚakti** and **VijayaŚakti** who were the earliest rulers belonging to it. This portion has been copied *verbatim* from the earlier records of the house. The document then proceeds to trace the pedigree of the ruling king, Hammī-

[1] The text here is corrupt and for the precise relationship of these persons, see *f.n.* to the transcript.

[2] Hiralal has also noted that the twelfth *tithi* commenced on Sunday at .98 but the *nakshatra Pushya* ended on that day at .23. Thus, his calculation, which is for the *amānta* Bhādrapada, presents a difficulty. And hence I prefer to accept the calculation of Chakravarti, according to whom the corresponding date would be the 14th August, 1289, following the month as *pūrṇimānta* and showing all the details correctly.

ravarman, the first person named here being **Paramardin,** who was succeeded by **Trailōkyavarman,** he by **Vīravarman,** and he again by Hammīravarman. The names of the three predecessors of Hammīravarman are known to us from the Charkhārī grant of Vīravarman, of V.S. 1311;[1] but curiously enough, we note here the omission of the name of Bhōjavarman who was the immediate predecessor of Hammīravarman, as we know from the two inscriptions from Ajaygaḍh, one of which bears the date V.S. 1345 or 1288 A.C.[2] and was incised only a year prior to the present record. And the only reason that can be inferred for this deliberate omission, as it would appear, is that Bhōjavarman may have been either an elder brother of Hammīravarman,[3] and thus being a collateral, his name was omitted, or he was a rival, the definite relationship being unknown from any other record discovered so far.

Attention may also be drawn to the titles attached here to all the names of the predecessors of Hammīravarman and to those attached to his own name. Each one of his predecessors is called the most worshipful (*parama-bhaṭṭāraka*), the supreme king of *Mahārājas* and the supreme lord. The two *aksharas* following the last of the titles were read as *sāhi* by Hiralal, who remarked that "the title *Sāhi* against the names of all these kings indicates the growing Muhammadan influence".[4] But in the text below I have pointed out that the reading in all these cases appears more likely to be *-tyadi, i.e., ityadi,* the vowel *i* being changed to the medial *ē* along with the previous *a* and attached to the previous letter, by *guṇa-sandhi.* No Indian ruler who is proud of his own heritage and his hereditary titles would of his own accord like to attach a Mohammedan title to himself or to his predecessors' names. I am also unable to agree with Hiralal in his observation that in his own case Hammīravarman 'has left the grandilosque title of the *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara,* which he duly attached to his predecessors; and inferring therefrom 'that he was fully conscious of his reduced position';[5] since the expression *rāj-āvalī-tray-ōpēta* in l. 7 would point to the same, *i.e.*, the two great titles stated to have been left by Hammīravarman in his own case.

This is the only known grant of Hammīravarman, the last known ruler of the Chandēlla house, and issued in the same year V.S. 1346 which is also the known year of his predecessor Bhōjavarman,[6] indicating that Hammīravarman's accession took place in the same year. This ruler also seems to have retained his hold over the fort of Kālañjara when this grant was issued.[7] This hold continued for about twenty years, *i.e.* up to 1309 A.C. when we find the neighbouring region under the sway of the Mohammedans, as we are informed by a Satī record found in the Damōh District and mentioning the name of (the Sultān) Alauddin as the reigning king.[8]

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the inscription, **Kālañjara** (l. 7) is evidently the same as the modern fort of the name occurring in the several grants of the Chandēllas, as we have often seen. The other places I am unable to identify.

TEXT[9]

[Metre: Verses 1-5 *Anushṭubh*].

1 ओं[10] सिद्धिः ॥ जयत्याल्हा(ह्ला)दयन्विश्वं विश्वेस्व(श्व)रशिरोधृतः[11][।*] चें(चं)द्रात्रेयनरेंद्राणां वंशस्वं(श्चं)द्र-

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[1] Above No. 144.

[2] Above, Nos. 149-150.

[3] As presumed by Hiralal, which may be plausible but there is no definite evidence to confirm his presumption. In this connection, also see our remarks above, on p. *n.*, that Bhōjavarman was possibly a younger brother of Vīravarman, and thus also his name may have been omitted in this grant.

[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 134.

Ibid. Hiralal also guessed that the Hamīrpur District in which Mahōbā, the civil capital of the Chandēllas, is included, derived its name from this ruler. This appears plausible; and in view of it we may also hold that the Chandēlla kingdom at that time was bounded on the north by the Yamunā in the region where the Bētwā meets it and where Hamīrpur is situated.

[6] Above, No. 149.

[7] As known from the title.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, p. 11, *f. n.*

[9] From an impression.

[10] Expressed by a variant of the symbol.

[11] Here, as also in several cases below, it is difficult to distinguish between the signs of *s* and *ś*.

2 इवोज्वल(ज्ज्वलः) । [।१॥*] तर्त्रे(त्र) प्रवर्द्धमाने विरोधिविजयभ्राजिप्नु(ष्णु)जयशक्तिविजयस(श)क्त्यादिरो-
(वी)रावे(वि)-

3 भ्रा(र्भा)वभास्वरः(रे) । [1]परमभट्टारे(र)[कम]हाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रपर[म]माहेस्व(श्व)रे[त्यादि][2]

4 महाराज[श्री]मसन(मत्पर)मर्द्दि[दे]व[पा]दानुध्यात्(त) । परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधि[रा]जपर-

5 मेस्य(श्व)रपरममाहेस(श्व)रे[त्यादि] (म)हाराजसी(श्री)मत्त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मदेवपादानुध्यात ॥ परम[भ]ट्टारक[म]
हारा-

6 जाधिराजपरतेस्व(मेश्व)र परममाहेस्त्ररे(श्वरे)[त्यादि]महाराजश्रीमद्वीरवर्म्मद(दे)वपादानुध्यात्(त) ॥ परम-
भट्टार-

7 के[त्यादि]राजाप(व)लीत्रभो(यो)पेतकाल(लं)जरा[धिप]तिमहाराजश्रीमह(द्ध)मीरवर्म्म[देवो] विजय(यी) । स-
एख(ष)[3] रु(दु)र्व्विषह-

8 तरप्रतापता[पि]तश(स)कलरि[पु]कुल[:*] कुलवधूमिव वसुन्धरां निराकुलां [प]रिपालयन(न्न)विकल-
विवेकनि[4]-

9 र्स(र्म्म)लीहृ(कृ)तमतिसा(र)स्माभिः[5] ॥ वेदेसैथ(न्य ?)विषयान्त[:*]पातिः(ति)क्रोकड[6]ग्रामगतान्ब्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणा-
[न*]न्यांश्च [7]मान(मान्यान्) कुटुंवि(बि)-

10 कायस्थनापितमहरने(मे)दधीवरचां[डाल]प्रजन्ता[8]न्संवो(बो)धयति समाज्ञापयति च । व(अ)स्तु वः संविदितं
यथा(थो)-

11 परिलिखितोयं ग्रामः सजलस्थल[:*] सस्थाय(व)रजंगममः[9] ससीरा(स्वसीमा)वछिन्न(च्छिन्नः) साऊध
र्द्धवभूतभविष्य[द्*] वर्त्तमा-

12 नानि(ननिः)[शेषादायसहितः*] र(प्र)ति[षि]द्धचाटादिक[प्रवेशः*] लोणागरपसेणरधभूरुहनिधिनिषेप(लव-
णाकरपाषाणवनभूरुहनिधिनिक्षेप[सहितः*][10]स[वा(बा)]हयाभ्यन्त(रः) अपरै[रपि] व[स्तु]भि[:]* ।

13 संवत(त्) १३४६ समये ॥ भार(द्र)पद प(व) दि १२ रवौ । पुष्यनक्षत्रे ॥ भार्द्वा(रद्वा)जगोत्रा[य]
ठ ।[11] सु(शु)भराजप्रपौत्राय ठ । वि[द्या-

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[1] The punctuation sign, as some other below, is superfluous. The two letters that follow are distorted.

[2] The two bracketed *aksharas*, which also occur below in ll. 5 and 6, were taken by Hiralal as *sāhi*, but to me they appear to be as in the transcript. In each case, as we note, the immediately preceding letter has the sign of the medial *ē* before it, showing that it is a change of the vowel *i* of the complete word *ity-ādi*. Besides this we have also to note that the engraving in this plate was done in a slipshod manner, for the sign of *d*, see *Vēdē-*, l. 9, *-dēvō-*, l. 7, and *vadi*, l. 13, where it is formed as almost resembling *h*.

[3] The *akshara* has a redundant curve attached to its vertical, and the inner slanting stroke of *sh* is cut as a loop making the *akshara* appear as *kh*. The following *du* is also misformed.

[4] A redundant sign of *anusvāra* above the letter *vē* was at first cut and may have been subsequently struck off in the original.

[5] This is as suggested by Hiralal, but he has not explained how the third case would be construed with *matiḥ* that precedes. Read —मति: । ग्रस्मद्भि: The reading of the last letter of the name that follows is uncertain, since it can also be read as *nya*.

[6] The first *akshara* of the name is indistinct and it was written after scratching off another which was engraved originally. Its reading by Hiralal is adopted here; in fact the space shows that not one but two *aksharas* were engraved here.

[7] Read ग्रामोपगतान्, as already suggested by Hiralal.

[8] Read पर्यन्तान्, It may also be noted that *nāpita* and *dhīvara* are newly added here and *dūta* and *vaidya* occurring in the preceding inscriptions are dropped.

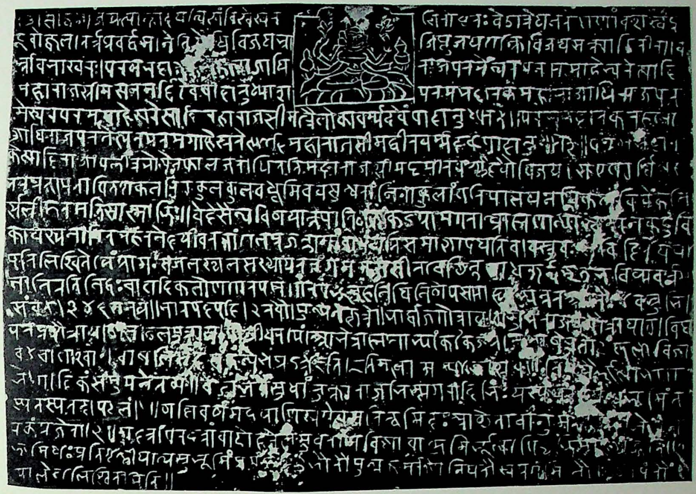
[9] The *akshara ma* is inadvertently repeated here.

[10] These corrections and additions are as suggested by Hiralal; but the word *sahitaḥ* should be taken at the end of l. 12. No *sandhi* is made in this portion; and the punctuation marks, as already stated above, are all redundant.

[11] This is an abbreviation of *Ṭhakkura*.

PLATE CXXXVIII

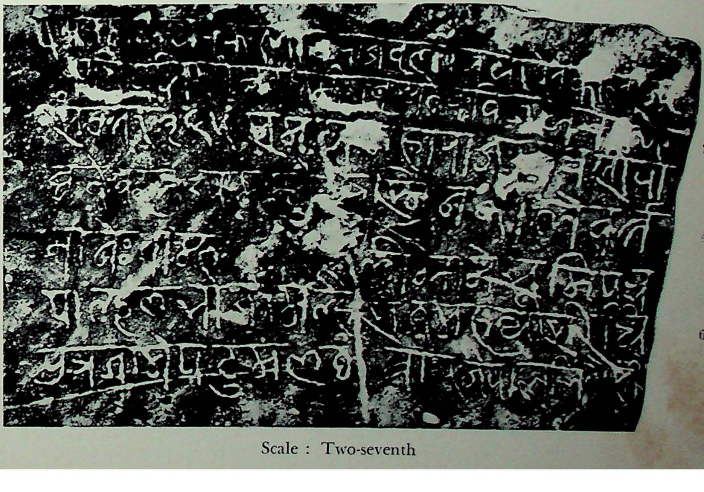
CHARKHĀRĪ COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF HAMMĪRAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1346



Scale : Three-fifth

PLATE CXXXIX

BAMHNI SATĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF HAMMIRAVARMAN, VIKRĀMA 1365



Scale : Two-seventh

14 ध]र प्रपोत्रात[1]। ठ। सहि(?)लपुत्राय। पं। श्रीधर। पं। आमे[2]त्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाभ्यां को (or की ?) कडग्रामो............[3]विजा-

15 वडत्राताश्वांगवाषलिसह[4]संकल्पेण(न) प्रदत्त [इ]ति। इति[5] मत्वा मन्य(भवद्भि)राज्ञाश्रवणविधेयै-र्भूत्वा भाग-

16 भोगादिकं समुपनेतव्यं(व्यम्)। व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधां(धा) भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिं(मिस्)त-

17 स्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥१(२)॥ षष्टि(ष्टिं) वर्षसहपा(सहस्रा)णि स्वग्रे(र्गे) वसति भूमिदः [।*] आछेता (च्छेत्ता) [च]ानुमन्ता च ताने(न्ये)व[6]न-

18 रकं व्रजेत् ॥२(३)॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्व(त व)सु(सुं)धरां(राम्) [।*]। म(स) विष्ठावा(यां) क्र(कृ)मिर्भूत्वा पितृभिस्सह मज्जति ॥३(४)[॥*][7]

19 भूमिं षः(यः) प्रतिगृ[ह्णी]यात्यस्तु(प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च) भूमिं प्रय[च्छति[8]।] उभौ तौ 'पुन्य(ण्य)कर्म्माणौ नियतौ स्वग्र(र्ग)गामिनौ ॥४(५)।[।*] पं रौं-[9]

20 पाले[न] लिखितमिति ॥

No, 152 ; Plate CXXXIX

BAMHNĪ SATĪ STONE INSCRIPTION

[Vikrama] Year 1365

THIS inscription was first brought to notice in 1923-24, by Rai Bahadur Hiralal in his edition of the Mahōbā grant of the Chandēlla king Paramardin, which was published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVI, pp. 9 ff. He published a rough transcript of the text of the record in a foot-note on p. 10 of it, and subsequently, also noticed its contents, in brief, in his *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar.*[10] The record is edited here for the first time from inked impressions kindly supplied to me, at my request, by the Superintending Archaeologist, Central Circle, Bhopal, who got them prepared recently by his technical assistant.

The inscription is incised on a slab discovered in the village **Bamhnī** situated about 35 kms. north-northwest of Haṭṭā, the headquarters of a *tehsīl* in the Damōh District of Madhya Pradesh.[11]

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[1] Hiralal is perhaps right in proposing the omission of the prefix *pra*. The text is corrupt here. The name that follows was read by him as *Saṭhēla*, but the second letter thereof looks more as resembling *hi*, the upper curve of the *mātrā* being not marked as in many other cases.

[2] Hiralal suggests the addition of *ubhābhyāṁ* here and it may be adopted.

[3] Seven *aksharas* are illegible here. Hiralal read the last three as तोऽस्मत्तौ(स्माभिः), but the traces show them to be मंत्रपूतैरस्माभिः.

[4] The reading is only tentative. The second, fourth, sixth and eighth *aksharas* of this line cannot be clearly made out and possibly some villages marking the boundaries are mentioned here.

[5] The repetition of *iti* is unnecessary here. The vowel *i* is shown here by two horizontal strokes.

[6] As to be read from the traces left.

[7] The vertical strokes are probably hidden below the strap fastened to the end of the plate.

[8] Both the bracketed letters are highly corroded.

[9] One *akshara* appears to have been at first engraved at the end of the line and then scratched off. Consequently the writer's name is not completely known.

[10] *Second edn.*, p. 57. It is also stated here that the inscription is also noticed or referred to in the *Proceedings* of the 4th Oriental Conference held at Allahabad, Vol. I; but I was unable to find this reference in this Vol. Similarly, I failed to find the record edited in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 30, as stated by Dr. S. K. Mitra in his *Early Rulers of Khajurāhō* (1958), p. 239, No. 64.

[11] Shri L. P. Jain, Tehsildar at Haṭṭā, informs me that the village Bamhnī is about 10 kms. by country track, either from Sāgonī or from Ghaṭērā, both stations on the Bīnā-Katnī line of the Central Railway. It is interesting to note here that the place is about 15 kms. south of Dābī and almost double the distance due east of Sēmrā, the find-place of the other two Chandēlla grants.

It consists of seven lines, covering a space 54 cms. broad by 33 cms. high, and has suffered considerably from exposure to weather and also due to human frivolities. Two *aksharas* in l. 3 and one in the next line, which were read by Hiralal when he prepared his transcript, as stated above, have now totally disappeared, and two or three in l.5 have been either wholly or partly damaged. The letters are sparsely written and their size ranges between 3 and 3.5 cms.

The **characters** are Nāgarī. They are not well formed; but except the three letters which are now lost, as stated above, they are legible throughout. The only palaeographical peculiarities are that the letter *ṇ* resembles *l* without the vertical stroke, *e.g.*, see *Paṭumaṇa-* and *Jaipāla-*, both in l.7, and *r* is denoted by a vertical bar with a horizontal stroke attached either to its middle on the left, as in *bhaṭṭāraka-*, or with a slanting stroke at its top, as in *Mahārāja*, both in l.3.

The **language** is corrupt Sanskrit; and the record is all in prose. The **orthography** does not call for any special remark except that the consonants *m* and *t* are doubled after *r* in *-varmma-* and *-varttamāna-*, respectively in ll. 2 and 4, and that *j* is used for *y* in *bhārjā* in l. 6. Some local words are put in the last line.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Hammīravarmadēva** who is described with his imperial title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* (Lord paramount) and is also mentioned as a lord of Kālañjara, which indicates that he was no doubt the **Chandēlla** king bearing this name. It is a *Satī* record, dated in the year **1365** (in numerical figures only), without further particulars; and taking the year to be Chaitrādi expired, of the Vikrama era, the corresponding Christian year would be **1308 A.C.**

The **purport** of the record is that in the overlordship of Hammīravarmadēva when the *Mahārājaputra* Vāghadēva was enjoying the village V(B)rāhmaṇī, *Bhūmiputra* (?) Pālhaṇa's wife Malhai immolated herself on his funeral pyre, and in memory of her (or due to devotion to her), the stone was erected by her son Jāmē (?). The inscription was written by *Paṁ, i.e. Paṇḍita.* Jaipāla.

The way in which Vāghadēva is mentioned in this inscription denotes his feudatory rank and it is obvious that he owed allegiance to the Chandēlla king Hammīravarman who is styled here as an imperial lord. This is also known from an inscription discovered at Hinḍoriā, mentioning him as a feudatory of Bhōjavarman, who was Hammīravarman's predecessor on the Chandēlla throne.[1] The name of this local ruler figures in as many as three stone inscriptions, one found at Pāṭan, about 80 kms. south-east of Damōh and dated V.S. 1361 (1303 A.C.), another discovered at Salaiyā, about 5 kms. south of Bamhnī and dated V.S. 1362 (1304 A.C.), and the third at Siṅgorgaḍh, about 48 kms. south-east of Damoh, dated V.S. 1366 (1308 A.C.); and that he was a Pratīhāra chief is known, as has been drawn attention to by Hiralal, from the tradition recorded by General Cunningham to the effect that the Pratīhāra kings ruled at Siṅgōrgaḍh itself,[2] with portions of the Damōh and Jabalpur Districts under their sway. The hold of the Chandēllas in this region, however, appears to have ended soon; for we find that the neighbouring country went under the Muslim rule, as we are informed by a record of V.S. 1366 (1308 A.C.) discovered at a deserted village Arṇaiyā Khēḍā in the same region and stating that it was under Alāvadīna,[3] *i.e.*, Alā-ud-dīn (Khiljī), who was then extending his sway in all the surrounding region.

The importance of the present record lies in furnishing the information that Hammīravarman, whose earliest date is supplied to be V.S. 1346, or 1289 A.C. by his preceding grant,[4] continued to occupy the Chandēlla throne at least up to 1309 A.C. and also, as we know from the Salaiyā inscription, that some time about this year portions of the Damōh-Jabalpur region, which were included in the Chandēlla kingdom at the time of his predecessor Bhōjavarman, slipped out of his hands because of the penetration of the Muslim power in this region.[5]

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[1] *I. C. P. B.* (*second edn.*), p. 56.

[2] *Ibid.* All these have been referred to by Hiralal in his article in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 9 ff., which is mentioned above.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Above*, No. 151.

[5] As also known from an inscription of Jallāl Khōjā, who was then in charge of the country now comprised in the Damōh District and dated V.S. 1385 (1328 A.C.), found at Batiāgaḍh, about 35 kms. north-west of Damōh and in the same region as Bamhnī. See *I. C. P. B.*, p. 58.

The only **geographical name** mentioned in the inscription is that of **V(B)râhmaṇi-grâma,** in l. 5, which is, evidently the village Bamhnī where the record was found.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम्[2][।*] परमभट[3](ट्ट)ारकेणा[धि][4]राजावलीत्रयोपेतकाली[ञ्ज][5]-
2 [6][रा]धिपतिश्रीमदहंमीरवर्म्मदेवविजयराज्ये[7]
3 संवत् १३६५ समये [म]हाराजपुत्रस्री(श्री)वा-[8]
4 घदेवभुज्यमाने अस्मिन(न्) काले वर्त्त-
5 मानेः(ने) व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणीग्रामे [भू]मिपुत्र-[9]
6 पाल्हणभार्ज(य)ा मल्है [सं]तमह[थु]सीधि-[10]
7 पुत्रजामे पटुमण[क्क्व]त्राः[11] पं[*]जेपालिल[तो]स्ति[12] [॥*]

No. 153 ; Plate CXXXX

AJAYAGAḌH SATĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF HAMMĪRAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1368

THIS inscription was discovered by R. B. Hiralal in his visit to the fort of **Ajayagaḍh in** the Pannā District of the Vindhya region of Madhya Pradesh. He also transcribed the record in a foot-note to his edition of the Charkhārī copper-plate grant of Hammīravarman, published in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XX, pp. 125 ff. The exact spot where he found the inscription is not mentioned ; nor is it now possible to know it so as to prepare an impression of the record. It is therefore edited here from Hiralal's transcript referred to above.

The record consists of four lines of writing. The last line consists of only four *aksharas.* The dimensions of the writing and the palaeographical and orthographical peculiarities are not recorded.

The inscription refers itself to the *Mahārāja,* the illustrious **Hammīravarmadēva,** but it does not mention any of his predecessors or even the royal family to which he belonged. The provenance of the record, however, shows that it undoubtedly belongs to the time of the **Chandēlla** ruler bearing this name.

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1 From impressions.
2 Denoted by a variant of the symbol.
3 Hiralal read *bhē ;* but what he took to be the sign of the medial *ē* may have been an original fault of the stone.
4 Hiralal read this and the preceding *aksharas* as given here, but while editing the Charkhārī grant of Hammīravarman he stated that the correct reading of these letters is *sāhi (Ep. Ind.,* Vol. XX, p. 134, *n.* 4). The bracketed *akshara* is now totally lost, leaving only a trace ; but from the sign of the medial *ā* attached to its preceding *akshara,* what appears to have been incised is *adhi.*
5 Hiralal read this *akshara* as *jya.* Read कालिञ्जरा–.
6 The vertical is joined to the letter by a horizontal stroke as in the case of *dhā.*
7 Read श्रीमद्धंमीर–.
8 This *akshara* in rectangular brackets has now disappeared.
9 The reading of the bracketed *akshara* is not certain. It appears somewhat like *sū* also. I am unable to explain the meaning of *bhūmi-putra* which signifies the planet Mars. Here it may have been a title, or the first two *aksharas* may have constituted a name. It may also be observed that the consonant of the bracketed *akshara* may have been a *s* as well.
10 The reading of the consonant of the first *akshara* is doubtful. It may have been a *p* as well.
11 The portion from *saṁtama-* in the preceding line up to here is unintelligible to me. It may perhaps denote some names ending with *putrāḥ,* as the reading of *kva* is uncertain.
12 Read लिखितमस्ति. The bracketed *akshara* is damaged.

The inscription is dated on the **sixth day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa, on Wednesday, of the (Vikrama) year 1368.** Calculating the details of the date, we find that its Christian equivalents are:

For the Chaitrādi Vikrama *current* = 1st August, 1310 A.C.; Saturday.
„ „ „ „ expired = 22nd July, 1311 A.C.; Thursday.
„ „ Kārttikādi „ „ = 10th July, 1312 A.C.; Monday.

None of these equivalents shows the week-day to be a Wednesday, as given in the record; however, taking the second of them, we find that the sixth *tithi* actually commenced on 17 moments of the day (4 h. 5 m.) after mean sunrise when the fifth *tithi* ended; and according to this calculation, the date of the record would correspond to **21st July, 1311 A.C.,** which may really have been intended.

Citing some evidences we have noted in the preceding inscription that the reign of Hammīravarman terminated either in the latter half of 1308 or the earlier half of 1309 A.C. The present inscription, however, which is dated at least a year and a few months later, evidently shows that though Alā-ud-dīn annexed the region round about Damōh in 1309 A.C., Hammīravarman continued to hold under his sway the fort of Ajayagaḍh at least up to July 1311 A.C., the date of the present inscription.

TEXT[1]

1 संवत(त्) १३६८ समये श्रावणसुदि ६ बुधे
2 सती बालसुभट्ट मेने[2] सा सुभै श्रीमहा-
3 राजश्रीहमीरवर्म्मदेवराज्ये[3] सुभौ[4] मंग-
4 लं करोति[5]

No. 154; Plate CXXXXI

ḌUBKUṆḌ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIKRAMASIṀHA

[Vikrama] Year 1145

THIS inscription was discovered by Captain W. R. Melville who was in charge of Gwālior Survey, in 1866, at **Ḍubkuṇḍ,** also known as Dubkuṇḍ, in the Shivpurī District of Madhya Pradesh. He sent two copies of the record to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, but the inscription was not published probably because both the copies were too imperfect for editing it. A brief and somewhat imperfect notice of it appeared subsequently in the *Journal* of the same Society, Volume XXV, p. 168; it was made by General Cunningham's draftsman, Babu Jwala Prasad, who accompanied Melville in his visit to Ḍubkuṇḍ. An account of the record, together with a small photolithograph from one of Cunningham's rubbings, appeared in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XX, (1882-83), p. 99 (with pl.), and *Preface*, p. 5. And in 1894 the inscription was edited by F. Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II (1894), pp. 232 ff., from one of Cunningham's rubbings, apparently the same from which the photolithograph published by the latter scholar was prepared.[6] The inscription is edited here from the original

[1] From Hiralal's transcript in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 134, *n.* 2.
[2] This appears to be the name of the woman and the preceding one, of her husband.
[3] Note the subordinate title given to Hammīravarman, though it is not a sure sign that he was reduced to subordination. We have also to bear in mind that it is after all a private record.
[4] Probably to read शुभं
[5] Supply a *daṇḍa* here.
[6] This article of Kielhorn is not illustrated.

stone which is now preserved in the Central Museum, Gwalior,[1] and two impressions, one of which was supplied to me by the Curator of the Museum and the other by the Superintending Archaeologist at Bhopal.[2]

The place, where the inscribed stone was found, lies in a dense forest and is situated about 70 kms. west-northwest of Shivpurī, on the top of a table-land, 122 kms. due south-west of Gwālior, the actual distance by road being about 160 kms. It is on the left bank of Kunu, a tributary of the Chambal. The inscription was seen by Cunningham's draftsman, on one of the pilasters in the south cloister of an old temple standing in the midst of an enclosure surrounded by the remains of several small temples.[3]

The total height of the pilaster is 112 cms., and it is 47·7 cms. broad. The inscription contains 61 lines of writing which covers a space 42·5 cms. broad by 100 cms. high. It is in a state of fair preservation, with the exception of a few *aksharas* in the first two lines where parts of the surface of the stone have peeled off. Some of the *aksharas* are here and there damaged, but they can be made out from the context, with the exception of two at the commencement of l. 7 and one in l. 15. Nothing of historical interest, however, is lost. The size of the letters is between 1·1 and 2·5 cms.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the eleventh century A.C. Attention may be drawn to the formation of some of the letters. The initial *a* is written in two different ways; cf. *e.g.*, *adhyāsya*, l. 9 and *ajani*, l. 21; in a singular instance in *dyuti-*, l. 16, the medial short *u* appears in the middle in right as attached to *r* in *guru* in ll. 40 and 45: the medial long *ū* is indicated by a curve attached to the middle of the vertical on the left and turned downwards as to appear as a subscript *t*: see *pūga*, l. 7; the rare initial *ṛi* occurs in *Ṛishabha-*, l. 2, and the initial *ē* resembles a triangle with its vertical point below, as in *ēva-*, l. 21. Of the consonants, *k*, when the first member of a conjunct and when the *mātrā* of *ṛi* is attached to it, loses its loop, as in *kshaya-*, l. 5 and *-kṛichch-*, l. 6; the conjunct consonant *gg* occasionally appears as *gn* and *ṇṇ* as *nl*, for which see respectively *vinirggata*, l. 32 and *mārggaṇa*, l. 16, and *varṇṇana-*, l. 19; the lowest extremity of *ḍ* is not turned up as a tail; see *ḍiṇḍīra-*, l. 13; *th* and *chh* as subscript are laid flat and appear almost alike; cf., *e.g.*, *prasthāna* and *nirgachchhad*, both in l. 14; *dh* is in a transitional stage, appearing both as with and without the horn on its left limb and also with or without the top-stroke, and occasionally the vertical of *dhā* is joined by a horizontal stroke; see *prasādhita-*, l. 8, *-dhārā*, l. 16 and *Vōdha* and *gandha-*, both in l. 9, for all these examples. Occasionally it is difficult to distinguish between *t* and *n*, *ch dh* and *v*, *m* and the palatal and the dental sibilants.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for the introductory obeisance, a portion in lines 54-58, and the date etc., in the end, the record is metrically composed throughout. It has 37 verses, which are not numbered.

As regards **orthography** we may note (1) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well, as in *vōdha for bōdha* in l. 9; (2) the occasional use of the dental for the palatal sibilant and *vice versa*; see *saśinau*, l. 37 and *śatasō-*, l. 45; (3) the reduplication of a consonant following *r* (with a few exceptions like *dharma-karma*, l. 49; (4) the use of the *pṛishṭha-mātrā*; and (5) the general tendency to use an *anusvāra* in place of a nasal, except in a very few instances, as in *kālāntara*, l. 54, as opposed to *chaṁdra* in l. 6 and *gaṁdha*, l. 9. This remark does not apply to a nasal when it ends a verse or a hemistich.

In spite of the fact that the letters are well formed and carefully engraved and also that the language is generally correct, a few grammatical errors have crept in: they are *ujvala* for *ujjvala*, l. 13; *chchhatra* for *chhatra*, l. 18 and *niḥparyāyaṁ* for *nishparyāyaṁ*, l. 28.

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[1] The stone was removed to the Museum some time about 1916 A.C. See *Gwalior Arch. Rep.* for V.S. 1973, No. 46 which is in manuscript form.

[2] Neither of the impressions alone is perfect for editing the record on its basis, but they supplement each other. And my transcript of the record, which was prepared from them both, was also revised from the original, subsequently.

[3] Cunningham's *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XX, pp. 99 ff. For Ḍubkuṇḍ, see *Ind. Atlas*, Quarter-Sheet 51; Long. 77° 5½'E., 25° 43½' N., as mentioned by Kielhorn, in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 232. However, in the map of the C.I. Agency, publishhed by the Survey of India Office, Calcutta, in 1886, the place is shown situated on the west bank of Parang (Pārā) which too is a tributary of the Chambal and flows about 15 kms. west of Kunu, almost parallel to it.

The inscription belongs to the reign of **Vikramasiṁha,** who was a member of the Ḍubkuṇḍ branch of the **Kachchhapaghâta Dynasty.** The **object** of it is to record the construction of a Jaina temple, evidently the same at which the stone bearing the record was found, by some private persons (vv. 31-35), and some grants made in favour of it by the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* **Vikramasiṁha** (ll. 54-57). The **date** of the record, as given in the last line, in figures, is **Monday, the third of the bright half of Bhādrapada** of the (Vikrama) year **1145,** which, taking the year to be Chaitrādi expired, regularly corresponds to **Monday, 21st August, 1088 A.C.**[1]

The inscription falls into four parts as marked by the engraver himself with a sign somewhat resembling the Nāgarī *akshara chha* at the end of each. The first of these parts (vv. 7-19) mentions the genealogy of **Vikramasiṁha** and his ancestors, the second (vv. 20-24) gives an account of the builder of the temple ; the third (vv. 25-35) names some sages ; and the fourth (prose ll. 54-60) records the donations made by the king.

To note the contents of the record, it begins with six introductory verses which either invoke the blessings of or praise (the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras) Ṛishabhasvāmin, Śāntinātha, Chandraprabha and Jina (Mahāvīra), and the sage Gōtama and last of all, Śrutadēvī, *i.e.*, the goddess of eloquence or learning, as the persons who put up the inscription were devoted to Jainism.

With verse 7, begins the description of the pedigree of the ancestors of the ruling king Vikramasiṁha. The first name introduced here is that of **Yuvarāja,** who was the originator of the Kachchhapaghāta house (vv. 7-9). Yuvarāja's son was **Arjuna**[2], and his son was **Abhimanyu,** (vv. 10-13), whose son again was **Vijayarāja** (v. 14). Vijayarāja had a son of the name of Vikramasiṁha whose stronghold (*pura*) was known as Ḍōbha,[3] which was then a flourishing place noted for its trade (vv. 15-20). The whole of the description of these princes is conventional and devoid of historical interest, except what is stated in v. 8, that Arjuna, as an ally or feudatory of Vidyādhara, killed Rājyapāla "by a shower of arrows piercing his neck-bones", and in v. 11 that his son Abhimanyu's skill "in the marvellous management of horses and chariots and in the use of powerful weapons was highly spoken of by the highly intelligent and illustrious king Bhōja".

To take up the first of these statements, we find that Vidyādhara, whose ally Arjuna is mentioned in the record, was evidently the homonymous Chandēlla king ; and Rājyapāla is no other than the Gurjara king of Kanauj, as we well know ; and thus the Kachchapaghāta Arjuna was a contemporary of both these rulers who flourished in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.C. The Mohammadan sources go to tell us that when Sultan Mahmūd, after his victory of Kanauj in 409 A.H., *i.e.*, in 1018 A.C., returned to his country, Vidyādhara killed Rājyapāla in a battle which resulted in the latter's flight and surrender of his territory to the Musalmans.[4] Thus the statement of our inscription is corroborated by the Muslim account, adding to our knowledge that it was Arjuna who actually killed Rājyapāla of Kanauj, as a feudatory of the Chandēlla king.

With reference to the other statement of our inscription which alludes to Arjuna's son Abhimanyu's military skill as highly spoken of by Bhōjadēva, Dr. D. C. Ganguly suggests that Abhimanyu entered into an alliance with the Paramāra Bhōja on the eve of the latter's northern expedition,[5] whereas Dr. H. C. Ray takes the statement to interpret that after the death of

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[1] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 461, No. 170. According to Kielhorn, the date is one of those in which the *tithi* is joined with the week day on which it commenced, 3 h. 28 m. after mean sunrise. Also see *I.N.D.*, No. 151. Generally, the *tithi* current at mean sunrise is mentioned in the inscriptions ; but the ceremonies connected with the construction of the temple may have been performed or continued late in the afternoon of that day, and hence the day seems to have been joined with the *tithi* which commenced on it.

[2] Kielhorn also remarks that "The expression *Bhīmasēn-ānugaḥ* suggests that Arjuna had an elder brother of the name of Bhīmasēna ; but he is otherwise unknown".

[3] For the interpretation of the expression containing the name of the capital, see *n.* in the corresponding portion of the text, below. Moreover, as this branch of the Kachchhapaghāta family had a separate capital, we cannot hold with D. R. Bhandarkar who stated that "these were two divisions of one ruling family with a common capital (at Gwālior)". See his *List of Inscriptions* (Genealogical Table) in *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII, *appx.*, p. 392, *n.* 1.

[4] *T.K.A.*, Vol. IX, pp. 115 f.

[5] *H.P.D.*, pp. 103 ff.

Vidyādhara (in *c.* 1022 A.C.) the Chandēlla throne was occupied by rulers of lesser calibre. Bhōja, who outlived Vidyādhara, exerted his influence in the north as far as Dubkuṇḍ and Abhimanyu became subservient to him.[1] And though this is plausible, we have no definite statement in support of either of the theories and the simple praise as recorded in the present inscription cannot be taken so far as to support either of them.

It is interesting to note that Vikramasiṁha is called a *Mahārājādhirāja* in l. 55 of our inscription, which reports nothing else of historical importance about him This statement, taken in its true sense, would go to indicate that he was then enjoying the status of an independent ruler. And in view of this statement it appears possible that during the time when the Chandēlla Kīrtivarman was busy restoring the fame of his house, which had been temporarily eclipsed by the Kalachuris of Tripurī, as seen above, Vikramasiṁha may have succeeded in throwing off the Chandēlla yoke to whom his house had been paying obeisance. From the Dēogaḍh inscription of Vatsarāja, which is dated in 1098 A.C. and in the same year as of the present inscription, we know that some time previously the Chandēlla ruler's all attention was occupied towards the Bētvā valley;[2] and this may have given an opportunity to Vikramasiṁha to declare independence. It is not definitely known whether he became an ally of Bhōja, as Dr. Ganguly holds, and the very imperial title with which he is credited in our record, goes against the view of Dr. Ray who thinks that on this occasion this ruler became a feudatory of the Paramāra king.

To resume the story of the contents of the inscription, its second part (vv. 20-24) introduce two Jaina merchants of the names of Ṛishi and his brother Dāhaḍa, on whom the renowned Vikramasiṁha had conferred the rank of *śrēshṭhin* in his town. They were sons of Jayadēva by his wife Yaśōmatī and grandsons of Jāsūka, a devoted Jaina, who is stated to have been the head of a family or guild of merchants, migrated from the city of Jāyasa (v. 20), which cannot be identified for want of details.

The third part of the inscription (vv. 25-35) begins with an account of some Jaina sages, the first of whom was *Guru* Dēvasēna, an ornament of the Lāṭa-Vāgaṭa-*gaṇa* (v. 25). His son (disciple ?)[3] was Kulabhūshaṇa (v. 26), and his son again was Durlabhasēna (v. 27), from whom sprang Śāntishēṇa, who, in an assembly held before the king Bhōjadēva, defeated hundreds of disputants who had assailed Ambarasēna and other learned persons (v. 28). Śāntishēṇa's son was Vijayakīrti, who composed the present *praśasti* (v. 29) and who also induced Dāhaḍa and some other persons, by his religious teachings, to build the temple where the inscription was engraved (v. 30). Then the record proceeds to mention the names of those who contributed towards the construction of the temple. They are: the good Dāhaḍa (the same as mentioned above), Kūkēka, Sūrpaṭa, Dēvadhara, Mahīchandra, Lakshmaṇa, and some others who are not named (vv. 31-34), probably because their contributions were insignificant. Then we have a verse (35) which extols the temple in a poetic way.

The inscription then mentions the donations made to the temple and the sages by the *Mahārājādhirāja* Vikramasiṁha (ll. 54-60). He assigned (the tax of) one *viṁśōpaka* (a coin) on each *gōṇī* (a measure of grain) which passed that side, donated a tract of land, situated in the village of Mahāchakra and capable of being sown with four *gōṇīs* of wheat, a garden with a well existing in the east of Rajakadraha, for the purpose of performing worship and for carrying on repairs to the temple whenever necessary, and providing oil[4] for the lamps and also for anointing the bodies of holy men (*muni-jana*).

The inscription lastly makes the usual appeal to future rulers to continue the gifts made so long as the Sun and the moon shine; and the last two lines (60-61), which are again separated by an inter-punctuation, as before, have a verse in *anushṭubh,* stating that the *praśasti* was written on the stone by Udayarāja and was engraved by the mason (*śilākūṭa*) Tīlhaṇa. And the docu-

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[1] *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. II, p. 870.

[2] See No. 154, above.

[3] Since Jaina sages do not generally marry, I prefer to take the relation of *guru* and *śishya* in all cases here.

[4] The expression used here is "*kara-ghaṭikā-dvayaṁ*" (text. l. 57); and while editing the inscription Kielhorn remarks on p. 236, *n.* 16 that the first word of this he is unable to explain. To me it seems to be 'a pair of machines to be turned up by hand, *i.e.*, human force.'

ment then closes with the date as we have seen above, and with the expressions indicating 'auspiciousness and great fortune'.

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the inscription, Ḍobha (v. 19) is no other than Ḍubkuṇḍ or Ḍōbkuṇḍ, as we have seen above;[1] and the other names, *viz.*, Jāyasapura (v. 20), Mahāchakra and Rajakadraha (l. 56) I am unable to identify. Both the latter places appear to be somewhere in the vicinity of Ḍubkuṇḍ; but in the maps at my disposal I could not trace out any place with its name similar to either of these. However, taking all these places to have been then situated in the vicinity of the find-spot of the inscription, I am tempted to suggest that Jāyasapura may perhaps be identical with the modern town of Jasarājapura; and Mahāchakra-*grāma* may have been the same as either the modern Makrērā or Mahurā, all of which are now included in the Shivpurī *tehsīl* in the district of the same name. Rajakadraha may have been either the modern Rājpurā or Rājōr, both of which are also situated in the same district. Lāṭa has already been identified; and Vāgaṭa is obviously the same as Vāgaḍa, which too is well known.

TEXT[2]

[Metres: Verses 1-4, 7-8, 10-11, 15-16, 20, 24, 26, 28 and 35 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita;* vv. 5, 31-34 and 36-37 *Anushṭubh;* vv. 6, 18-19, 21, 23, 25, 27 and 30 *Vasantatilakā;* vv. 9 and 17 *Sragdharā;* vv. 12-13 and 29 *Mālinī;* v. 14 *Śikhariṇī;* v. 22 *Upajāti*]

1 सिद्धम् । ओं[3] ॥ [ओं] नमो वीतरागाय ॥ आ[नम्रें]द्रकिरीटप[ा]⏑ ⏑टना[द्यत्पा]द[पीठं][4]लुठन्मं[दा]-
रस्रगमं[द]गुंज[द]लिमन्निष्ठयूतसांराविणम् । [त]-

2 [त्प]ां ⏑ ⏑ वद्व[च]ः परमु — — — ⏑ [तां] सं ⏑ f — ोद्वे[ग]मिवाकरोत्स
ऋषभस्वामी श्रिये स्तात्सता[म्] ॥[१॥*] वि(बि)भ्रा[5]-

3 [णो] गुण[सं]हतिं हततमस्तापो निजज्योतिषा मुक्तात्मापि[6] जगंति संगतजयश्चक्रे सरागाणियः ।
उन्माद्यन्म-

4 करध्वजोर्जितगजग्रासोल्लसत्केसरी संसारोग्रगदच्छिदेस्तु स मम श्रीसां(शां)तिनाथो जिनः ॥[२॥*]
जा[ड्यं] स(श)स्व(श्व)दखंडितं

5 क्षयमपि क्षीणाखिलोपक्षयं साक्षादीक्षितमक्षिभिर्दधदपि प्रौढं कलंकं तथा । चिह्नत्वाद्यदुपांतमाप्य सततं जातो-

6 यमानंदकृच्चंद्रः सर्व्वजनस्य पातु विपदश्चंद्रप्रभोर्हन्स नः ॥[३॥*] सो(शो)कानोकहसंकुलं रतितृणश्रेणि
प्रणश्यद्भ्र[म]-

7 [द्युग्धात्मा][7]व्वगपूगमुद्गतमहामिथ्यात्ववातध्वनि । यो रागादिमृगोपघातकृतधीध्यानाग्निना भस्मसाद्भावं कर्म्म-

8 वनं निनाय जयतात्सोयं जिनः सन्मतिः ॥[४॥*] प्रसाधितार्थगुर्भव्यपंकजाकरभास्करः । अंतस्तमोपहो वोस्तु गो

9 तमो मुनिसत्तमः ॥[५॥*] श्रीमज्जिनाधिपतिसद्वदनारविंदमुद्गच्छदच्छतरवो(बो)धसमृद्धगंधम् । अध्यास्य या
जगति पंकजवासिनी-

10 ति ख्यातिं जगाम जयतु स्र ु(श्रु)तदेवता सा ॥[६॥*]आसीत्कच्छपघातवंशतिलकस्त्रैलोक्यनिर्यद्यसः(शः) पांडु-
श्रीयुवराजसूनुर-

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[1] Also see *n.* on line 31 of the text below.

[2] From the original and impressions.

[3] Both denoted by symbols.

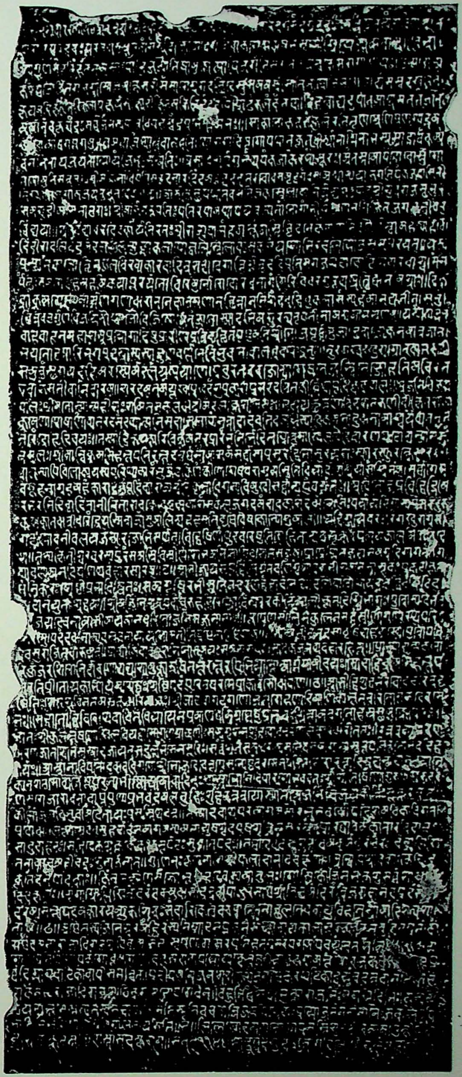
[4] Both the bracketed letters are now lost and I have read them from the photolithograph in *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XX. The upper curve of the *mātrā* of *pī* and the sign of *anusvāra* on *ṭha* are also lost.

[5] The *kākapada*-sign is engraved at the end of this and some other lines below, which is not noted separately. Again, in this line, some of the consonants are lost, leaving their *mātrās*, as shown here.

[6] Kielhorn read the first *akshara* as [*yu*] but on the stone it is clear as taken here.

[7] Kielhorn could not make out the first of these two letters, but the traces show them to be as taken here. Both the letters are almost lost.

DUBKUṆḌ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIKRAMASIMHA, VIKRAMA 1145



Scale : One-fourth

11 समद्युद्भीमसेनानुगः। श्रीमा[न]र्जुनभूपतिः[1] पतिरपामप्याप यत्तुल्यतां नो गांभीर्यगुणेन निर्जितजग[द्ध]न्वी धनु-

12 र्व्विद्यया ॥[७॥*]श्रीविद्याधरदेवकार्यनिरतः श्रीराज्यपालं हठात्कंठास्थिच्छिदनेकवा(बा)णनिवहैर्हत्वा महत्याहवे।

13 डिंडीरावलिचंद्रमंडलमिलन्मुक्ताकलापोज्व(ज्ज्व)लैस्त्रैलोक्यं सकलं यशोभिरचलैर्योजस्रमापूरयत् ॥[८॥*] यस्य

14 प्रस्थानकालोत्थितजलधिरवाकारवादित्रशव्दा(ब्दा)वेगान्निर्गच्छदद्रिप्रतिमगजघटाकोटिघंटारवाश्च। संस-

15 [र्]तः समंतादहमहमिकया पूरयंतो विरेमुर्नो रोदोरंध्रभागं गिरिविवरगुरूद्यत्प्रतिध्वानमिश्राः॥[९॥*] दिक्च-

15 क्राक्रमयो[ग्य]मार्ग्गणगणाधारानेनेकान् गुणानच्छिन्नाननिशं दधद्विधुकलासंस्पर्द्धमानद्युतीन्। सूनुं।[2]

17 च्छि(छि)न्नधनुर्ग्गुणं विजयिनोप्याजौ विजित्यो[र्जि]तं जातोस्मादभिमन्युरन्यनृपतीनामन्यमानस्तृणम् ॥[१०॥*] यस्यात्यद्भुत[3]-

18 वाहवाहनमहाशस्त्रप्रयोगादिषु प्रावीण्यं प्रविकत्थितं पृथुमतिश्रीभोजपृथ्वीभुजा। च्छ(छ)त्रालोकनमात्रजात-

19 भयतो दृप्तारिभंगप्रदस्यास्य स्याद्गुणवर्ण्णने त्रिभुवने को लव्ध(ब्ध)वर्ण्णः प्रभुः ॥[११॥*] तुरगरवरखुरा-ग्रोत्खात[धात्री]-

20 समुत्थं स्थगयदहिमरस्मे(श्मे)र्मंडलं यत्प्रयाणे। प्रचुरतररजोन्याशेषतेजस्वितेजोहृतिमचिरत

21 एवा[शं]सतीवानिवारम् ॥१२॥*] शरदमृतमयूखप्रेखदंशुप्रकाशप्रसरदमितकीर्त्तिव्याप्तदिक्चक्रवालः। अजनि विजय-

22 पालः श्रीमतोस्मान्महीशः शमितसकलधात्रीमंडलक्लेशलेसः(शः)॥[१३॥*] भयं यच्छत्रूणां त्रिदशतरुणीवीक्षितरणे

23 क्रमेणाशेषाणां व्यतरदसदप्यात्मनि सदा। सतोप्यंशन्नादादवति(नि)वलयस्याधिकमतो वु(बु)धानामाश्चर्यं व्यतनुत

24 नरेंद्रो हृदि च यः ॥[१४॥*] तस्माद्विक्र[म]कारिविक्रमभरप्रारंभनिर्भेदितप्रोत्तुंगारिवलवैरिवारणघटोद्यन्मां[स]कुं-

25 भस्थलः। श्रीमान्विक्रमसिंहभूपतिरभूदन्वर्थनामा समं सर्व्वासा(शा)प्रसरद्विभासुरयशःस्फारस्फुरत्केसरः ॥[१५॥*]।

26 वा(बा)लस्यापि विलोक्य यस्य परिघाकारं भुजं दक्षिणं क्षीणाशेषपराश्रयस्थितिधिया वीरश्रिया संस्थितम् सर्व्वांगेष्व-

27 वगूहनाग्रहमहंकारादहंपूर्व्विकां[4]राज्यश्रीरकृताधिग(क)स्य विमुखी सर्व्वान्यपुंवर्ग्गतः ॥[१६॥*]अत्यंतोद्द-प्तविद्विट्तिमि-

28 रभरभिदि च्छादितानी[ति]ताराचक्रे विश्व[क्प्र]काशं सकलजगदमंदावकाशं दधाने।[5]निःप(निष्प)र्यायं दिगास्यप्रसरदुरु-

29 क[रा]क्रांतधात्रीधरेंद्रे यास्मिन्राजांसु(शु)मालिन्यहह सति वृथैवेष कोन्योंशुमाली ॥[१७॥*] यद्दिग्जये वरतुरंगखुराग्रसं-

30 गक्षुण्णावनीवलयजन्मरजोभिसर्प्पत्[6]। विद्वेषिणां पुरवरेषु तिरोहितान्यवस्तूत्करं प्रलयकालमिवादिदे-

31 श ॥[१८॥*] तस्य क्षितीश्वरवरस्य पुरं समस्ति विस्तीर्ण्णशोभमभितोपि च डोभसंज्ञम्[7]। प्राप्ते-प्सितक्रयसमग्रदिगागतांगि-

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[1] The bracketed *akshara* was originally omitted and was later on written below the line, with a mark above, to draw attention.

[2] The *daṇḍa* is redundant or, it may have been a *kāka-pada* sign.

[3] The *mātrā* of the preceding *akshara* has partially come out.

[4] The sign of *anusvāra* is struck off on the original.

[5] The *daṇḍa* appears to have been inserted subsequently.

[6] न्म is clear on the original. Kielhorn read it as *nya*.

[7] Taking the preceding *cha* with these two letters, Kielhorn remarks in *op. cit.*, p. 236, that ***Chaḍōbha*** is evidently the place now called Ḍubkuṇḍ. But failing to see any similarity between the two names, I interpret the expression so as to take *cha* separately, and thus it is easy to explain ***Ḍōbha*** connected with Ḍubkuṇḍ or Ḍōbkuṇḍ, the latter of which also appears in maps, as seen above.

32 व्यावर्ण्यमानविपणिव्यवहारसारम् ॥[१९॥*] ढ ॥ असीज्जायसपूर्व्विनिर्गतवणिग्वंशांव(ब)राभीशुमान्[1] जासूकः प्रकटीकृता-

33 र्थनिकरःश्रेष्ठी प्रभाधिष्ठितः। सम्यग्दृष्टिरभीष्टजैनचरणद्वंद्वार्चने यो ददौ पात्रौघाय चतुर्व्विधं [त्रि]विवु(बु)-

34 धो[2]दानं युतः श्रद्धया ॥[२०॥*] श्रीमज्जिनेश्वरपदांवु(बु)रुहद्विरेफो विस्फारकीर्त्ति[ध]वलीकृतदिग्विभागः पुत्रोस्य वैभव-

35 पदं जयदेवनामा सीमायमानचरितोजनि सज्जनानाम् ॥[२१॥*] रूपेण सी(शी)लेन कुलेन सर्व्वस्त्रीणां गुणैरप्यपरैः

36 शिरस्सु। पदं दधानास्य व (ब) भूव भार्या यशोमतीति प्रथिता पृथिव्याम् ॥[२२*] तस्यामजीजनदसावृषि-दाहडाख्यौ पुत्रौ पवि-

37 त्रवसुराजितचारुमूर्त्ती। प्राच्यामिवार्कशशिनौ समयः समस्तसंपत्प्रसाधकजनव्यवहारहे[तू] ॥[२३॥*] प्रोन्मा द्यत्सकला-

38 रिकुंजरशिरोनिर्दारणोद्यद्यशोमुक्ताभूषितभूरभूरपि भियान्नोन्मार्ग्गगामी च यः। सोदाद्धिक्रमसिंहभूप-

39 [ति]रतिप्रीतो यकाभ्यां[3]युगश्रेष्ठः श्रोष्ठिपदं पुरेत्र परमे प्राकारसौधापणे ॥[२४॥*] ठ ॥ आसीद्विशुद्धतरव (बो)धचरित्रदृ-

40 ष्टिनिःशेषशू(सू)रिनतमस्तकधारिताज्ञः। श्रीलाटवागटगणोन्नतरोहणाद्रिमाणिक्यभूतचरितो गुरुदेवसे-

41 नः ॥[२५॥*] सिद्धांतो द्विविधोप्यवा(बा)धितधिया येन प्रमाणध्व[नि]ग्रंथेषु प्रभवः श्रियामवगतो हस्तस्थ-मुक्तोपमः।

42 जातः श्रीकुलभूषणोरिवलवियद्वासो गुणग्रामणीः सम्यग्दर्शनशुद्धवो(बो)धचरणालंकारधारी ततः ॥[२६॥*] रत्नत्रयाभरण-

43 धारणजातशोभस्तस्मादजायत स दुर्ल्लभसेनसूरिः। सर्व्वं श्रुतं समधिगम्य सहैव सम्यगात्मस्वरूपनिरतोभवदिद्ध-

44 [धी]यः[4]॥[२७॥*] आस्थानाधिपतौ वु(बु)धाद[वि?]गुणे श्रीभोजदेवे नृपे सभ्येष्वंव(ब)रसेनपंडितशिरोरत्ना-दिषूद्यन्मदान्। याने-

45 कान्[5]शतसो(शो) व्यजेष्ट पटुताभीष्टोद्यमो वादिनः शास्त्रांभोनिधिपारगोभवदतः श्रीशांतिषेणे गुरुः ॥[२८॥*] गुरुचर-

46 णसरोजाराधनावाप्तपुण्यप्रभवदमलवु(बु)द्धिः शुद्धरत्नत्रयोस्मात्। अजनि विजयकीर्त्तिः सूक्तरत्नाव-

47 कीर्ण्णां जल[धि]भुवमिवैतां यः प्रस(श)स्ति व्यधत्त ॥[२९॥*] तस्मादवाप्य परमागमसारभूतं धर्मोपदेशमधि काधिगत-

[1] *Sandhi* is not made here. The reading of the five *aksharas* following the name is clear; they were read by Kielhorn as *praka[ṭākshata]*, but they give no suitable sense.

[2] Only the *mātrā* of this *akhara* now survives. Similarly the first two *aksharas* of the next line have also peeled off completely and they have been restored here from Kielhorn's reading. This shows that the stone was in a better condition when Cunningham took the impression.

[3] This is *yābhyāṁ*, which would not suit the metre. The first and the third letters are not distinct.

[4] The consonant of the bracketed *akshara* has now peeled off.

[5] *Sandhi* is now made here.

48 प्रवो(बो)धाः । लक्ष्म्याश्च वं(ब)धुसुहृदां च समागमस्य मत्वायुषश्च वपुषश्च विनश्वरत्वं(त्वम्) ॥ [३०॥*] प्रारब्धा(ब्धा) धर्मकांतारविदाहः

49 साधुदाहडः । सद्विवेकश्च [कू]केकः सूर्पटः सुकृते पटुः॥[३१*] तथा देवधरः शुद्धः[1]धर्मकर्मधुरंधरः । चं[द्रा]लिखि-

50 तनाकश्च[2] महीचंद्रः शुभार्जनात् ॥[३२*] गुणिनः क्षणनाशिश्रीकलादानविचक्षणाः । अन्येपि श्रावकाः केचिद-

51 कृते[धनपा]वकाः ॥ [३३॥] किं च लक्ष्मणसंज्ञोभू ‿[3] ह देवस्य मातुलः । गोष्ठिको जिनभक्तश्च सर्व्वशास्त्र-[4]

52 विचक्षणः ॥[३४॥] शृंगाग्रोल्लिखितांव(ब)रं वरसुधासांद्रद्रवापांडुरं सार्थं श्रीजिनमंदिरं त्रिजगदानंदप्रदं सुं-[3]

53 दरम् । संभूयेदमकारय[न्गु]रुशिरःसंचारिकेत्वंव(ब)रप्रांतेनोच्छलतेव वायुविहतेर्यामादिश[त्पश्य]-

54 ताम् ॥[३५॥ ढ ॥ अथैतस्य जिनेश्वरमंदिरस्य निष्पादनपूजनसंस्काराय कालान्तरस्फुटितत्रुटितप्रतीका-

55 रार्थं च महाराजाधिराजश्रीविक्रमसिंहः स्वपुण्यरासे(शे)रप्रतिहतप्रसरं परमोपचयं चेतसि निधाय[5]

56 गोणीं प्रति विंशोपकं[6]गोधूमगोणीचतुष्टयवापयोग्यं क्षेत्रं च महाचक्रग्रामभूमौ रजकद्रहपू-

57 र्व्वदिग्भागवाटिकायां वापीसमन्वितां ।[7] प्रदीप्तमुनिजनशरीराभ्यंजनार्थं करघटिकाद्वयं च दत्तवान् तच्चाचं-

58 द्रार्कं महाराजाधिराजश्रीविक्रमसिंहोपरोधेन[8]॥ व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य य

59 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति(फलम्)[॥३६॥*]इति स्मृतिवचनान्निजमपि श्रेयःप्रयोजनं मन्यमानैः सकलैरपि-

60 भाविभिर्भूमिपालैः पालनीयमिति ॥ढ॥ लिलेखोदयराजो यां प्रस(श)स्तिं शुद्धधीरिमाम् । उत्कीर्ण्णवा-

61 न्[8]शिलाकूटस्तील्हणस्तां सदक्षराम् ॥[३७॥*] संवत् ११४५ भाद्रपदसु(शु)दि ३ सोमदिने ॥मंगलं महाश्रीः ।

No. 155 ; Plate CXXXXII

GWĀLIOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF MAHĪPĀLA

Vikrama Year 1150

THIS inscription is engraved on two long stone slabs which were found inside the portico of the larger of the two neighbouring temples locally known by the name of *Sāsbahū* and situated on a projecting point near the middle of the eastern wall of the fortress of **Gwālior,** the headquarters of a district in Madhya Pradesh. The record was noticed by General Alexander Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports,* Volume II (1862-1865), pp. 357 ff., and from a facsimile supplied by him, it was edited by Rajendralal Mitra, with transcript and an abstract of its contents, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society,* Vol. XXXI (1862), pp. 400 and 411 ff. It was re-edited, with translation and a facsimile, by F. Kielhorn in

[1] *Sandhi* is not made here.

[2] The reading is certain, though the last letter is mutilated. But the name appears to be rather long and peculiar.

[3] This *akshara* was totally lost even in Kielhorn's time. From the context it appears to have been *dı*.

[4] At the end of the line there are two redundant curves, as also at the end of the next line. *Gōshṭhika* is a member of the managing committee.

[5] After *ni* there are six redundant curves, as also after *dra* in the next line.

[6] It is a coin, for which see *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 195, *n*.

[7] The *daṇḍa* is intended to show a paranthesis that follows. The grammar requires *vāṭikāsu*.

[8] *Sandhi* is not made here.

the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XV (1886), pp. 33 ff.[1] The inscription is edited here from the original stones and ink-impressions kindly supplied to me by the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.[2]

The two temples, inside the portico of one of which the inscription exists, are known, as stated above, by the name of *Sāsbahū*, *i.e.*, of the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law. Both these names appear to be rather peculiar; but we have a number of instances to show that these two names are given to temples and other monuments in this part of the country, in consequence of which the real name being forgotten in course of time.[3] These shrines are also associated with the mythical name *Sahasrabāhu*, the thousand-armed, which is obviously a further attempt to Sanskritise the name *Sāsbahū*. Furthermore, both these temples are also locally known as Jaina temples: and this seems to have misled Rajendralal Mitra to associate them with Jainism. He goes so far as to take the word Padmanātha occurring at the commencement of the present inscription as a short form of Padmaprabhanātha, the sixth of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras. But this argument cannot hold ground in view of the fact that the inscription itself again and again states that the temple was constructed for the worship of Vishṇu. In this connection Cunningham's remarks too are noteworthy. He writes: "But as the sculptures, which can be recognised both inside and outside of the large temple are chiefly confined to the members of the Hindu triad and their consorts, I conclude that the temple must belong to the Brāhmanical worship".[4]

As stated above, the inscription is engraved on two slabs, the writing on the first of them covering a space about 156·2 cms. broad by 47·7 cms. high, and on the second 162·5 cms. broad by 45·7 cms. high. Each of the slabs contains twenty-one lines. In the last line of the second slab the writing covers only about one-third of the length of the whole line. The inscription is tolerably in a good state of preservation, with the exception of a few letters where the stone is worn. The letters are carefully written and beautifully engraved, though occasionally their forms are indistinguishable, as will be shown below. The size of the letters varies from 1·2 to 2 cms., and in the first 3 or 4 lines they are bigger and sparsely written.

The **characters** are Nāgarī, regular for the period to which the inscription belongs, *i.e.*, the eleventh century A.C. The initial form of the short *i* is marked by two loops with a curved or hooked end turned in opposite direction and placed one below the other: see *iha*, l. 13; and the initial long *ī*, which occurs only once in *īśvara*, l. 5, is denoted by an additional stroke above the top, as the sign for medial *ē*. The initial *ē* has its forelimb suddenly turned to the right and its end joined to the middle of the vertical, *e.g.*, in *ētat*, l. 20; and in a few instances, *e.g.*, in *ēsha-*, l. 38, it cannot be distinguished from *p*. The letter *k*, when an initial member of a conjunct consonant, occasionally changes its loop to a horizontal stroke as in *kshiti*, l. 2, but not in the same word in l. 12. The conjunct consonant *gg* appears as *gn*, e.g., in *durggē*, l. 4. and *ṅ* continues to be without a dot. Letters like *ṅ*, *d* and *h* have not developed the upward curve of their end: cf. *brahmāṇḍa*, l. 13, contrary to the fact *h* in *Mahīpāla*, l. 14, has a fine curve of its end. Sometimes there is no distinction between *g*, *m* and *bh*, between *t*, *v* and *h and* between *ch* and *v*; and the superscripts *t* and *n* in a conjunct consonant often assume the form of a horizontal stroke, as in *chitta*, l. 21 and *gadanti*, l. 20. The verticals of *dhā* continue to be joined by a horizontal stroke, as in *dadhāsi-*, l. 17. The two different forms of *ph* can be noted in *harsh-ōtphulla*, l. 1 and *phalam*, l. 11, and of *bh* in *bhagavān* and

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[1] In this article Kielhorn gives the text transcribed by him from an estampage supplied to him by Hultzsch and revised from a photolithograph prepared by Cunningham from an ink-impression. Kielhorn also points out that "the text prepared by Rajendralal Mitra is so full of errors and omissions that it may be considered almost valueless and his abstract of contents of the inscription cannot be made to agree with the Sanskrit text published by him". See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV, p. 33, *n.* 2.

[2] In the meantime a fresh rubbing was supplied to me, at my request, by the Superintending Archaeologist, Central Circle, Bhopal; this rubbing was also consulted by me at times and to him my indebtedness is due. In my personal examination I noticed that the record is engraved on the sunken panels of the stone-slabs and also that each of the slabs has a protruded base below and a projected portion above, somewhat resembling a shade, and carved with row of geometrical figures representing diamonds and beads alternately placed.

[3] *E.g.*, temples with this name exist at Kōhlā (Mandsaur District), for which see *A.S.I.R.*, *W.C.*, 1912-13, p. 57 and *ibid.*, 1919-20, p. 86.

[4] Cunningham; *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 357

subhaga, both in l. 3. The left limb of *bh* sometimes ends in a long tail : see *gabhīratā*, l. 23. *Y* is occasionally ornamental and sometimes it cannot be distinguished from *p* : cf. *yad-ātmanā*, l. 1 and *rachitēyam*, l. 40 respectively. The letter *r* is formed at least in three different ways, *viz*., by a vertical to which a horizontal stroke is attached at the left, with a loop, and with a wedge, as respectively to be seen in *Purushōttama*, *vara* and *vismaya-kāri*, all in l. 17. And lastly, the subscript form of this letter is represented either by its full form, with the preceding letter half drawn, as in *chakrirē*, l. 6, or by a serif attached to the lowest extremity of its superscript, as in *sahasra-*, l. 5. The loops representing the sign of *visarga* have a triangular notch between them.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit : and with the exception of the introductory *Oṁ ōṁ namaḥ Padmanāthāya* and the expressions showing the date in l. 40, the entire inscription is in verse. The total number of verses is 112 ; they are not numbered. The language is correct and fluent, containing elegant and florid expressions as in the best *Kāvya* style using figures of speech like *upamā*, *rūpaka*, *ślēsha*, *sandēha*, *apahnuti*, *vyatirēka* and also *parisaṅkhyā* which is of rare occurrence.[1]

In respect of **orthography,** we have to note (1) the use of the sign for *v* to indicate *b* as well, except in *s(ś)aury-ābdhinā*, l. 5 where it is correctly used, but also in *bapuḥ*, l. 1 where it is wrong ; (2) putting the dental for the palatal sibilant in a large number of instances as in *-aṁsu*, l. 8 but the use of *aṁśu* also to be seen in l. 29 : on the other hand, the use of the palatal for the dental sibilant, *e.g.*, in *śāśan-ōdita*, l. 34. Here it may be pointed out that the word *śaśvat* occurring three times in the inscription is spelt as *sasvat* twice in ll. 12 and 25 but as *śasvat* in l. 19 : (3) the reduplication of a consonant, more often, following *r* and occasionally, also preceding it : see, *e.g.*, *gīrvvāṇa-manttr=iva*, l. 41 : (4) writing *ch* frequently as *chh*, see *vāñchchhaḥ*, l. 22 ; (5) the use of the *jihvāmūlīya* instead of the lingual sibilant in four instances all of which occur in l. 36 : (6) the general tendency to put the *parasavarṇa* which is sometimes so strong that the final *m* is wrongly used in instances like *tvam=viśuddha*, l. 25 and in combining the expressions *tvam* and *kō=si* as *tvamko=si*, which though grammatically correct, gives an idea of clumsiness, in ll. 20 and 25 : (7) the change of a final *m* occasionally to an *anusvāra* at the end of a stich, *e.g.*, in l. 37 ; and (8) a few instances of putting the *daṇḍa* so close to the preceding letter as to appear as a medial *ā* attached to it, as after *bhagavān* in l. 3. Some of the lines have the *kāka-pada* sign as the end.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Mahīpāla** who belonged to the **Kachchhapaghāta** dynasty of Gwālior. The **object** of it is to record the completion of the temple of Padmanātha, begun by his cousin **Padmapāla** and the grants made by the king in honour of the deity installed therein and in favour of some Brāhmaṇas. The **date** of the record is expressed in l. 40, in words, to be the **expired Vikrama year 1149,** and it is repeated in figures in the same line, as the **current year 1150, the day being the fifth of the dark half of Āśvina.** The date does not admit of verification, though it is one of the few dates mentioning both the current and the expired era. The year corresponds to 1092 A.C., taken as Northern.

The inscription falls into three parts, the first of which (vv. 5-33) gives an account of the king **Mahīpāla** and his ancestors, the second (vv. 34-67) glorifies him in bardic expressions, and the third (vv. 68-103) records the construction of the temple and the establishment of a Brāhmaṇa colony in its vicinity and the endowments made to them.

Opening with a short sentence paying obeisance to Padmanātha and after four *maṅgala-ślōkas* in praise of Aniruddha, Hari and Ushā's husband installed in the temple, in 26 verses it describes the genealogy of the **Kachchhapaghāta** (kachchhapāri, as mentioned in verse 5-7) family to which Mahīpāla, who completed the temple belonged. Here we are told that the originator of the house was **Lakshmaṇa** (v. 5). His son was **Vajradāman** who by honest means put down the valour of the ruler of Gādhinagar (Kānyakubja) and performed ***tulā-dāna*** a number of times (vv. 6-7). He was succeeded by **Maṅgalarāja,** who was a Śaiva (v. 8), and the

[1] These remarks are with reference only to verses 1-68 forming the first two parts of the inscription. With the exception of a few verses, the rest of the record, which merely gives names and lists of articles is in the poetic form but not of the same high rank. With reference to the language it is interesting to note that in three instances, in ll. 14, 29 and 33, the *visarga* followed by *s* is dropped, which is against Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36 but quite in accordance with the *vārtika* on the same.

latter by **Kīrtirāja,** who vanquished the countless army of the king of Mālava and also built a Śiva temple at Siṁhapānīya which is the modern town of Suhāniyā in the Mōrēna District near Gwālior (vv. 8-11). Kīrtirāja's son was **Mūladēva,** who was also known as **Bhuvanapāla** and bore the title of *Trailōkyamalla*. His wife was Dēvavratā (vv. 12-13), and the son of this union was **Dēvapāla** (v. 14). Dēvapāla's son was Padmapāla who, in a poetic language, is described as valorous, munificent and an able ruler (vv. 14-24). Then we are told that "considering fortune and life unsteady as the flood of a river and setting his mind on the performance of pious deeds, Padmapāla, the supporter of the subjects caused the temple of Hari to be built". The temple is further on described to be "sky-kissing," and it is also stated that "its white banner suspended from the staff and fluttering on its golden egg-shaped *kalaśa* resembled the Ganges descending from the sky on the tawny matted hair of Śambhu, whose body is smeared with ash" (vv. 25-29). The next two verses state that through the adversity of fortune Padmapāla deceased, and his brother **Mahīpāla** who was the son of Sūryapāla, occupied the throne at Gōpādri.

Here ends the first part of the inscription, and the only historical information that can be gathered from it is that Mahīpāla's great-grandfather Kīrtirāja achieved a crushing victory over the king of Mālwā, who has been identified with the Paramāra Bhōjadēva.[1] This statement appears to have a reference to Bhōja's defeat in his expedition of the Chandēlla kingdom when the Chandēlla ruler Vidyādhara foild his attempts, as recorded in the Mahōbā inscription stating that "Bhōjadēva, together with the moon of the Kalachuris, worshipped, full of fear like a pupil (this master of warfare (*i.e.*, Vidyādhara).[2] And it is possible that Kīrtirāja who was then a feudatory of the Chandēlla Vidyādhara, may have inflicted a crushing defeat on the Paramāra army.[3] The gravity of the reverse sustained by Bhōja on this occasion is graphically described in v. 10 of the present record, telling us that "when the Mālava army had dispersed, the villagers thatched their houses with multitudes of spears which through fear had fallen from the hands (of the soldiers) in every direction." And if this account be not a poetic panegyric, it can hardly be believed that such a crushing defeat on the Paramāra army would have been inflicted by the Kachchhapaghāta ruler unilaterally.

The second part of the inscription refers to the coronation of Mahīpāla and states that he was panegyrised by bards in their lofty strain when his coronation was performed and when he was seated on the throne. This long panegyric, to which as many as thirty-three stanzas (vv. 35-67) are devoted, describes his valour, fame, glory, benefactions and religious merit, instituting his comparison with deities like Brahmā, Vishṇu, Śaṅkara and their various incarnations, with Indra, Kuvēra, the Sun and the moon, with legendary kings and sages like Yudhishṭhira, Bhagīratha, Māndhātā and the Pāṇḍavas, and with objects like the ocean, lotus and the sandle tree *etc.* This account is all void of historical interest, except that it shows that Mahīpāla was the son of king Sūrya, *i.e.*, *Sūryapāla* (vv. 51 and 58) that he belonged to the family of the Kachchhapaghātas (v. 57), his title was *Bhuvanaikamalla* (vv. 49 and 63), and that he vanquished an army of a king of the Gandharvas (v. 50) about which nothing is so far known.

Following this long bardic account is a mention of Mahīpāla's religious and charitable works; and here it is also stated that he completed the construction of the temple which was begun by his brother Padmapāla and which was an 'imperishable embodiment of his fame' (vv. 68-70). He also established a Brahmapurī, *i.e.*, a settlement for Brāhmaṇas, and selected the other (in addition to those already settled there by Padmapāla) occupants. He also established a *sattra* (charitable feeding hall) where dainty food and drink were distributed (vv. 70-71). He made donations for the cooking of the *naivēdya* of the glorious Padmanātha and for lights, and divided the sanctuary of the temple into two parts, assigning one-half to the glorious Padmanātha and the other half to Vaikuṇṭha (vv. 72-73), and also arranged suitably for the maintenance of dancing girls, musicians, singers and the rest for public performances (v. 74).

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[1] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 824.

[2] See No. 113, *n.* 22.

[3] Also see S. K. Mitra, *F. R. K.*, pp. 83-84.

The inscription proceeds to record that for the maintenance of all this establishment, the king properly divided (the village of) Pāshāṇapallī, and allotted five shares and a half to the god and twenty-four shares and a half to the most excellent Brāhmaṇas to whom he made gifts (vv. 75-76): and to look after this, he kept a Brāhmaṇa, the renowned son of Yōgēśvara and Salakshaṇa by name,[1] who was himself a sage, a seat of learning and possessing other good qualities and enjoyed the confidence of the king (vv. 77-78). The following seven verses (79-85) embody the names of donees (see *Appx.* A) and verses 86-100 mention the implements for the gods, such as ornaments, dresses, pots for worship *etc.*, which were donated by the king on this occasion (see *Appx.* B).

Then we are told that the king also made arrangements for stone-cutters, carpenters, engineers, car-men and other persons and also for excavating and building reservoirs, wells, tanks and so forth, by donating the tenth part (of the revenue) in his whole dominions, also giving the twentieth part to Aniruddha, to keep up the charitable distribution of food *etc.* (vv. 101-02). The next stanza expresses the hope that the temple of Padma, *i.e.*, of Padmanātha built by the king of that name, may be ever-lasting.

The following two stanzas (104-05) state that the *praśasti* was composed, by the order of the king, by the poet Maṇikaṇṭha, an eminent Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, the son of the poet Gōvinda and the grandson of the chief of the poet Rāma, and whose "intellect was polished by (the study of) Mīmāṁsā and Nyāya, and who took delight in eloquent sayings,"[2] and that it was written by his friend Yaśōdēva Digambarārka who was a poet in all the languages. Then is given the date in vv. 107-08, which we have seen above.

The next two verses (109-110) introduce the king's Minister Gaura, who is said to have resembled Vasishṭha and Bṛihaspati in intelligence and due to whose power in the form of a blazing fire, the king's adversaries perished as moths, in a battle. The inscription closes with two stanzas which state that the record was engraved in excellent letters, in the temple of the glorious Padmanātha, by the artisan Padma, the son of Dēvasvāmin and also by the artisans Siṁhavāja and Māhula,[3] and expressing hope, in the end that "may the letters engraved (here) serve the purpose."

As for the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Gōpādri** which figures twice in v. 6 and again in v. 31 is evidently the city of Gwālior where the inscription was found. **Gādhinagara** (v. 6) is Kānyakubja: and **Mālava** (v. 10) roughly corresponds to the present Mālwā region of Madhya Pradesh. Simhapaniya where a temple is said to have been built by Kīrtirāja (v. 11) is, as stated above, the modern town of Suhāniyā in the Mōrēnā District and lying about 50 kilometres due north-east of Gwālior. It is well known for a large and fine temple of Śiva still existing at that place,[4] and possibly it appears to be the same temple as built by Kīrtirāja. **Pāshāṇapallī** (v. 75) reminds us of the name of the modern village of Pahāḍgaḍh which is situated about 55 kilometres due west of Gwālior and thus appears to have been then included in the kingdom of the Kachchhapaghātas.[5]

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[1] Here the reading is *sūrī-salakshaṇaḥ* and Kielhorn translates it as 'endowed with the characteristics of a sage'. But in view of his name not appearing in the whole verse when his father's name is given, I am inclined to take Salakshaṇa as his name.

[2] He is also the composer of the following inscription where he is stated to be a poet in six languages.

[3] If we take Siṁhavāja as the title of Māhula or *vice-versa*, then instead of three we have only two engravers. But nothing can be said to be certain in this respect.

[4] See Cunningham's *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. II, p. 400; also see Marshall's *A. S. I. R.*, for 1925-26, p. 190.

[5] We have nothing to verify this identification. It may also be stated here, however, that there is one more place of the name of Padhāvalī which lies about 30 kilometres due north-east of Gwālior and contains remains of a tenth century temple (Cunningham, *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XX, p. 107). And in view of the latter half of its name is the same as of the Pāshaṇapallī and also in view of its proximity from Gwālior where the temple described in the present inscription stands, one may be tempted to identify both these places with each other. But this is only a surmise.

APPENDIX A

NAMES OF BRĀHMAṆAS WHO WERE GIVEN SHARES

S. No.	Names of Brāhmaṇas	Share	Verse No.
1.	Dēvalabdhi Sudhīra	$1\frac{1}{2}$	80
2.	Śrīdhara Dīkshita	,,	80.
3.	Kīrtiratha sūri	,,	80
4.	Gaṅgādhara	1	81
5.	Gautama		81
6.	Malaka		81
7.	Gay(j)ādhara		81
8.	Dēvanāga		81
9.	Vasishṭha		81
10.	Dēvaśarman		81
11.	Yaśaskara		81
12.	Kṛishṇa		82
13.	Varāhasvāmin		82
14.	Gṛihadāsa		82
15.	Prabhākara		82
16.	Ichchhādhara		82
17.	Madhu		82
18.	Tilhēka		82
19.	Purushōttama		82
20.	Rāmēśvara		82
21.	Dāmōdara	,,	83
22.	Shaṭṭhabha	$\frac{3}{4}$	82-83
23.	Ratna }	$\frac{1}{2}$	84
24.	Tihuṇēka }		

Total number of shares distributed are $(3 \times 1\frac{1}{2}) + (18 \times 1) + \frac{3}{4} + (2 \times \frac{1}{2}) = 23\frac{3}{4}$.[1]

[1] In his article in *op. cit.*, p. 12, *n.* 135, Kielhorn shows the total of all the distributed shares to be $24\frac{1}{2}$; but according to my calculations it comes to be 24. The expression in v. 84 I interpret to mean that 'both the worshippers, *viz.*, Ratna and Tihuṇēka obtained half-a-share *together*' and not each as Kielhorn takes it. But the actual number of shares mentioned above in v. 75 is $24\frac{1}{2}$, and we may presume that the land constituting half-the-share may have been left fallow to mark the boundaries between the different shares.

APPENDIX B

SHOWING THE ARTICLES DONATED BY THE KING

N.B. — The numbers in brackets denote the verse in which the article is mentioned.

A. *Ornaments for the god Hari :*

Gold diadem covered with precious stones, with a very large jewel shining in its midst; frontal ornament made of emeralds (86): gold necklace blazing with precious stones; pair of arm-rings set with precious stones (87): four bracelets ornamented with jewels (88).

The same set solely of gold for Aniruddha.

For Achyuta, in addition to these — Four bracelets, a pair of *tālapaṭṭas, kṛittidāra* with a golden handle (ornament for the fist (?), waist-coat of silver and four *kanchōlas* (?) 90-1.

B. *For holding the naivedya* — four plates of brass (91).

C. *For decoration of the attendants of the gods :*

Three oval globes (*suvarṇāṇḍas*); gold-lotus made into an umbrella (92).

D. *For bathing the gods :*

Two copper-basins and a pair of copper-vessels (for the oblation of *arghya* (96).

E. *For waving the light :*

Seven bells with incense burners: vessels for waving lights and seven conch-shells with four copper-pots (97). *Vāḍhaḍhā* of brass, two *kāhalas*, a chowrie and a pair of staves made of bell-metal and crystal (98).

F. *For cooking food :*

Two large kettles of copper, two pitchers, five pails and a spoon -- all of copper (99).

TEXT[1]

[Metres: Verses 1, 5, 6, 10, 16-19, 29, 60-64, 77 and 109, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2, 11, 13-15, 21, 24, 25, 32-34, 65, 66, 69, 79-99, 100 (only half a verse), 101-105 107, 108 and 110-112, *Anushṭubh*; vv. 3 and 27, *Sragdharā*; vv. 4, 26, 28 and 67, *Śikhariṇī*; v. 7, *Drutavilambita*; vv. 8 and 74, *Upēndravajrā*; vv. 9, 72 and 75, *Indravajrā*; vv. 12, 20, 23, 35-59, 70, and 78, *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 22, 30, 68, 71, 73, 76 and 106, *Upajāti*; v. 31, *Mandākrāntā*.]

First Part

1 ओं[2] ओं नमः पद्मनाथाय ॥ हर्षोत्फुल्लविलोचनैर्द्दिशि दिशि प्रोद्गीयमानं जनैर्म्मेदिन्यां विततन्ततो हरिहर(ब्र)ह्मास्पदानि क्रमात् । श्वेतीकृत्य यदात्मना परिणतं श्रीपद्म भूभृद्यशः पायादेष जगन्ति निर्म्मलब(व)पुः श्वेतानिरुद्धश्चिरम् ॥[१॥*] मौलिन्यस्तमहानी[ल]शकलः पातु वो हरिः । दर्शयन्निव केशस्थनव-

2 जीमूतकार्ण्णिकाम् ॥[२॥*] मुक्ताशैलच्छलेन[3]क्षितितिलकयशोरासि(शि)ना निर्म्मितोयन्देवः पायादुषायाः पतिरतिधवलस्वच्छकान्तिर्ज्जगन्ति । म[न्वा]नः सर्व्वथैव त्रिभुवनविदितं श्यामतापह्नवं यः शङ्के स्वं वर्ण्णचिह्नं मुकुटतटमिलन्नीलकान्त्या वि(बि)भर्त्ति ॥[३॥*] इदं मौलिन्हस्तं न [भ]वति महानीलशकलं न मुक्ताशैलेन स्फुरति घटितश्चैष

3 भगवान् । उषाकर्ण्णोत्तंसोकरणसुभगं[4] नीलनलिनं वहत्यद्याप्यस्याश्चिरविरहपाण्डूकृततनुः ॥ [४॥*] आसीद्वीर्यलघूकृतेन्द्रतनयो निःशेषभूमीभृताम्वंद्यः(तां वन्द्यः) कच्छपघातवंशतिलकः क्षोणीपतिर्ल्लक्ष्मणः । यः कोदण्डधरः प्रजाहितकरश्चक्रे स्वचित्तानुगा[ङ्गा]मेकः पृथुव[त्पृथू]नपि हठादुत्पा[ट्य] पृथ्वीभृतः[5]॥५॥*] तस्माद्वज्रधरोपमः क्षिति-

4 पतिः श्रीवज्रदामाभवद्दुर्व्वारोर्ज्जितवा[बा]हुदण्डविजिते गोपाद्रिदुर्ग्गे[यु]धा । निर्व्याजम्परिभूय [गाधि]नगराधीशप्रतापोदयं[6]यद्वीरव्रत[पू]रकः समचरत्प्रोद्घोषणाडिण्डिमः ॥[६॥*] न तुलितः किल केनचिदप्यहञ्जगति भूमिभृतेति कुतूहलात् । तुलयति स्म तुलापु[रु]षैः[7] स्वयं स्वमिह य[: सु] विशुद्धहिरण्मयैः ॥[७॥*] ततो रिपुध्वान्तसहस्रधामा नृपोभवन्मं-

5 गलराजनामा । य ईश्वरैकप्रणतिप्रभावान्महेश्वराणाम्प्रणतः सहस्रैः ॥[८॥*] श्रीकीर्त्तिराजो नृपतिस्ततोभूद्यस्य प्रयाणेषु चमूसमुत्थैः । धूलीवितानैः सममेव चित्रं मित्रस्य वैवर्ण्यमभूद्द्विषश्च[8]॥[९॥*] किं ब्रू(ब्रू)मोस्य कथा[द्भु]तं नरपतेरेतेन सौ(शौ)र्याब्धिना द[ण्डौ]घे मालवभूमिपस्य समरे [सं]ख्यामतीतो जितः यस्मि[न्भङ्गमु]पागते दिशि दिशि त्रासा-[9]

6 त्कराग्रच्युतैर्ग्रामीणाः स्वगृहाणि कुन्तनिकरैः संच्छा(छा)दयांचक्रिरे ॥[१०॥*]अद्भुतः सिहपानीयनगरे येन कारितः । कीर्त्तिस्तंभ इवाभा[ति] प्रासादः पार्व्वतीपतेः ॥[११॥*]तस्मादजायत महामतिमूलदेवः पृथ्वीपति[र्भुवनपा]ल इति प्रसिद्धः । आनन्दयञ्जगदनिन्दितचक्रवर्त्तिचिह्नैरलंकृततनुर्मनुतुल्यकीर्त्ति ॥[१२॥*] यस्य ध्वस्ता[न्य]भूपालां सर्व्वाम्पालयतः

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[1] From impressions and the original.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] Kielhorn translates this word correctly as 'pearlstone' but he says that he is doubtful about the meaning. This appears to have been due to the use of '*śaila*' used here and in the following line to denote the hugeness of the image.

[4] *Bh* is engraved as *h*.

[5] *Indra-tanaya* is Arjuna. The latter half of this verse compares the king with Prithu who, according to the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* (I, 13, 82), uprooted the mountains, as he vanquished his enemies (kings).

[6] Both the bracketed letters are damaged but the reading is doubtless, as also recognised by Kielhorn, and not *vairi*, as taken by Rajendralal. Gādhinagara is Kānyakubja. The following bracketed letter is *sū*, corrected to *pū*.

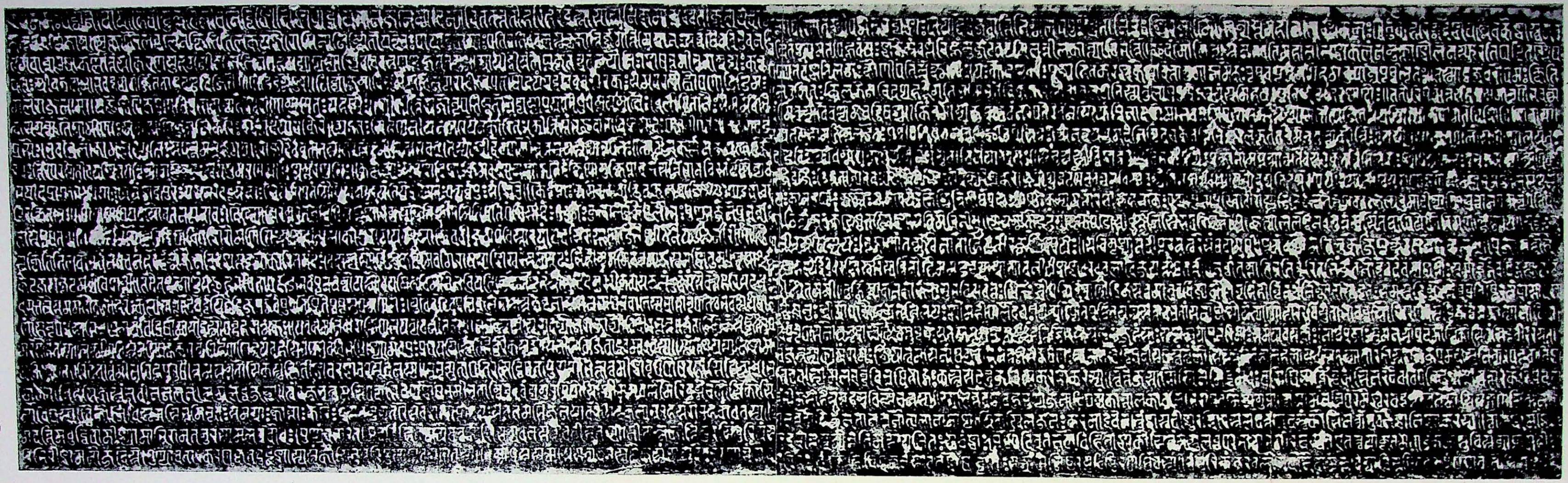
[7] The plural used here denotes frequency and not number.

[8] This is an example of *virodh-ābhāsa* and the apparent contradiction disappears by taking the word *mitra* to denote the Sun.

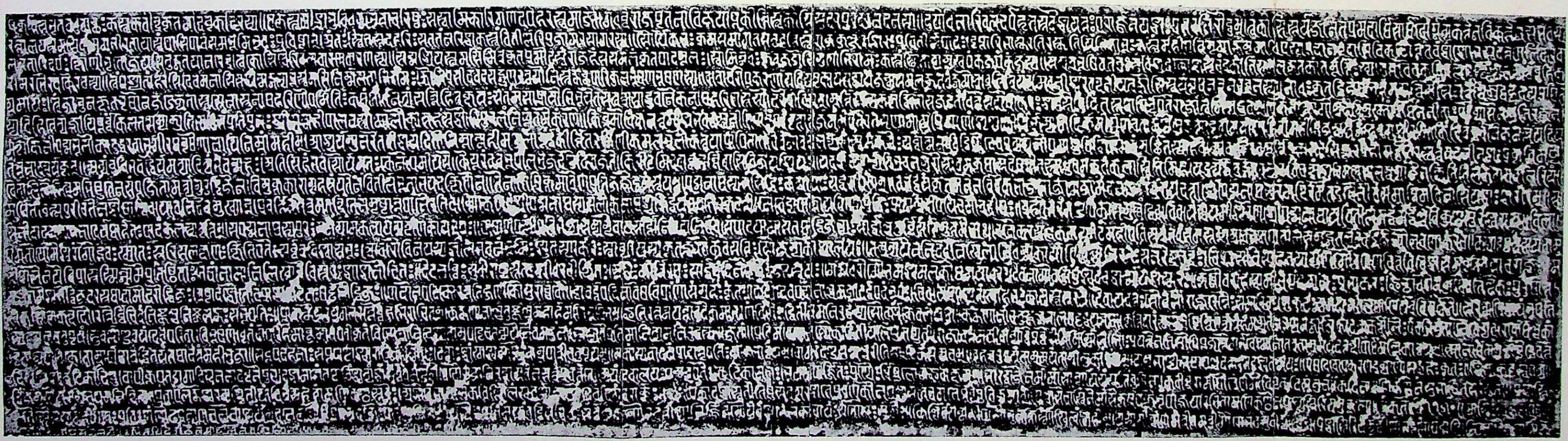
[9] Here, and at the end of some other lines below, is engraved the *kāka-pāda* symbol which is not noted every time. The word *daṇḍa* in this verse means 'army'.

GWĀLIOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF MAHIPĀLA, VIKRAMA 1150

Part One



Part Two



From Facsimile

7 प्रभोः। भुव[न्त्रै]लोक्यमल्लस्य निःसपत्नमभूज्जगत् ॥[१३॥*] राज्ञी देवव्रता तस्य हरेर्ल्ल[क्ष्मीरि]वाभवत् ॥
तस्यां श्रीदेवपालोभूत्तनय[स्तस्य] भूपतेः ॥[१४॥*] त्यागेन कर्ण्णमजय[त्पार्थ]ङ्कोदण्डविद्यया। धर्म्मराजञ्च
सत्येन [स] युवा विनयाश्रयः ॥[१५॥*] सूनुस्तस्य विशुद्धवु(बु)द्धिविभवः पुण्यैः प्रजानामभून्मान्धातेव
[स] चक्रवर्त्तितिलकः श्रीपद्मपालः प्रभुः। मत्स्वाम्यंपि क-
8 रप्रवृत्तिरपगम्येतीव[1] यश्चिन्तयन्दिग्यात्रासु मुहुः खरांसु(शु)मरुणत्सान्द्रे(न्द्रै)श्चमूरेणुभिः ॥[१६॥*]कृत्वान्या।
स्ववशे दिशः क्रमवशा[दाशा]ङ्गतैर्द्दक्षिणामुत्क्षिप्ताचलसन्निभानविरतं [यत्सै]न्यवाजिव्रजैः। उ[द्ध]
तान्यततः पयो[धिमभि]तः संप्रेक्ष्य रेणूत्करान्भूयोप्युद्भटसेतुव(ब)न्धनधि[या]त्रस्यंति नक्तञ्चराः ॥[१७॥*]
[य] स्येन्दुद्युतिडम्व(म्ब)रेण यशसा नीते सुराणाङ्गणे [वै]वर्ण्यं भ्रमशीलखण्डन-
9 भयादप्राप्नुव[न्त]ः प्रियान्। नूनं शक्रपुरःसरामरवधूसंघाः श्रिये [सां]प्रतं गौ[र्यै]च स्पृहयंति ये प्रथमतः प[त्यु]र्व्वपुः
संश्रिते[2]॥[१८॥*] केर्हष्टाः क्व [समस्त]वांच्छि(छ)त[फलभ्राजिष्णवः] पादपा गावः कामदुघाः क्व
[कैः क्व म]णयः कैश्चिन्तितार्थप्रदाः। [दृ]ष्टाः कस्य मनोरथा इह न कैः पत्यामुना पूरिता वीरोद्यानितट
[स्य][3] तद्गुणव[तः] कल्प[द्रु]मादीन्यपि ॥ [१९॥*] स्त्रु(श्रु)त्वा न पद्मनृपति प-
10 रिरक्षिता भूः प्रा[प्तोन्यथापि] यदसौ व(ब)त नग्नभावः। [दौस्थ्या]न्निरम्व(म्ब)रतनुर्व्विपिनेष्व[शो]चद्य-
[स्मात्प्रतिक्ष][4]णमिति प्रतिपंथिसार्थः ॥[२०॥*]भ्रमः कुलालचक्रे[षु] लोभः पुण्यार्ज्जनेष्वभूत्। काठिन्यं
कुचकुं[भेषु] र्त्ता[स्मञ्शासति मेदिनीम् ॥[२१॥*]असम्मतोद्भटगुणस्य पीडा सावुर्न्न निस्त्रिंस(श)परि[ज्ञ]तापि।
इत्यालम्वे(म्बे) न धनुर्न चासिं तथापि यो वैरिगणञ्जिगाय[5]॥[२२॥*] सद्यः श्रु(स्त्रु)-
11 तास्रपृषतव्यति[कीर्ण्णरूपो वैरिद्वि]षाधिपशिरोमणिभिः [समन्तात्]। लोकानुरागय[श]सामिव वी(बी)जवापं-
विस्तारयां यदसिरास रणाजिरेषु[6]॥[२३॥*]वने य[दरि] नारीणां हैमनीरज[निश्च]यः। भृङ्गाणां तन्मुखे
नातो हे[म]नीरज[निश्च]यः[7]॥[२४॥*]स विमृश्य नदीपूरगत्वरे संपदायुषी। पूर्त्तध[र्म्मे] मतिञ्चक्रे
जिघृक्षुरनयोः फलम् ॥[२५॥*] प्रजाभर्त्ता ते-
12 न क्षितितिलकभूतेन [भ]वनं हरेर्द्धर्म्मज्ञेन त्रिदशस[दृशा] कारितमदः। वदाम्यस्यो[च्चैस्त्वं]कथमिव गिरा
यस्य शिखरं समारूढः सिंहो मृगमिव [मृगाङ्क]स्थमशितुम् ॥[२६॥] [प्रासादस्यास्य] स(श)श्वद्विधुधर-
शिखरिस्पर्द्धिनो हैममण्डद[ण्डा]ग्रात्पावनीयं शशधरधवला वैजयन्ती पतन्ती ॥ निर्व्वाम्भाति भूतिच्छुरित
निजतनोद्ध(र्द्ध)वदेवस्य शम्भोःस्वर्गाद्गङ्गेव पिङ्गस्फुटवि-
13 कटजटाजूटमध्यं विशन्ती[8]॥[२७॥*] तदेतद्व्र(द्ब्र)ह्माण्डं स इह भविता पङ्कजभव[:*]पुनर्यम्वो(यं वो)ढास्मो
वयमिह विमानेन वियति। [सुवर्ण्णाण्डं] हं[सा]स्तदिदमुररीकृत्य सकलं ध्रुवं संसेवन्ते हरिसदन[मुच्चैः]

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[1] There is a play on the word *kara* which means (1) a ray and (2) a tax.

[2] As suggested by Kielhorn, *Śrī* (majesty) and *Gaurī* (the earth) are represented as the wives of the king.

[3] Read

[4] This letter is damaged and the reading is conjectural. In the following verse the figure of speech is *Parisaṅkhyā*, examples of which are often found in the *Kādambarī*. *Nagna* in the present case means 'a *chāraṇa*'. For a similar expression, cf. *Kuvindas tvaṁ tāvat*, in *Kāvya-Prakāśa*, VII.

[5] This verse has the *double entendre* with a play on the use of *guṇa* meaning (1) virtue and (2) bow-string; and *nistriṁśa* meaning (1) merciless and (2) sword.

[6] For grammatical construction, cf. *prabhraṁśayāṁ yō nahushaṁ chakāra*, in *Raghuvaṁśa*, XIII, 36.

[7] For Kielhorn's translation of this verse, see *op. cit.*, p. 43 and *n.* 122. Differing from him, I take it to mean that "the wives of his enemies residing in the bees looking to their faces, could not decide whether the forest take one night of the Hēmanta season as many (*haimanī-rajanī-chaya*); and consequently, they were really gold-lotuses (as the faces were pale in consequence of the separation from their husbands).

[8] Kielhorn translates this as "from the top of the golden staff ..." But a *n* is clear enough before the following *da*, and thus the expression would mean "falling on the golden jar from the tip of the staff". Kielhorn also takes *maṇḍa* in the sense of 'ornamental': but in that case the simile would not be complete and where the banner was falling is also not known. My interpretation of the expression (with the reading *aṇḍam*) compares the banner to the Ganges, falling from the staff (as from the sky) on the matted hair of Śambhu. The word *aṇḍa* here to be taken in the sense of *aṇḍākāra-kalaśa*. cf. *svrastvaṁḍaṁ nigaditaṁ Agni-Purāṇa*, 61. v. 23.

स्थितम[पि]॥[२८॥*] तुङ्गिम्ना कनकाचलः सु(शु)भविधावन्तःस्थितः श्रीप[ति]र्ब्वि(र्बि)भ्राणो द्विजसत्त-मानु[द]धिजा[वासो] नृसिंहान्वितः । निर्म्माता[स्य] वृतः समस्तविवु(बु)[धै]र्लब्ध(ब्ध)प्रतिष्ठैरयं प्रासादश्च-

14 धरातले सममहो कल्पं हरेः कल्पताम्[1]॥[२९॥*] देवेर्द्धसिद्धे द्विजपुङ्गवेषु प्रतिष्ठितेष्वष्टसु पद्मपालः । युवैव देवप्रतिकूलभावात्संक्रन्दना[ङ्का]स]नभाग्व(ग्ब)भूव [2]॥[३०॥*] तस्य भ्राता नृपतिरभवत्सूर्यपालस्य सूनुः श्रीगोपाद्रौ सुकृतनिलयः श्रीमहीपालदेवः । यम्प्राप्यैव प्रथितयशसन्तावभूतां सनाथौ सौ(शौ)र्यत्यागौ हरिरविसुताभावदु(दुः)स्थौ[3] चिरेण ॥[३१॥*]सृष्टिङ्कुर्व्वन्न[मा]त्यानां विप्रा-

15 णां स नृपः स्थितिम् । प्रलयं विद्विषा[मा]सीद्व(द्रु)ह्योपेन्द्रहरात्मकः ॥[३२॥*]यत्र धामनिधौ राज्ञि पालयत्यवनीतलम् । न भास्वान्भास्करादन्यो न राजान्यो विधोरभूत् ॥[३३॥*] कृताभिषेकं स[द्वृ त्तै]-रुपविष्टं नृपासने । यमुदारपदै[रे]वन्तुष्टुवुः सूत[गायना]ः[4] ॥[३४॥*] [त्वामु]द्वहन्ति शिरसा खलु राजहंसाः सृष्टास्त्वया पुनरिमाः समयावसन्नाः । नाथ प्रजाः सुमनसां प्रथमोसि कोसि त्वं सिद्ध-वीररस ता-

16 मरसोद्भवस्य ॥[३५॥*] लक्ष्मीपतिस्त्वमसि पङ्कजचक्रचिह्नं पाणिद्वयं वहसि भूप भुवं वि(बि)भर्षि । श्यामं वपु प्रथयसि स्थितिहेतुरेकस्त्वङ्कोसि नीतिविजितो[द्ध]व माधवस्य ॥[३६॥*] [त्वं] पालयस्यनिशमर्थिजनस्य कामं रामः श्रिया त्वमसि नाथ गुणैरनन्तः । सङ्कर्षणः समितिविद्विषदायुषस्त्वं त्वं कोसि सच्चरितहाल[5] हलायुधस्य ॥[३७॥*]ख्याता रतिस्त्[व नि]जप्रमदासु नित्यं रूपन्तवातिश-

17 यविस्मयकारि देव । त्वं मीनचिह्न पुरुषोत्तमसम्भवोसि कस्त्वं क्षितीशवर शंव(शम्ब)रसूदस्य[6] ॥[३८॥*] भूभृत्सुतापतिरसि द्विषतां पुराणां भेत्ता त्वमीश वृषपोषरतोसि नित्यम् । भूतिन्दधास्यमलचन्द्रविभूषिताङ्गः कस्त्वं सदम्वु(म्बु)ज[विभा]कर शंकरस्य[7] ॥[३९॥*]त्वन्तेजसा शिखिनमिद्धमधः करोषि शक्तिन्दधासि नरदेव विपा[न्न]ह[न्त्री]म् । त्वन्तारकं रिपुव(ब)ल-

18 स्य व(ब)लान्निहंसि कस्त्वं नवीननल नीलगलध्वजस्य[8] ॥[४०॥*] त्वं वज्रभृत्त्वमसि पक्षभिदप्यशेषभूमी-भृताम्विवु(बु)धवंद्य गुरुप्रियोसि । श्रीक[न्वु(म्बु)]वर्णगिरि[9] दुर्ग्गचणोसि कोसि त्वं भीमसाहस सहस्रविलोचनस्य ॥[४१॥*]ख्यातन्तवेश व(ब)हुपुण्यजनाधिपत्यं कान्तालका व(ब)लिभिरासतमै[श्व] गुप्ताः त्वामामनन्ति परमेश्वरव(ब)द्धसख्यं त्वङ्कोसि सद्गुणनिधात ध-

19 नाधिपस्य ॥[४२॥*] तेजोनिधिस्त्वमसि भूमिभृतः समग्राः कान्ताः करैः प्रस[भ]मुग्रतरैस्तवेश । प्राप्तोदयः सततमर्थिजनस्य कोसि त्वं कल्पभूरुह सरोरुहवांध(बान्ध)वस्य ॥[४३॥*] आनन्ददोसि जनता-नयनोत्पलानामाप्यायिताखिलजनः करमार्द्दवेन । त्वं शस्व(श्व)दीश्वरशिरस्तलदत्तपादस्त्वं कोसि मर्त्य-[भु]व[ने]श निशाकरस्य ॥ [४४॥*] त्वामंशमीश नि-

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1 This verse intends to express eternity to the temple and also to its constructor, as shown by the particle *cha* and the description is applicable to both of these. Kielhorn's translation does not bring out this point.

2 That is, he died. *Saṁkrandana* is Indra. The number of the Brāhmaṇas settled by the king suggests that they were as firm (*pratishṭhita*) as the eight *guards* of the quarters.

3 The *visarga here,* as after in l. 33, is dropped according to the *vārtika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36.

4 All the three *aksharas* are mutilated and the reading may also have been *Māgadhāḥ*. Most of the following verses from 35 to 67 are full of words showing double meanings describing the king and the object of comparison in identical expressions. All this portion is historically devoid of interest, as already stated.

5 That is, who tears (ends) the age of his enemies (by killing them) and who has his good conduct as *hala* (*hāla*).

6 That is, Kāmadēva who was born of Krishṇa and also as killing the demon Śambara.

7 There is a play on the following words: *bhūbhṛit* meaning (1) king and (2) mountain, *i.e.*, the Himalayas; *vṛisha* meaning (1) bull and (2) dharma; *bhūti* meaning prosperity and ashes. Śaṅkara is well known as *purāri.*

8 That is, Nandin, who is known to have extinguished the fire in the sacrifice performed by Daksha.

9 That is, Sumēru. Here *vibudha* means (1) learned persons and (2) gods, and *guru* means (1) a preceptor and (2) Bṛihaspati. *Sahasra-vilōchana* is Indra.

20 गदन्ति मधुद्विषोमो श्यामाभिरामतनुरस्यमलप्रवो(बो)धः। पुण्यं च भारतमिदं विहितं त्वयैव त्वङ्कोसि
सत्यधन सत्यवतीसुतस्य[1] ॥४५॥*] नीतात्मकीर्त्तिसुरसिंधुरियं समुद्रप्रान्तन्त्वयोन्नतिमसौ [ग]मितः
स्ववंशः। पूर्व्वं पवित्रतनवो विहिताश्च कोसि [त्वं]स[त्सु] लव्ध(ब्ध)परभाग भगीरथस्य ॥[४६॥*]
एतत्त्वया कृतमताडकमासु(शु) विस्वं(श्वं) व्याप्ता मही ह-
21 रिभिरीश[2]मनोजवैस्ते। पुण्यावतारकरणक्षतदुर्द्दशास्यस्त्वं कोसि दत्तरिपुलाघव राघवस्य ॥[४७॥*] धर्म्म-
प्र[सू]स्त्वमसि सत्यधनस्त्वमेकस्त्वं वासुदेवचरणार्च्चनदत्तचित्तः। त्वं कोसि विप्रजनसेवितशोषवृ[त्ति]:
सङ्ग्रामनिष्ठुर युधिष्ठिरपार्थिवस्य ॥[४८॥*] त्वं भूरिकुंजरव(ब)लो भुवनैकमल्ल विद्याविभूषिततनुर्नृप
पावनोसि। प्रच्छन्नसू-
22 पकृतिसंभृतवंधुवांच्छः(बन्धुवाञ्छः)[3] कस्त्वं कवीन्द्रकृतमोद वृकोदरस्य ॥[४९*] एकस्त्वमीश भुवि धर्म्मभृतां
वरिष्ठः सस्वामिकारिगणदर्पहरस्त्वमाजौ। गंधर्व्वराजपृतनाविजयाप्तकीर्त्तिस्त्वं कोसि सुंदर पुरंदर-
नंदनस्य[4] ॥[५०॥] दुर्योधनारिव(ब)लदर्पहृतस्तवेश यत्नः पराज्र्जुनयशःप्रसरं निरोद्धुम्। त्वं कोसि
सूर्यजनित प्रमदार्थिसार्थदौर्ग्गत्यकर्त्तन विकर्त्तनसंभवस्य ॥[५१॥*][5]
23 रत्नालयस्त्वमसि [धा]म गभीरतायाम्त्वं पासि पार्थ समभूमिभृतः प्रविष्टान्। अंतःस्थितस्तव हरिः
सततं नरेश कस्त्वं वितीर्ण्णरिपुजागर सागरस्य ॥[५२॥*] सौ(शौ)र्यैकभूः क्रमसमागतसत्व(त्त्व)वृ-
त्तिस्त्वं राजकुञ्जरशिरःप्रवितीर्ण्णपादः। दृप्तारिभास्करतिरस्कृति[सिंहिका]भूः[6] कस्त्वं महीपतिमृगाङ्क
मृगाधिपस्य ॥[५३॥*] दानन्ददासि विकटोन्नतवंशशोभस्त्वं दत्त(न्त)पालिकरवा-
24 लहृतारिदर्पः [।] क्षोणीभृतो जयसि तुङ्गतया नरेन्द्र त्वं कोसि वैरिव(ब)लवारण वारणस्य[7] ॥[५४॥*]स
श्रियस्त्वमसि मित्रकृतप्रमौदस्त्वं राजहंससमलंकृतपादमूलः। स्वामिन्नधःकृतजडोसि[8] गुणाभिरामः
कस्त्वं स्मिताढ्यमुखपंकज पंकजस्य ॥[५५॥*] सत्पत्रभूषिततनुः सुविशुद्धकोशस्त्वं चंद्रकांतिसमलङ्कृत-
कांतमूर्त्तिः [।] ख्यातन्तवैव कवि[व]ल्ल[भ सौमनस्यं] त्वं[वृ (ब्रू)]हि कः
25 समरभैरव कैरवस्य ॥[५६॥*]त्वं पश्यतां हरसि देव मनांसि स(श)श्चन्माङ्गल्यभूस्त्वमसि निर्म्मलताभिरामः।
कोसि प्रसीद वद सद्गुणरत्नयोनिस्त्वङ्कच्छपारिकुलभूषण भूषणस्य ॥[५७॥*] धात्रा परोपकरणाय
विसृष्टकाय सच्छाय जन्मसमलङ्कृततुङ्गगोत्र। वृ(ब्रू)हि त्रिसं[ध्य]मवनीश्वरवन्दनीय त्वङ्कोसि
सूर्यनृपनन्दन [चन्द]नस्य ॥[५८॥*] नाधःकृतद्विज[पतिर्न्न मदा]न्वितोसि न त्वम्वि[त्वं वि]शुद्धहृदय प्रथितो-
26 ग्रमायः। त्वं जानु(तु) न क्षतवृषो न जडे कृतास्थस्तेनास्तु नाथ हरिणोपमितिः कथं ते[9] ॥[५९॥*] नित्यं
सन्निहितक्षयः स तमसा प्रायोभिभूयेत स त्वत्त्रासाद्भुवनैकनाथ हरिणस्तस्योदरे[प्रा]वि[स(श)]त्।
मूर्त्ति[स्तस्य] कलङ्किता स जडतां धत्ते स दोषाकरः श[ब्दि(ब्द)स्ते] विदितस्तथापि नृपते राजा
त्वमित्यद्भुतम् ॥[६०॥*] एकेनो[त्तर]गो[ग्रहे] विमुखतां [पा]र्थेन नीताः प[रे] व्यासेन स्तुतिरर्ज्जुन-

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1 Vyāsa, whose complexion was dark.

2 The word *atāḍaka* here means (1) not a striker and (2) relieved of Tāḍakā: and Hari has the double meaning of (1) a horse and (2) a monkey.

3 That following his brother's intention Bhīma disguised himself as a cook at the time of *ajñāta-vāsa* is well known.

4 The reference is to Arjuna who vanquished the army of Chitraratha.

5 Here is an allusion to Karṇa (born of the Sun) who removed the pride of the enemies of Duryōdhana (strong in contest), who made an attempt to check the fame of the enemy Arjuna (check the white fame of the enemies) and who removed the misfortune of the supplicants.

6 *Siṁhikā-bhū* is Rāhu (Saiṁhikēya) who causes an eclipse by devouring the Sun. The king is here described as overpowering the Sun in the form of his haughty adversaries and killing their elephants. For *aṅk-āgata-satva-vṛittiḥ*, cf. *Raghuvaṁśa*, II, 38.

7 Here is a play on the following words: *dāna* means (1) a gift and (2) ichor: *karavāla* means (1) a sword and (2) turn of the trunk of an elephant. *Dantapāli* is a kind of weapon.

8 *Mitra* means (1) the sun and (2) a friend; and *jaḍa* means dull (the same as *jala*, meaning 'water').

9 This verse mentions the actions of Vishṇu, Paraśurāma, Vāmana, Kṛishṇa and Nārāyaṇa, respectively. The word *jaḍa* is used here in its double meaning: (water) and (stupid), as above.

33 पगतो योगेश्वरांगोद्भवः ख्यातः सूरिमल्लक्षणः क्षितिपतेः सर्व्वत्र विश्वासभूः ॥[।] आधारो विनयस्य शलीभवनं भूमिः श्रुतस्याकरः स्वाध्यायस्य कृतज्ञतैकवसतिः सौजन्यकोशालयः ॥[७७॥] तत्प्रत्ययेन निदघे निखिलानि धर्म्मकार्याणि [धर्म्म]निरतः स नरेन्द्रचन्द्रः। विप्रः स [नि(निः)स्पृहतया गुणगौरवेण चित्तं विवेश समवृत्तितया च राज्ञः ॥ [७८॥] म-

34 हीपालेन ये विप्रास्तस्मिन्ग्रामे प्रतिष्ठिताः। तेषां नामानि लिख्यन्ते विस्तरः शाश(स)नोदितः ॥[७९॥] देव-लब्धि(ब्धि): सुधीरा[द्य]स्ततः श्रीधरदीक्षितः। सू[रि]: कीर्त्तिरथः सार्द्धपदिनो [वै] द्विजास्त्रयः ॥[८०॥] गङ्गाधरो गौतमश्च मलकोथ गयाधरः। देवनागो वसिष्ठश्च देवशर्म्मा यशस्करः ॥[८१॥] कृ[ष्णो] वराहस्वामी च गृ[हदा]सः प्रभाकरः। इच्छाधरो मधुश्चैव तिल्हकः पुरुषोत्त-

35 मः ॥[८२॥] रामेश्वरो द्विजवरस्तथा दामोदरो द्विजः। अष्ठादशैते विप्रा[श्च पदि]नः षष्ठ[भो]द्विजः ॥[८३॥] पादोनपदिको रत्नतिहुणाकौ सुराच्चकौ। द्वावर्द्धपदिनावेष बिप्राणां संग्रहः कृतः ॥[८४॥] ददौ देवपदानाञ्च मध्यादर्द्धपदं नृपः। विधाय शाश्वतं [लो]ह भटका[य]स्थसूरये ॥[८५]देवाय दत्तः सौवर्ण्णो राज्ञा रत्नैः समाचितः। मुकुटः [सुमहान्मध्ये म]णिर्यत्र वि[राज]ते ॥[८६॥]हरिन्मणि[म]यं भूपति-

36 लकस्तिलकन्ददौ। रत्नैर्व्विचित्रं निष्कञ्च निष्कलङ्कः स भूपतिः ॥[८७॥] प्रादात्केयूरयुगलं रत्नैर्व्व(ब)हुभि-राचितम्। कङ्कणानाञ्चतुष्कञ्च महार्हमणिभूषितम्। [।][८८॥] इति रत्नमयन्तावदेकमाभरणं विभोः। द्वितीयमनिरुद्धस्य सौवर्ण्णं केवलं यथा ॥[८९॥] कङ्कणानां चतुष्कञ्च तालपट्टद्वयन्तथा। कृत्तिदारं स्वर्णमुष्टिम्वि[भ्वि]भर्त्य[न्वह]मच्युतः। [।] [९०॥] रूप्यमङ्गा[लि]हा[1]द[त्ता] क[ञ्चो]लैः पंचभिर्युता [नै]वेद्यधारणार्थञ्च कां-

37 [स्य]स्थालचतुष्टयं (यम्)। [।] [९१॥] सुवर्णाण्डत्रयं देवपरिवारविभूषणं(णम्)। धृतं चोपरि हेमाब्ज (ब्ज)मातपत्रीकृतं विभोः [॥९२॥] निवेश्य ताम्रपट्टं च तन्मयेनैव ग[ड्डु]ना। स्नास्यते प्रतिमा-नित्यमनिरुद्धस्य [रा] जतो [॥९३॥] प्रतिमा [काम]न[स्यै]का [द्वि]तीया लघुरा[च्यु]ती। राजावर्त्तमयी चान्या द्वे पूर्व्वे रीतिनिर्म्मिते ॥[९४॥] ताः प्रयत्नेन तिस्त्रोपि पूज्यन्ते गर्भवेश्मनि। तत्र ताम्रम[यं] दत्तन्दोपार्थं मञ्चिकाद्व[यम्] ॥[९५॥] स्नानार्थं ताम्रकुण्डे द्वे दत्ते

38 द्वे ताम्रपात्रिके। ताम्रार्घपात्रद्वितयं तथा दत्तं महीभुजा ॥[९६॥] सधूपदहनाः सप्त घण्टाश्चारात्रि-[कान्विता]:। दत्ताः शंखाश्च सप्तै[व] ताम्रपात्रीचतुष्टयम् ॥[९७॥] स कांस्यवाढढां प्रादान्नृपतिः काहलाद्वयम्। चामरं दण्डयुग्मं च रीतिस्फटिकसम्भवम् ॥[९८॥] वृ(बृ)हच्चरुद्वयं ताम्रमयं ताम्रालुका[द्वय]म्। ताम्रभाण्ड्यस्तथा पञ्च दत्ताश्चा[दृ]श्च तन्मयः[९९॥]एष देवोपकरणद्रव्याणां सङ्ग्रहः कृतः ॥[१००॥] शिलाकुट्टस्थपत्या-

39 दिय[न्त्रि]शाकटिकादिषु। वापीकूपतडागादिरवननाव(व)न्धनेषु च। [।] [१०१॥] दशामा(मां)शं तथा विंशत्यंशं [स]र्व्वत्र मण्डले। ददौ राजानिरुद्धाय तेन सत्त्रं प्रवर्त्तते ॥[१०२॥] अयं देवालयः पद्मनृपतेः स्फटिकामलः। भूयादुपार्ज्जितः पुण्यैः चि(पुण्यैर्वि)ष्णुलोक इवाक्षयः ॥[१०३॥] भारद्वाजेन मोमांसान्यायसंस्कृतवु(बु)द्धिना। कवीन्द्ररामपौत्त्रेण गोविन्दकविसूनुना। [।] [१०४॥] कविना मणिकण्ठेन सुभाषितसरस्वता ॥[7] प्रशस्ति-

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1 There two *aksharas* may also be read as *lē hi*.

2 Probably *tālapatra, i.e.*, ear-ornament. The word *krittidāra* is also not known to the dictionaries.

3 A bodice. *Kañchōla* is probably *kañchuka*.

4 Kielhorn remarked that he does not understand this word. To me, however, it appears to denote the egg-shaped object attached to the *chhatra*, below, for ornamentation.

5 The first of these objects is a precious stone and the second, bell-metal.

6 A drum. The word *vāḍhaḍhā* is again unknown.

7 Both these strokes are ornamental and one of them is superfluous.

40 द्विजमुख्ये[न] रचितेयमनिन्दिता ॥[१०५॥*] प्रतापलङ्केश्वरवाग्द्वितीयां वि(ब)भ्रत्सुहृत्तां मणिकण्ठसूरेः।
अशेषभाषासु कविर्ल्लिलेख वर्ण्णा[न्यशोदे]वदिगंव(ब)राक्कः ॥[१०६॥*] एकादशस्वतीतेषु संवत्सर-
शतेषु च। एकोनपञ्चास(श)ति च गतेष्वव्दे(ब्दे)षु विक्रमात् ॥[१०७॥*] पञ्चासे(शे) चास्वि(श्वि)ने
मासे कृष्णपक्षे नृपाज्ञया। रचिता मणिकण्ठेन प्रशस्तिरियमुज्ज्वला ॥[१०८॥*] अंकतोपि ११५०॥
आस्वि(श्वि)नव(ब)हुलपंचम्यां

41 ओं [॥] तैस्तैस्तस्य महीपतेः प्रतिरणं प्रौढप्रतापानले नाश्चर्यं यदनेकशो रिपु[च]मूचक्रैः पतङ्गायितम्।
यस्ये[न्द्र]प्रतिमस्य वु(बु)द्धिसहितः सर्व्वज्ञकल्पोभवन्नीत्या निर्ज्जितसौर्यवंशतिलकाचार्यः स गौरः
सुधीः ॥[१०९॥*] किञ्चित्रं यन्महीपालो भुनक्ति स्माखिलां महीम्। यस्य गीर्व्वाणमंत्रीव मन्त्री
गौरोभवत्सुधीः ॥[११०॥*] प्रशस्तिरियमुत्कीर्ण्णा सद्वर्ण्णा पद्मशिल्पिना। देवस्वामिसुते-

42 न श्रीपद्मनाथसुरालये ॥[१११॥*] तथैव सिंहवाजेन मा[हु][1]लेन च शिल्पिना। [प्राप्नुवन्तु] समुत्कीर्ण्णा-
न्यक्षराणि [यथार्त्थताम्] ॥[११२॥*]—

No. 156; Plate CXXXXIII

GWĀLIOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHĪPLĀA

[Vikrama] Year 1161

THIS inscription is incised on a long slab of yellow sand-stone discovered by General Alexander Cunningham in the fortress of **Gwālior,** which is now the chief city of a district in Madhya Pradesh, and was brought to notice by him in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Volume II (1862-1865), p. 354. The record was also transcribed and translated by Rajendralal Mitra in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume XXXI (1862), pp. 418 ff., but his article is not illustrated. His transcript too is inaccurate in a number of places, particularly in the historical portion thereof, as rightly pointed out by E. Hultzsch, who subsequently edited the record in the *Indian Antiquary*, Volume XV (1886), pp. 201 ff. Hultzsch succeeded in recognising in it three names of the royal personages and also in correcting the genealogy given by Mitra ; but his article too, which contains his reading of the text, is not accompanied by a facsimile, and he has not given some other details, *e.g.*, the dimensions of the writing, language and orthography, *etc*. The inscription is edited here from an excellent inked impression kindly prepared and supplied to me, at my request, by the Director of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, where the stone is now preserved.

The writing consists of nine lines, and originally it covered a space about 154 cms. broad by 25 cms. high. The last of the lines is about 2 cms. longer than the others, to accommodate two more letters completing the inscripion. But the record is fragmentary, as a part of the stone from top to bottom on the proper right side and containing about twenty *aksharas* at the commencement of each of the lines, is broken and lost, as can be made out by the number of verses in the inscription. A small portion of the upper proper right corner and the top portion covering a major part of the first line have also broken away. The extant portion, however, is

[1] Kielhorn was somewhat doubtful about the reading of the bracketed *aksharas*, but they are clear enough on the stone, though somewhat rubbed.

in a good state of preservation and indicates that the letters were beautifully formed and carefully engraved. Their average size with the *mātrās* is between 1.2 and 1.5 cms.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the beginning of the twelfth century A.C. and show a sort of affinity with those of the preceding inscription which too is from the same place; but some of the forms of letters of the present inscription are rather archaic. To note some of their peculiarities, we find that *g* and *ṭh*, when subscripts of a conjunct consonant, lose their vertical; see respectively, *-aṅga*, l. 1 and *kaṇṭha-* and *adhishṭhāya*, both in l. 2, but there are exceptions, *e.g.*, the *akshara g* retains its vertical in *-aṅgināṁ-*, l. 5. *Th* is represented by two hollow circles placed vertically and sometimes assuming the form of the modern *sh*, as in *patha* and *Manōratha*, both in l. 4. The letter *ṇu* appears as *ṇl*, for which see *-arṇṇava-*, l. 5. *N* is by mistake often engraved as *t*; cf. *Manōratha* and *vipināṁvu*, both in l. 4. The slightly different varieties of the form of *r*, as noted while editing the preceding inscription, may be illustrated in *dharitrīṁ*, l. 2, where the letter shows a wedge, in *kurutē*, l. 3, where a horizontal stroke is attached to the left of the vertical, and in *kshatriya*, l. 2, where it appears almost as modern. This very letter, when the latter member of a conjunct consonant, is sometimes complete with the preceding letter half-drawn, as in *kshatriya*, and is sometimes shown by a serif, as in *pratāpa*, both these words to be found in l. 2.

The **language** is Sanskrit; and with the exception of the concluding portion containing the date, the record in its preserved portion is composed in verses. In all there are 24 stanzas, composed in different metres; and the rare metres like *Bhujaṅgaprayāta* and *Pṛithvī*, and *Atitōṭaka*, which is still seldom to be seen, have been used, showing the poet's skill in versification. The verses are not numbered, but are marked in the end by two vertical strokes and their first halves are marked by one vertical stroke, as usual.

With respect to **orthography**, we notice (1) the use of the sign of *v* to denote *b* as well, *e.g.*, in *vabhau*, l. 2; (2) reduplication of a consonant following *r*, as in *vārttā*, l. 3; (3) the use of the dental sibilant in place of the palatal to be found only five times in the extant portion of the record, *viz.*, in *-asmavēsma*, l. 5, *visadī-*, l. 6, and *śasvat*, occurring twice in l. 7; (4) the sporadic use of the *pṛishṭha-* and the *ūrdhva-mātrās*; (5) the tendency to use a *para-savarṇa* more often than an *anusvāra*; (6) the use of *h* for *gh* in *aṅghri*, l. 2; and (7) the marking of final consonants regularly, including *m*, which is rightly used at the end of a word, excepting only two instances showing its wrong use by its change to an *anusvāra* at the end of both the hemistiches in verse 21.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple dedicated to Hara (Śiva), by Āśāchandra, who is said to have been a younger brother of Madhusūdana, a son of Māṇichandra and a grandson of Manōratha of the Māthura Kāyastha clan, who was in charge of recording the income and expenditure of king Bhuvanapāla. The **date** of the *pratishṭhā* of the temple when the *liṅga* was set up in it, is recorded in words in the last line; it was **the sixth day of the bright half of the month of Māgha when eleven hundred and sixty-one years had elapsed from the time of the king Vikrama.** The date cannot be verified; but taking the year to be the Chaitrādi Vikrama expired (*atīta*), it corresponds to **Tuesday, 5th January, 1104 A.C.,** when the *tithi* ended at ·45 after mean sunrise, and for the Kārttikādi, to Monday, 23rd January, 1105 A.C., when the *tithi* ended at ·55 after mean sunrise.

As stated above, the inscription is fragmentary. Its contents, as can be known from the extant portion thereof, may now be reviewed briefly. The first stanza, of which only the third quarter is preserved, introduces a king of the name of **Bhuvanapāla,** and the second, which too is fragmentary, mentions his son whose name is unfortunately lost.[1] Stanza 3 is rather better preserved; it gives the name of **Padmapāla** and states that he was a grandson of Bhuvanapāla and a son of **Dēvapāla,** thus supplying the name which has been lost in the second stanza.[2] This

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[1] The beginning too may have contained a sentence in prose paying obeisance to Śiva; this portion too is now lost.

[2] Verse 2 has the reading "*aparājitaḥ*" at the end of each of the hemistiches; and, as observed by D. R. Bhandarkar, it is possible to take Aparājita as an elder brother of Dēvapāla, or, as the Yamaka shows a *biruda* of Dēvapāla himself, whose name occurs in stanza 3. See his *List of Inscriptions*, No. 169, *n*. Bhuvanapāla is the same as Mūladēva of the preceding record, as said in its verse 12.

account is also in confirmation with that of the preceding inscription. The stanza that follows is again much damaged, but its first quarter is the same as that of Kālidāsa's *Kumāra-sambhava* (I, 43): in all probability it is devoted to describe the face of the king,[1] *i.e.*, Padmapāla. The record proceeds to state that he (*i.e.*, Padmapāla) was succeeded by **Mahīpāla** who was 'a destroyer of his enemies and was honoured by kings bowing down their heads so as to drop down their head-garlands on his foot-stools' and 'whose fame adorned the temples of the elephants guarding the quarters'. The next two stanzas (vv. 7-8) intend to express the majesty of the king (*i.e.*, Mahīpāla), comparing him with the Sun, by means of *double entendre*, meaning that his glory spread in all quarters and he placed his feet on the heads of kings (vanquished them, as the Sun spreads his rays on the summits of mountains), removed vices (of his subjects, as the Sun dispels darkness) and was a good, *i.e.* capable lord.[2] And the last stanza (v. 9) again refers to Mahīpāla and says that 'even the news of his approach drives his enemies away to a distance'.

Here ends the first part of the inscription, dealing with the genealogy of the royal house. Unfortunately the very name of the house to which all these kings belonged cannot be known from the portion now available, but from the genealogy which is materially the same as recorded in the inscription edited above, we may safely conclude that it refers to the house of **the Kachchhapaghātas** ruling at Gwālior.[3] It must be admitted here, however, that in respect of genealogy, the present inscription has nothing new to say.

The latter part of the inscription which gives the object, as seen above, is separated by a sign of interpunctuation resembling a wheel with eight spokes.[4] It also gives a long genealogical account of the person who built the temple; and as it is not of any historical value, it will, I think, be sufficient to give here only an abstract of its contents. After eulogising the god Śiva in the form of a sacrificer (*Kāla-yajvā*), in v. 10, it introduces one Manōratha of the Māthura clan of Kāyasthas and says that he was the Secretary (or Accountant) of the king Bhuvanapāla (v. 12). Manōratha's wife was Bhāvā (?) and their son was Mānichandra (vv. 13-14), who built a temple containing statues of Smar-ārāti (Śiva) and of some other gods[5] and who married Rāsagati (vv. 15-16).[6] Their son was Madhusūdana: whose younger brother Āśāchandra built (the present) temple of Hara (v. 17).[7] Verses 18-22 are devoted to eulogise Āśāchandra as a learned and pious person doing religious and charitable works; but this description is all poetic, specifying not even one illustration to give him the credit.

Following this account, we have two more stanzas; the first of them records that the inscription was composed by the Jaina sage (*nirgranthināthа*) Yaśōdēva (v. 23),[8] and the second (v. 24) contains the blessings of the deity. The concluding passage, which is in prose, gives the details of the date which we have seen above.

There is only one place-name **Gwālikēra** in the preserved portion of the record (v. 5). It is the well-known city of Gwālior where the stone was found. As noted by Hultzsch while editing the inscription, it seems to be the original form and the immediate source of the modern name 'Gwālior' or more correctly Gwālhēr.

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[1] The very name Padmapāla may have given our poet an idea to utilise this verse in his composition.

[2] See text, below, *f.n.* 9. Hultzsch suggested that stanzas 7-9 of this record seems to refer to the death of Mahīpāla, and must have recorded the name of his successor, which, however, is not certain. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 202. Following this view, it is possible to hold that some time before this record was put up, the throne was occupied by Mahīpāla's successor and the temple was built in his reign. But this view is not certain.

[3] It is very probable that the very name of the house is lost in l. 1. See text, below, *f.n.* 3.

[4] See text, below, *f.n.* appended to verse 10.

[5] As noted by Hultzsch in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV. p. 202, *n.* 8, this temple may be the smaller *Sās-Bahū* temple at Gwālior.

[6] In verse 16 the reading is *Janai-rāsagatir-*; and the name may be taken either to be *Āsagati* or *Rāsagati*.

[7] According to Hultzsch, the probable site of this temple is the same as in Cunningham's *A.S.I.R.*, II, p. 364 and Plate lxxxviii.

[8] He is the same person who is called in the preceding inscription as Yaśōdēva Digambarārka who wrote it (on stone). In the present record he is called 'a poet in six languages', which are, as Hultzsch observes, Sanskrit, Prākrit, Śaurasēnī, Māgadhī, Paiśāchī and Dēśajā (see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 202, *n.* 10). In the preceding inscription he is called 'a poet in all languages' (*aśēsha-bhāshāsu kaviḥ*).

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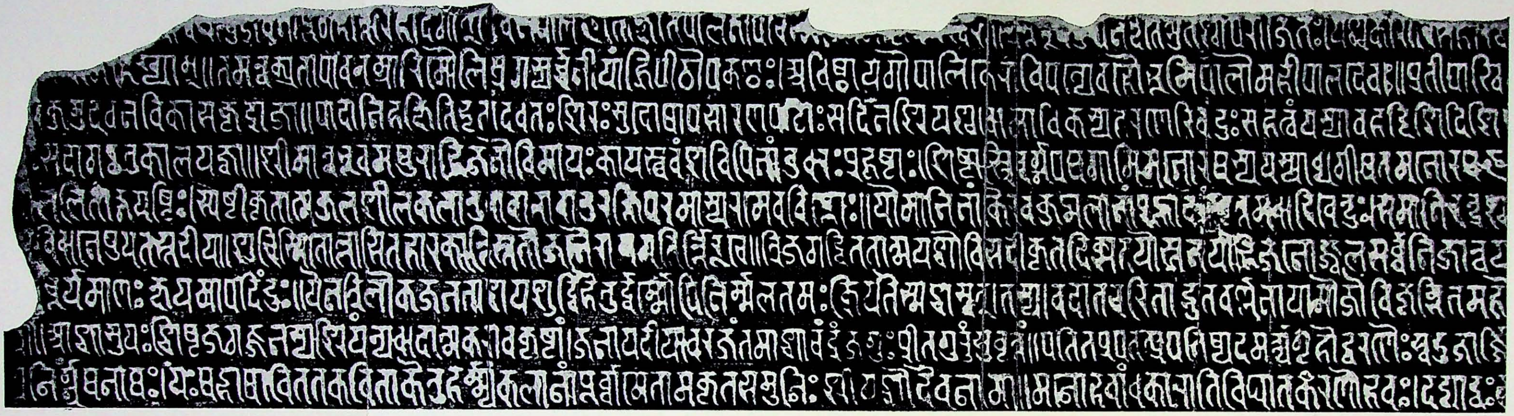
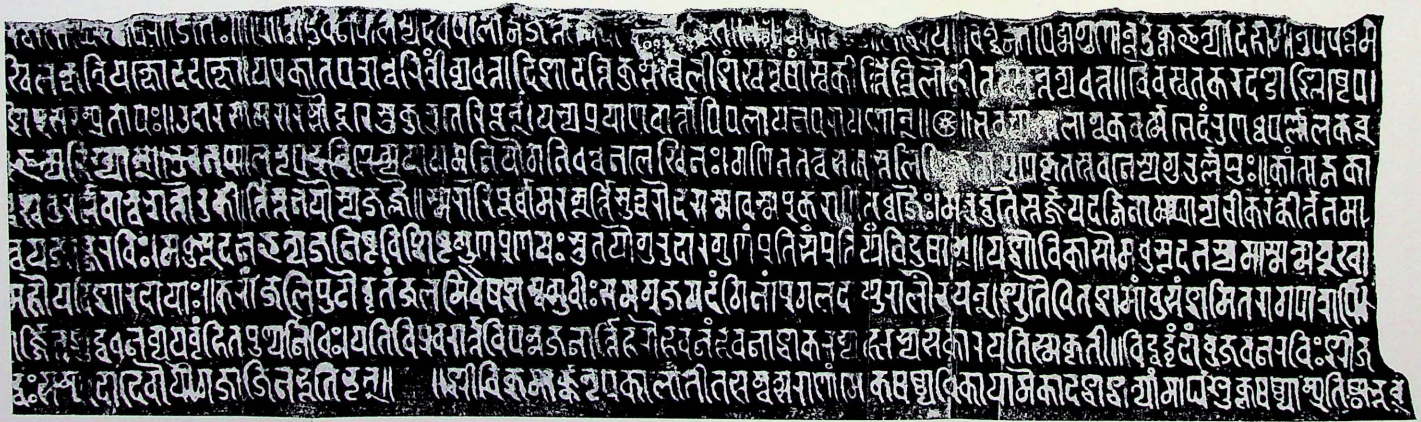
GWĀLIOR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHĪPĀLA, VIKRAMA 1161

Left half



Right half



Scale : Two-fifth

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1 and 12, *Drutavilambita* ; vv. 2, 3, 9 and 24 *Anushṭubh* ; v. 4 (first half), *Indravajrī* ; vv. 5 and 6 *Bhujaṅgaprayāta* ; V. 7. *Āryā* ; vv. 8, 11, 13 and 19 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 10 (first half) and 16 (second half) *Upēndravajrā* ; vv. 14, 18 and 21 *Upajāti* ; V. 15 *Vaṁśastha* ; vv. 17 and 22 *Atitōṭaka* ; V. 20 *Prithvī* ; V. 23 *Mandākrāntā*]

1 [⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ –, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –][2]दगात् ।
भुवनपाल इति क्षितिपालनापचि[⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑]रः[3] ॥[१* . . . . . .][4]
नन्दी तत्सुतश्चापराजितः । यश्चकार[. . . . .]पराजितः ॥[२]* पौत्रो भुवनपालस्य
देवपालाङ्गजस्त[तः । . . . . . .] तारिः पद्मपा[लः ⏑ —] श्रिया ॥ [३*][5] चन्द्रङ्गता पद्मगुणान्न
भुक्त(भुङ्क्ते)[6] इत्यादिभागानुपपन्नम-

2 [– । ⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –, ⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑[भि]
ख्याम् ॥[४*] तमन्ववप्रतापावनम्रारिमौलिस्रगभ्यर्च्चनीयांह्रि[7]पीठोपकण्ठः । अधिष्ठाय गोपालिकेराधिपत्ये
व(ब)भौ भूमिपालो मह्नीपालदेवः ॥ [५*] प्रतीपाखिलक्षत्रियक्षोददक्षो य एकातपत्रान्धरित्रीं व्यधत्त ।
दिशादन्तिकुम्भस्थलीशंखभूषां स्वकीर्त्तिन्त्रिलोकीतटान्ते न्यधत्त ॥[६*] वैवस्वतकरदण्डाश्लिष्टे प ।[8]-

3 [⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – । ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑
⏑ ⏑]कुमुदवनविकासकृद्राजा ॥[७*] पादानिह क्षितिभृतां दधतः शिरःसु दोषापसारणपटोः ।
सदिनश्रियश्च । धामाधिकस्य तरणेरिव दुःसहत्वं यस्यावहद्दिशि दिशि प्रसरन्प्रतापः[9]॥[८*] उदारसमरारम्भो
दूरेस्तु कुरुते रिपून् । यस्य प्रयाणवार्त्तापि पलायनपरायणान् ॥[९*]॥ [10] भवस्य भालाम्व(म्ब)कवर्त्मभेदं
रुणध्वपर्णालकचू-

4 [⏑ – – । ⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ –]: सदा गच्छतु कालयज्वा ॥[१०*]
श्रीमान्व(ब)भूव मथुराभिजनो विमायः कायस्थवंशविपिनांवु(बु)धरः प्रहृष्टाः[11] । शिष्टास्त्रिवर्ग्गपथगामि-
मनोरथस्य यस्याध्यगीषत मनोरथ इत्यभिख्याम् ॥[११*] भुवनपालनृपद्रविणव्ययागमनियोगनिव(ब)न्धन-
लेखिनः । गणिततत्व(त्त्व)समस्तलिपिज्ञतागुणकृतस्तवनेस्य गुरुर्ल्लघुः[12]॥[१२*] कांताङ्गका-

5 [⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –, – – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –] ललिताङ्गयष्टिः
स्पष्टीकृतात्मकुलशीलकलानुभावा भावानुरक्तिपरमास्य रमेव विष्णोः ॥[१३*] यो मानिनां कैरवकुड्मलानां
प्रह्लाद[नं वृ]त्तमधादिवेन्दुः । स मानिचन्द्रश्चतुरर्ण्णवान्तभ्रान्तोरुकीर्त्तिस्तनयोस्य जज्ञे ॥[१४*] स्मारारि
पूर्व्वामरमूर्त्तिसुन्दरोदरास्म(श्म)वेस्म(श्म)प्रकरार्पितध्वजैः । मरुद्धुतैस्तर्ज्जयदङ्गिनामघान्यचीकरत्कीर्त्तनमा-

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[1] From inked estampages.

[2] Parts of न्तरिह्नो, as of some other *aksharas* in this line, are visible in the impression, but the sense cannot be made out.

[3] Here the missing letters may have been नो(पचित)कच्छपघातकुले वरः.

[4] Here and below, the dots represent the numbers of the *aksharas* which are lost.

[5] It may here be noted that whereas the stanza in the *Kumāra-Saṁbhava* (I. 43) describes the face of Pārvatī, it is utilised here to glorify a male face.

[6] Though correct according to the *sandhi*-rules, the metre requires this word to be read as in the brackets.

[7] Read — घ्रि

[8] This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[9] This verse compares the king to the Sun, by the double meanings of पाद = (i) a foot and (ii) a ray; भूमिभृत्= (i) a king and (ii) a mountain; दोष= a vice, and a night; and इन= (i) a lord and (ii) the Sun.

[10] Here is an eight-spoked wheel between double *daṇḍas*. Somewhat similar signs of inter-punctuation also occur in the Dubkuṇḍ inscription, and, as noted by Hultzsch, at the end of the Kōṭā Buddhist inscription of the Sāmanta Dēvadatta (*Ind. Ant.*. Vol. XIV, p. 46) and in a Gwālior inscription of Bhōjadēva (*Journ. of the German Ori. Soc*, Vol. XL, p. 35).

[11] This word goes with the word that follows and hence in plural.

[12] This is, even Bṛihaspati is *laghu*, *i.e.*, unable.

6 [⏑ – ⏑ – ॥१५* ⏓ – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏓ –]विधानेषु यतस्तदीया। शुचिस्मितोल्लासितहारकान्तिस्ततो जनै रा[स]गतिर्न्निरूचे ॥[१६*] त्रिजगद्वितताम्यशो विस(श)दीकृतदिक्स तयोस्तनयोभिजनोज्ज्वलसर्व्वनिजान्वयजाब्ज(ब्ज)रविः। मधुसूदन इत्यजनिष्ट विशिष्टगुणप्रणयः स्तुतयो[1]गुरुदारगुणं प्रति संप्रति यं विदुषाम् ॥[१७*] यशोविकासो मधुसूदनस्य मास्मन्मयूरवा-

7 [⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – –। . – ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – .] चूर्यमाणः क्षयमापदिंदुः ॥[१८*] येन त्रिलोकजनताशयशुद्धिहेतुर्द्धर्म्मोपि निर्म्मलतमः क्रियते स्म शस्व(श्व)त्। तस्यावदातचरिताद्भुत-वर्ण्णनायामोजो विजृम्भितमहो यदि शारदायाः ॥[१९*] करांजलिपुटोद्धृतं जलमिवैष शस्व(श्व)त्सुधी समग्रजगदंगिनां प्रगलदायुरालोचयन्। श्रुतैर्धितशमांवु(माम्बु)संशमितरागपात्रार्पि[2]-

8 [–, ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – – ⏑ –] ॥[२०*] आशासु यः शिष्टजगज्जनस्य श्रियं न्यधादात्मकरावकृष्टां(ष्टाम्)। जना यदीयावरजं तमाशाचंद्रं जगुः प्रीतगुरुं-सुवृत्तं(त्तम्) ॥[२१*] पतितप्रपतत्प्रपतिष्यदमर्त्त्यगृहोद्धरणैः स्वभुजार्ज्जितशुद्धधनव्ययवृं(बृं)हितपुण्य निधिः। यतिविप्रवरार्त्तविपन्नजनार्त्तिहरो भवनं[3] भवनाशकरस्य हरस्य स कारयति स्म कृतीः ॥[२२*] विद्वद्वृंदांवु(बु)जवनरविः श्रीज-

9 [– – ⏑ – – – – – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑]निर्ग्रंथनाथः। यः षड्भाषावितत‌कविताकेतुहर्म्म्यं कलानां पूर्व्वामितामकृत[4] स मुनिः श्रीयशोदेवनामा ॥[२३*] मनो-भवांधकारातिविघातकरणो भवः। दद्याद्वः सम्पदो देवो यो गजाजिनभूतिभृत् ॥[२४*]॥ श्रीविक्र-मार्कनृपकालातीतसम्व(संव)त्सराणां(णा)मेकषष्ट्यधिकायामेकादशशत्यां माघशुक्लषष्ठ्याम्प्रतिष्ठाभूत् [॥*][5]

No. 157 ; Plate CXXXXIV

NARWAR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF VĪRASIṀHADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1177

THIS inscription was transcribed and translated by Fitz Edward Hall, without a facsimile, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI (1858-60), pp. 542 ff., where he also states that "a negative facsimile" of it "has been lithographed in the *Journal* of the Archaeological Society of Delhi, for January, 1853." Nothing is now known about the journal mentioned by Hall; and in his writing he did not state anything as to how, when and where the plate was actually found. The present whereabouts thereof are also unknown, and as even an impression too of it is not now forthcoming, I have copied here Hall's transcript and added my notes to it.

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[1] Read स्तुतयोर्. There may originally have been the *rēpha* on the following *akshara*.

[2] A *kāka-pada* sign is engraved at the end of this line. This quarter also shows a wrong pause-fall.

[3] Here, as often elsewhere, भ is engraved as हृ

[4] The word *pūrvā* means a *praśasti*; and while editing this inscription, Hultzsch failed to see this when he remarks that "the word *praśasti* has to be supplied with *pūrvāṁ*" (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 202, *n.*).

[5] There is no punctuation mark to close the inscription.

As stated above, the provenance of the plate is not known, but it must have been discovered somewhere in the region around **Narwar** in the Shivpurī District of Madhya Pradesh. The preservation of the plate seems to have been satisfactory, as Hall found it completely legible. Its size and that of the letters incised on it, and also its weight, have not been recorded. The exact number of the lines too is not known, for Hall does not appear to have transcribed the record line by line. Judging from the specimens of letters published by him, the characters belong to the **Nāgarī** alphabet. The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for seven imprecatory verses towards the end, the record is all in prose. With reference to **orthography,** what we can be sure about is that *ja* is employed in place of *ya* at the end of l. 8 in the text given below, and that in the formal portion some of the names appear in their Prakrit form and also without proper case-endings.

The inscription is one of the victorious, the illustrious **Vīrasiṁhadēva** who belonged to the **Kachchhapaghāta** house of Narwar, and its **object** is to record the donation of the village Babāḍō to certain Brāhmaṇas, by the king himself. The **date** of the grant is given in words only ; it is *amāvāsyā* of **Kārttika in the year 1177** of an unspecified era, which, from the practice current in the age, has to be taken as that of the Vikrama era. The week-day was **Sunday.** Accordingly, the date regularly corresponds to **24th October, 1120 A.C.,** when there was a Sunday, as mentioned in the record and also a solar eclipse visible in India, which, though not mentioned in it, appears to have been intended.[1]

After a small sentence paying obeisance to Nārāyaṇa and the date as stated above, the inscription introduces **Gaganasiṁhadēva** of the **Kachchhapaghāta** house, who bore the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* and ruled from the great fort of Nalapura. Gaganasiṁha's successor was **Śaradasiṁha** (probably his son though not explicitly mentioned), with the additional title *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* ; and his chief queen was Lasha(kha)mādēvī, who gave birth to Vīrasiṁhadēva who bore the same title as his father whom he succeeded. Vīrasiṁhadēva is stated to have been a zealous devotee of Vishṇu and also compassionate to the indigent, helpless and poor, possessing a collection of virtues, devoted to his parents. He resembled Yudhishṭhira in truth-speaking, possessing supernatural strength as Bhīmasēna, foremost among the archers as Arjuna, resembling Karṇa in earning fame by liberality, possessed of self-respect as Duryōdhana, of matchless valour as a lion, and also one who had earned fame by controlling hostile elephants on the battle-field.

This account is followed by the formal portion of the record. Among the dignitaries to whom the royal order was addressed, there were the Brāhmaṇas, *mahantas* (mahattaras ?) and the (residents of the) *janapadas.* The donation was made in order to increase the religious merit of the king's parents and of himself. The village named Babāḍō, as stated above, was split up into eighteen parts which were donated. The following table is intended to show the details of the donees and the share obtained by each of them:

No.	Name of donee	gōtra	surname	share obtained
1.	Gōvinda	Kāśyapa	avasathika	2
2.	Padmanābha		—	1 brother of No. 1
3.	Kēśava	—	—	1
4.	Rāma	Upamanya	Chaturvēdin	1
5.	Kēśava	—	—	1
6.	Nārasiṁha	—	—	1
7.	Lashamaṇa	—	—	1

[1] As calculated by Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIX, p. 167, No. 84. The same scholar also pointed out that the year was expired and the month *pūrṇimānta,* when the new moon *tithi* ended 4 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.

8.	Saṭhē	Bhāradvāja	—	1
9.	Dāmōdara	Kāśyapa	—	½
10.	Kēśava	—	—	½
11.	Pañchhīhila	Krishṇātrēya	—	1
12.	Gōpati	Kāśyapa	Paṁ (Paṇḍita)	1
13.	Mahasōṇa	Atri	—	1
14.	Śīlē	Bhārgava	—	1
15.	Nānū	Krishṇātrēya	—	1
16.	Mālyē	Bhāradvāja	—	1
17.	Chāmara	Kapila	—	1
18.	Ṭhaä (Ṭhaā?)	Gautama	—	1

Total number of shares = 18

It will be seen that in a few cases (Nos. 3, 5-7 and 10), only the names of the donees are mentioned without any further details, and in three of the instances (Nos. 1, 4 and 12), the surnames are also mentioned along with the *gōtras*.

The record is of considerable historical interest as it reveals the existence of an altogether new Kachchhapaghāta house reigning at Narwar which was its capital, as a paramount sovereign.

Of the **geographical names** figuring in the inscription, Nalapura, the capital of the house, is evidently identical with Narwar in the Shivpurī District of Madhya Pradesh. **Babāḍō,** the donated village, cannot be identified for want of the required data. It is not known if it is represented by the modern village Barod, the name of which sounds somewhat similar to it and which is situated about 28 kms. south of Narwar.

TEXT[1]

[Metre: Verses 1-7 *Anushṭubh*]

ओम्। नमो नारायणाय। संवत् ११७७ कार्त्तिकवदिअमावास्यायां रविदिनेऽद्येह[2] श्रीमन्नलपुरमहादुर्गे परमवैष्णवः परमब्रह्मण्यो दीनानाथकृपणजनवत्सलोऽनेकगुणगणालङ्कृतशरीरः पितृमातृपादाम्बुजसुग्रहणपरो[3] युधिष्ठिरवत् सत्यवादी भीमसेन इवाऽत्यद्भुतवीर्योऽर्जुन इव धनुर्धराग्रेसरः कर्ण इव त्यागार्जितकीर्तिः[4] दुर्योधन इव महामानी मृगेन्द्र इवाऽप्रतिमपराक्रमः समरवसुधावतीर्णदुर्वारवैरिवारणघटासङ्घट्टविघटनोपार्जितय[5]शःसुधाधवलितारिवलमहीमण्डलः श्रीमत्कच्छपाघातान्वयसरःकमलमार्तण्डो महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीगगनसिंहदेवपादानुध्यान-

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[1] From Hall's transcript in *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VI (1858-60), pp. 542 f. The lines here are as given by Hall, who does not appear to have followed the lines of the original.

[2] It is not known whether this sign of *avagraha*, as some others below, is actually engraved in the original or inserted by Hall in the transcript. The same remark may be made here about the use of the *anusvāra* and *parasavarṇa*, about doubling the consonant after *r* and about the correct use of sibilants *etc.* While calculating the corresponding Christian date in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, Kielhorn also remarked that Hall has changed the original *amāvāsyāṁ* to *amāvāsyāyāṁ* unnecessarily (p. 167, *n*). It is true that we get the *loc. sing.* form *amāvāsyāṁ* from the word *amāvāsī*, but in the absence of an impression we cannot be definite about the original reading.

[3] The use of the word *pitṛi* before *mātṛi* may be justified by Pāṇini *sūtra Alpāchtaram* (II, ii, 34).

[4] As Hall remarked, the letters र्जितं are repeated in the original and are left unerased.

[5] In the original, ज appears instead of य as stated by Hall.

प्रवलपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशरदसिंहदेवपादानुध्यानपरः[1] परमराज्ञीश्रीलषमा[2]देवीगर्भरत्नाकरोत्पन्न-माणिक्यमूर्तिः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवीरसिंहदेवो विजयी[3] उपरिसूचितग्रामे[4] ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् पत्तिराजमहन्तप्रमुखसमस्त[5]जनपदान् यथार्हं प्रतिमान्य सम्वोधयति समाज्ञापयति च।

विदितमस्तु भवतां यथा नामतः प्रसिद्धो वबाडो ग्रामः समस्तनिजमेखलावलयपर्यन्तः सवनवृक्षमालाकुलः साम्रमधूकारामः समस्ततृणकाष्ठाटवीयुक्त आकाशपातालीयोत्पत्तिसमुपेतो महादण्डद्रोह्यदशापराधपरिवर्जितः प्रतिषिद्धचौरपुरप्रवेशोष्टादशप्रवऊी[6]समन्विता यथाभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिप्रवेशः चतुराघाटविशुद्धः श्रद्धया पुण्येऽहनि मनानुध्यातगङ्गादिमहानदीजले हिरण्यदर्भोदकस्पर्शपूर्वकं विधिवत् पित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्ध-येऽस्माभिः प्रतीतः काश्यपगोत्रायाऽऽवसथिकगोविन्दाय पदे २ भ्रातृपद्मनाभाय पदं १ केशवाय पदं १ उपमन्यु-गोत्राय चतुर्वेदीरामाय[7] पदं १ केशवाय पदं १ नारसिंहाय पदं १ लषमणाय पदं १ भारद्वाजगोत्राय सठे पदं १ काश्यपगोत्राय दामोदराय पदं ०॥[8] केशवाय पदं ०॥ कृष्णात्रेयगोत्राय पंछीहिलाय पदं १ काश्यप-गोत्राय पं गोपति पदं १ अत्रिगोत्राय महसोण पदं १ भार्गवगोत्राय शीले पदं १ कृष्णात्रेयगोत्राय नानू पदं १ भारद्वाजगोत्राय माल्ये पदं १ कपिलगोत्राय चामर पदं १ गौतमगोत्राय ठआय पदं १ प्रदत्तः। स च भवद्भिरनुमन्तव्य[9] अनुपालनीयश्च।

यानि भूदानप्रशंसावाक्यानि व्यासादिभिः प्रणीतानि भवद्भिः श्रुतान्येव यथा।

वहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः।
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥१॥
सर्वेषामेव दानानामेकजन्मानुगं फलम्।
हाटकक्षितिगोन्दणां[10]सप्तजन्मानुगं फलम् ॥२॥
हलकृष्टां महीं दद्यात् सवीजां शस्यशालिनीम्।
यावत् सर्पभूतान् लोकान् तावत् स्वर्गे महीयते ॥३॥
भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छति।
उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥४॥
समाः शतसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः।
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं वसेत् ॥५॥
यागानां च सहस्रेण अश्वमेधशतेन च।
गवां शतसहस्रेण भूमिहर्ता न शुद्धयति ॥६॥
अस्मद्वंशे परिक्षीणे परवंश्योऽपि यो भवेत्।
तस्याहं पादयोर्लग्नो मद्दत्तं पालयत्विति ॥७॥

लिखितमिदं ग्रामशासनं ठकुरअर्जुनसुतेन पण्डितसलखकेन। यदस्मिन् न्यूनाक्षरमधिकाक्षरं वा तत् संर्व प्रमाणमिति[11]।

महाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्वीरसिंहस्य विजयिनः स्वहस्तः ॥

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1 The correct form of this name is Śaratsiṁha. Also read पादानुध्यात
2 The Sanskrit form of this name is Lakshmī.
3 Insert a *daṇḍa* after this word.
4 In fact, the name of the village occurs below in the text.
5 *Mahanta* appears to be wrongly read for *mahattara* in the original.
6 This word is not known to the dictionaries. Hall translates it by 'class'.
7 Read दि or better, —दिने. Some of the names occurring in the list are not Sanskrit and some without the proper case-endings, as already noted by Hall.
8 The sign of zero is redundant, and what follows has to be read as 'a half', and not *daṇḍas*.
9 The *visarga* is wrongly dropped here in the original, or it is a printing error.
10 The reading of the preceding *akshara* appears to be doubtful.
11 The correct word to be used here is *kshantavyam*.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE DYNASTY OF VIJAYAPĀLA

No. 158 ; Plate CXXXXV

IṄGNŌDĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYAPĀLADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1190

THIS inscription was brought to notice by Nilakantha Janardana Kirtane who transcribed and translated it in his article "On three Inscriptions from Mālwā", all published with facsimiles thereof in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, pp. 46 ff. In his introduction to the article, Kirtane observed that the present record is engraved "on a slablet into the wall of a newly built temple at **Iṅgnōdā** a large village included in the territories of the junior branch of the Dēwās State in Central India."[1] Some time subsequently, the slab was removed to Dēwās, the chief town of the (former) State, and was deposited there in the local Victoria High School.[2] The historical importance of the record is often discussed,[3] but it remained to be systematically edited. In my recent visit to Dēwās, in order to study the document from the original stone, I found that the slab is now missing ; nor could I succeed in tracing it at Riṅgnōd where it was originally found. Under the circumstances, the record is edited here from a photograph which I owe to the kindness of the Chief Epigraphist.[4]

In his article Kirtane has stated that the stone on which the record is engraved measured about 20″ by 14″, which are respectively equivalent to 50·80 cms. and 35·56 cms. The inscription consists of fifteen lines of writing which is carefully engraved and is well preserved. The last line is a little smaller in length than the others.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of the twelfth century. The initial *i* which occurs thrice in ll. 1, 5 and 7, shows in the latter two examples its old form consisting of two circles horizontally placed and subscribed by the medial short *u*, but an advanced form in the first. *T* and *n* are occasionally alike as in *dattāni*, l. 10 and *punar=ādadīta*, l. 11 ; *th* is formed of two hollow circles placed vertically ; see *-pathakē*, l. 7 ; the fore-limb of *dh* has a horn above for which see *vasudhā*, l. 11, where the verticals of *dhā* are joined by a horizontal stroke. The consonant *k* as the first member of a conjunct, loses its loop, as in *pakshē* and *dakshiṇa-*, both in l. 7 ; and lastly, the form of *bh* in *bhartṛi-* in l. 2 is different from that as appearing in the other instances.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit ; and except for the five imprecatory verses in ll. 10-14, it is all in prose. The **orthographical peculiarities** that call for notice are (1) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b*, as well, *e.g.*, in *vrahma-*, l. 5 ; (2) writing the dental for the palatal sibilant about half-a-dozen times, as in *Sivāya*, l. 1 and *Āsādhara-*, l. 14 ; (3) the reduplication of a class-consonant, *e.g.*, in *samabhyarchchya*, l. 4 ; (4) the general use of an *anusvāra* for a class-nasal even at the end of a hemistich and even before a vowel, though wrongly ; cf. *phalaṁ* and *vasuṁdharāṁ*, both in l. 12, and *samētaṁ udaka-* l. 8. In addition to these, the medial dipthongs are indicated both by the *pṛishṭha-* and the *ūrdhva-mātrās* ; the dental and the labial nasal are wrongly changed to an *anusvāra*, *e.g.*, in *mahāṁ*, l. 5 and *-samētaṁ*, l. 8 respectively ; wrong spellings and grammatical errors are also to be seen, *e.g.*, in *parīvāra* and *svāmiḥ*, both in l. 5, *yasaḥkara-*, in l. 11 and *bhūmī* and *svadatāṁ*, both in l. 12. The local element is to be noticed in the name *Lashamaṇa*, and in those in l. 6 and in the end, which are all indicated without the *vibhakti*. And lastly, the *kāka-pada* sign is used at the end of ll. 2, 5, 8 and 13, and a *daṇḍa* in ll. 6 and 12, to show that the word is completed in the next line.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 49. The village is known also as Riṅgnōdā, Igṇōdā, Ignōda, etc.

[2] *Central India Gazetteers*, Western States (1907), Vol. V, Pt. A, pp. 74 and 78. The School is now known as the Nārāyaṇa Vidyā Mandira.

[3] For example, in D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscrs.*, No. 229 ; and D. C. Ganguly, *H.P.D.*, p. 165.

[4] No. C-2045 of 1964-65. Negative No. 5814.

The inscription refers itself to the king **Vijayapāladēva,** who is styled *Mahārājādhirāja,* with two of his predecessors mentioned therein ; but it is silent about his dynastic name, which we shall consider below. The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by the said Vijayapāladēva, of the village of **Agasiyaka,** for defraying the expenses of the worship of Gōha-dēśvara, which is evidently a local name of Śiva, in the Iṅgaṇapadra *dakshiṇapathaka.* The donation was made, as recorded in figures in l. 1 and repeated in words in l. 7, on the **eleventh of the bright half of Āshāḍha of the (Vikrama) year 1190,** which, for the Northern Vikrama, *current,* would correspond to **Sunday, the 26th June, 1132, A.C.,** and for the *expired,* to **Thursday, the 15th June, 1133 A.C.**[1] The date cannot be verified.

As stated above, the donor of the grant is the *Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara,* the illustrious *Vijayapāladēva.* He is said to be the successor of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara,* the illustrious **Tihuṇapāladēva,** who again was the successor of the *M.P.,* the illustrious **Pṛithvipāladēva** *alias* **Bhartṛipada** (ll. 2-3).[2] The record does not specify the name of the family to which these princes belonged, but all the three names are to be found in the same order in another inscription dated in Saṁvat 1212 (1155 A.C.), which was discovered by G. H. Ojha in the former Ḍūṅgarpur State (now a district of the same name) in Central Rājasthān.[3] The only difference shown by both these inscriptions is that whereas the latter one gives the name Tribhuvanapāla in its Sanskrit form, the former gives the name in its Prakrit form as Tihuṇapāla. Ḍūṅgarpur is about hundred miles or 160 kms. due west of the find-spot of the present inscription, and the two inscriptions taken together indicate that the kings mentioned in the present inscription ruled independently, as shown by their titles, over the central parts of Mālwā and Rājasthān in the middle of the twelfth century A.C., or, to be more precise, in the second quarter of that century.

The grant of a village in the locality which formed a part of the Paramāra kingdom at that time by a king who styles himself as a *Mahārājādhirāja* clearly indicates that he may have wrested a part of the Paramāra kingdom in the last days of Naravarman whose last year is known to be 1133 A.C.,[4] which is, curiously enough, also the year of the present grant. We know that Naravarman had to sustain a reverse in his last days at the hands of the Chandēlla Sallakshaṇavarman on the east[5] and the Chaulukya Jayasiṁha Siddharāja on the west of his territories ; and an unpublished inscription from Ujjain also shows that Mālwā was annexed to the Chaulukya kingdom in V.S. 1193 or 1136 A.C.[6] From all these evidences, we may conclude that Vijayapāladēva, who may presumably be taken to have entered the service of the royal Paramāra house as governor in the region around Iṅgnōdā, declared himself independent when the Paramāra kingdom was on its wane during the last years of Naravarman. It is significant to note here that after the Kadambapadraka grant of Naravarman which was issued in V.S. 1167, or 1110 A.C.,[7] we have no epigraphical record of the king till his death ; and it is also worth noting that the princes of Vāgaḍa, which was then governed by one of the junior branches of the Paramāras, also suffered with them, giving an opportunity to Vijayapāla to include that part too in his kingdom, as shown by the record found in the Ḍūṅgarpur region.

But the Ṭhākardā inscription too is equally silent as to the name of the house to which these kings belonged ; and G. H. Ojha, in his notice thereof in the *Report of the Rājputānā Museum,* suggests that possibly they may have been the descendants of the Pratīhāra kings of Kanauj.[8] But we have no evidence in support of this conjecture, and I am inclined to agree with D. R. Bhandarkar who took them to belong to the Kachchhapaghāta house of Gwālior, taking the name Pṛithvīpāla of both these inscriptions as synonymous with Mahīpāla mentioned

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[1] For the southern V. expired, it would correspond to Tuesday, 3rd July, 1134 A.C.

[2] See text, *n.* 5. It appears to be synonymous with the title *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka* of the inscriptions. It may also be noted that this epithet is again missing before the name of Tihuṇapāla.

[3] At Ṭhākardā. Its contents are noticed in *An. Rep. of the Rājputānā Museum,* Ajmer, 1915-16, p. 3.

[4] His anniversary was performed by his son Yaśōvarman in V. 1192=1134 A.D. See No. 39, above.

[5] See No. 145, v. 4, above. Also see *H. P. D.,* pp. 162-63.

[6] *P. C. M.,* pp. 85 ff. ; *H. P. D.,* pp. 162-63. For the inscription from Ujjain stating that Mālava was annexed to the Chaulukya kingdom in V.S. 1193 or 1136 A.C., see *A. S. I. R., W. C.,* 1912-13, pp. 54-55. It is still not edited.

[7] See No. 34, above.

[8] See *n.* 6 above.

in two of the records edited above.[1] In this connection the similarity of the names is again noteworthy. For the name of Mahīpāla's grandfather, which is mentioned in both the Gwālior inscriptions as Bhuvanapāla, occurs with a slight change as Tihuṇapāla and Tribhuvanapāla, respectively in the present and the Ṭhākardā inscriptions; and this person is also said to have been the son of Pṛithvīpāla, showing similar names in that house. And if this view is accepted, the present record carries the genealogy of the royal Kachchhapaghāta house to two reigns further; and the Ṭhākardā record which mentions Sūrapāla as a son of Vijayapāla whose son Anayapāla is mentioned as making a donation of a village, may be taken to carry the genealogy still further by one generation.

The view that Vijayapāla, the donor of the present grant, was a scion of the royal Kachchhapaghāta house also gets support from chronological considerations. Both the Gwālior inscriptions referred to above show that the Kachhapaghāta Mahīpāla was on the throne in V.S. 1150 (1093 A.C.) and V.S. 1161 (1104 A.C.); and calculating for him a period of *c.* 1090 to 1110 A.C., we may take his son Tihuṇapāla to be reigning from *c.* 1110 to 1130 A.C., and the latter's son Vijayapāla from *c.* 1130 to 1150 A.C., giving each of them an approximate period of twenty years. The year of the present grant thus falls during his reign. His son Sūrapāla, accordingly, may be taken to have been on the throne from *c.* 1150 onwards: and thus the year 1155 A.C., when Sūrapāla's son Anayapāla, who was then a prince who issued the Ṭhākardā grant, can well be justified.

Lines 4-6 of the inscription state that Vijayapāladēva made the grant of the village, in order to increase the religious merit and fame of his parents as well as of himself, in the presence of his councillor (or councillors), the family-priest, the astrologer, all his dependents and the Brāhmaṇa Indasvāmin,[2] Sōmadēva, and Kōkala Gadelaka who were all residents of the Brahmapurī at that place, and also in the presence of the *Śrēshṭhins* Lāla, Sāḍhā and Lashamaṇa (Lakshmaṇa). Lines 10-14 reproduce four of the customary imprecatory verses; and the inscription closes with the statement that it was written by **Kēlhaṇa,** the son of Āśādhara and grandson of Rājapāla, a Kāyastha from Valabhī, and engraved by **Sājaṇa** who was the son of Harasēṇa and grandson of the artisan Mahāvala (Mahābala ?) who belonged to Kukāsakya (?) family.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Inganapadra,** which is mentioned here as *dakshiṇa-pathaka* in l. 7, has already been identified with the modern village Ignōdā or Iṅgnōda, also called Riṅgnōd. The temple of **Gōhaḍēśvara** in favour of which the grant was made (l. 7) may have existed on the Siprā about ten Kms. east of Riṅgnōd, as suggested by Kirtane. In my personal visit to that place about ten years back, I noticed extensive remains of a Śaivite temple on this site which is on the confluence of the river Piṅgalā with the Mālinī; and the temple still goes by the name Goḍēśvara. About 2-3 Kms. east of this spot is a modern village of the name of Bāmanpurī, suggesting its identification with the Brahmapurikā of the inscription (l. 5). Agasiyaka, the donated village cannot be definitely identified. In his edition of the inscription Kirtane has stated that it may have been no longer in existence, and I could not succeed in finding any village in the locality. A conjecture, however, may be hazarded in this respect, *viz.*, that it may be a compound name formed of two villages Āgā and Sīyaka. The first of these is probably to be identified with the modern village Āgyā or Ākyā, lying on the Ratlām-Mandsaur metalled road, about 35 kms. north of Ratlām and 10 kms. south by west of Riṅgnōd, the find-spot of the inscription. If this is to be taken as the first component, the second one of the name appears to be Sīyaka, which too is situated in the same region, about 25 kms. south of Riṅgnōd and almost equidistant, to the south of Ākyā. This conjecture gains ground in view of the consideration that we have a number of villages named after kings, and to cite an example from the same locality, we may point out the village called Muñja, probably named after Muñja and situated about 3 kms. north-west of Ālōṭ, a station not very far from Ratlām on the Ratlām-Koṭā branch of the Western Railway.

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[1] Nos. 155 and 156, above.

[2] This passage which contains some names presents difficulty of interpretation, for which see *n.* on the corresponding portion of the text. Besides, it is not known whether *Indasvāmi-* is really one name or two, and so the following expression. Kīrtanē also takes *Mahākōkala* as one name but the word *mahān* may also have been put as an adjective showing reverence.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 2-3 and 5-6 *Anushṭubh* ; v. 4 *Vasantatilakā*]

1 सिद्धम्[2] ॥ ओं नमः सि(शि)वाय[3] ॥ संवत्सरशतेष्वेकादशसु नवत्यधिकेषु आषाढसु(शु)क्लपक्षैकादश्यां संवत् ११९० आषाढशुदि ११ अद्येह इंग-

2 णपद्रे[4] समस्तराजावलीविराजितभर्तृपद्दा[5]भिधानमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीपालदेवपादानू(नु)ध्यातपरम-भट्टारकम[6]-

3 हाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीतिहुणपालदेवपादानू(नु)ध्यातमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीविजयपालदेवेन भगवंतं भ-

4 वानीपतिं समभ्यर्च्च्यं संसारस्यासारतां विचिंत्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये आत्मीयामात्यमं-त्रिपुरोहित-

धगिकान्वित[7]समस्तपरी(रि)वारसंविदितं अत्रत्यव्र(ब्र)ह्मपुरिकाव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणइंद[8]स्वामि(मी) । सोमदेवगदेलाक तथामहां(हान्)[6]-

6 कोकलः तथा रादांदूक तथा श्रेः[9] लाला तथा श्रे. साढा तथा श्रे. लषमणा[10]दिप्रभृतिसमस्तमहाजन प्रत्यक्षम्[11] । आ ॥[6]

7 षाढशुक्लपक्षे(क्षै)कादश्यां पर्व्वणि इंगणपद्रदक्षिणपथके श्रीगोहडेस्व(श्व)रदेवाय आगासियकग्रामं स्वसीमाप-

8 र्यंतं सवृक्षमालाकुलं सकाष्ठतृणेंधनोपेतं सहिरण्यभागभोगकरदाती(?)समेतं(तम्)[12] उदकपूर्व्वकत्वेन ग्रामोयं प्र[6]-

9 दत्तं[13] । तथैतन्निवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादिलोकैराज्ञाभिधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्व्वमस्मै देवाय प्रदातव्यं(व्यम्) ॥ अन्यैश्च भावि-

10 भूपालैः पालनीय[14] । कालकालांतरेणापि केनापि परिपंथा[15]न कार्या । यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रै-र्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयश-

11 :कराणि[16] । निर्म्माल्यवत्तानि व[17] मानितानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥[१*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [।*]य-

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[1] From a photograph.

[2] Denoted by a symbol.

[3] Kirtane omitted these three *aksharas* in his transcript.

[4] Kirtane read –पट्टे, here, and also in l. 7. but the reading as taken above is quite certain. This name occurs also in No. 30, l. 6, above.

[5] The cursive stroke at the bottom shows this letter to be a *dda*, probably intended for *da*, as also read by Kirtane. It is in the sense of rank or dignity.. In his *List of Inscriptions*, No. 229, D. R. Bhandakar took the whole word *bhartṛi-paṭṭa* to denote a title. He evidently followed G. H. Ojha who read the same in an inscription noticed by him in *A. R., Rājputānā Museum*, 1915-16, p. 3.

[6] An arow-mark appears here to indicate that the word is continued in the next line.

[7] Kirtane read the five letters in this line as घटिकावित and took the expression to mean an "officer who keeps time". The consonant of the first of these letters can also be taken as *th*, but that of the third is definitely as taken here, for which, cf. *Gadēlāka* in the same line and *Iṅgaṇa-* in l. 1, above, and 7, below. The *akshara n* in the fourth one appears as if omitted at first and inserted later on, by a small scratch. Thus here we have the name of the royal-preceptor whose presence is shown while making a grant, which is not the case with the time-keeper.

[8] Kirtane read the first *akshara* of the name as उ, but in the tanslation as इ. The following *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

[9] This is a contraction of *śrēshṭhin*. The names appearing in ll. 5-6 are all without any case-ending and often the *sandhi*-rules also are not observed.

[10] Read लक्ष्मणप्रभृति–

[11] On *ksha* there is a redundant *anusvāra* or a fault of the stone.

[12] Perhaps originally *mai*, with the sign of *mātrā* erased later on. The *dātī* appears to have been wrongly engraved for *datti*, which means a gift. See *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 617, *n*. 5.

[13] Read –दत्तः Kirtane took the following *daṇḍa* as a medial *ā*, which is evidently wrong.

[14] Read –यम् The following two *aksharas* are redundant.

[15] Read प्रतिबन्धो न कार्यः

[16] Read यशस्कराणि

[17] The *akshara* stands for च. Or better read तान्यय.

12 स्य यस्य यदा भूमी तस्य[1] तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[२*] स्वदतां(त्तां) परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधरां(राम्)। षष्ठि(ष्ठिं) वर्षसहश्रा(स्रा)णि रौरवे[2] नरके वसे।[3]

13 त् ॥[३*] वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वशु(सु)धाधिपत्यं[4] आपातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः। प्राणास्तृणाग्रजलवि-(बिं)दुसमा नराणां धर्म्म[:*][5]

14 सखा परमहो परलोकयाते(ने) ॥[४*] वालभान्वयकायस्थराजपालस्य[6] सूनुना [।*] आसा(शा)धरसुतेनेयं केल्हणेन त(च) लेखितां[7] [॥५*]

15 कुकास[क्या?][8]न्वयसूत्रधारमहाव(ब)लस्य सूनुतां(ना) हरसेणसुतसाजणेन[9] लेखितंः[10] ॥

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[1] Read भूमिस्तस्य.

[2] The *mātrā* on the first of these letters was first formed as of medial long *ī* and later on corrected.

[3] Drop the *daṇḍa* and read the whole as वसेत्.

[4] Read पत्यमा–

[5] Here too is an arrow-mark.

[6] Read वालभ्या– in the sense of a family coming from Valabhi. The *mātrā* of *kā* that follows is separated from the letter.

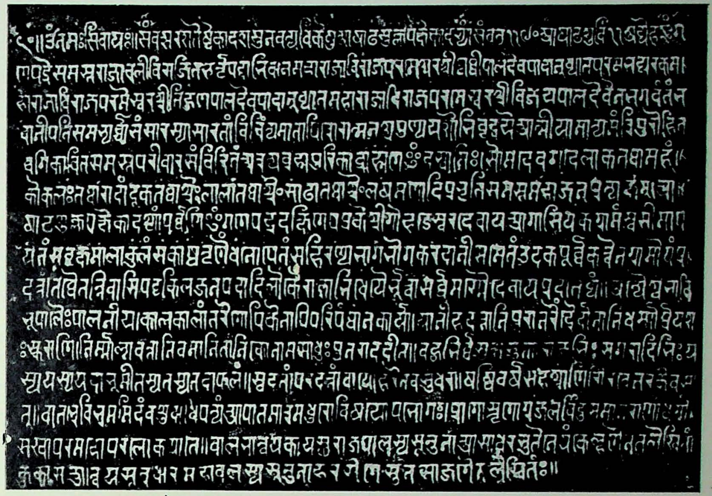
[7] Read लिखिता; but it does not suit the metre.

[8] I am not certain about the reading of the *akshara* in the brackets and it is taken here as read by Kirtane, which appears to be possible.

[9] The word *sūnu* used here probably denotes a grandson, as it also means in Sanskrit, because the word *suta* is also used along with it.

[10] Read लिखितः, or rather *utkīrṇaḥ*, to avoid repetition. The signs of both, the *anusvāra* and the *visarga*, are inadvertently put together. The whole line reads like a verse, though metrically defective.

IṄGNŌḌĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYAPĀLADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1190



From Photograph

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE YAJVAPĀLAS OF NARWAR

No. 159 : Plate CXXXXVI

BHĪMPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ĀSALLADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1319

THE stone which bears this inscription was found in a ruined Jaina temple in the village **Bhimpur** which lies about 5 kms. almost due south of Narwar in the Karērā *parganā* of the Sīprī (Shivpurī) District of Madhya Pradesh. It was discovered in the early years of the present century by M. B. Garde, the Superintendent of Archaeology in the former State of Gwālior, and was noticed by him in the *Annual Report* of the department for V.S. 1971 (1914 A.C.),[1] and again referred to in his note on "the Yajvapālas or Jajapēllas of Narwar" in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVII (1918), pp. 241-244, pointing out for the first time that the name of the house was really Jajapēlla, which was Sanskritised as Yajvapāla and was also associated with a mythical progenator named Jayapāla. The inscription was also included by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, as No. 562. It is edited here for the first time from my transcript, prepared from the original stone which is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Gwālior.

The inscription is engraved on a rectangular sunken panel surrounded by a plain border of a massive stone, which measures 109·5 cms. broad and 94 cms. high. It consists of 40 lines, each of which is 87·5 cms. long, except the last one which is about three-fourth of the others in length. The size of the letters, which varies from 1·5 to 1·8 cms. in the first fourteen lines, gradually decreases till it is about 1 cm. in the last 10 or 11 lines. The writing is well preserved, except that a letter here and another there have wholly or partially disappeared due to the effects of weather. The letters are not systematically formed ; and both in writing and engraving, there are mistakes of subsequent corrections, erasing or scratching off their parts, as noted in the transcript that follows. What is particularly to be noted in this respect is that three letters in l. 30 and an equal number of them in l. 34 are left unengraved, keeping a blank space of 3·5 cms. in the former and 4·3 cms. in the latter, so as to accommodate them.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. The slightly varying forms of some of them show that they were then in a transitional stage, *e.g.*, the two varying forms of the vowel *i*, one in *iti*, ll. 4 and 22, and the other in *-Ajaiṇi-* in l. 19 : those of the conjunct *ṇṇ*, the subscript of which is marked by a slanting stroke across the letter, as in *-arṇṇava*, l. 25, whereas in the same word in l. 4, it appears as *l* ; those of *bh* appearing side by side in *bhābhāti* in l. 8 ; and those of *ś*, the varying forms of which are to be seen in the word *śṛiṅgāra*, appearing twice in l. 17. *R* which is written mostly in its modern Nāgarī form as in *pūrusha*, l. 12, is wedged in *-ujvala-* in the same line, and it is occasionally also denoted by a vertical marked by a horizontal stroke on the left of its middle, *e.g.*, in *guru*, l. 25. The subscript form of this letter is often drawn complete with its superscript marked half, cf. *-atra*, l. 25. The vowel *ē* has a form similar to that of *pa*, a triangle with the base above and a tail below, *e.g.*, in *ēsha-*, l. 9, and *p* often resembles *y* : see *parama-*, l. 5 ; the conjunct *gg* figures as *gn* ; cf. *svargga-*, l. 7 ; *dh*, which has developed a horn on its left limb, is devoid of the top-stroke, and the verticals of *dhā* are joined in the middle by a horizontal bar, *e.g.*, in *dhāma*, l. 17. And lastly, the superscript forms of *t* and *n* are occasionally denoted by a horizontal stroke ; *e.g.*, in *kīrtti-* in ll. 4 and 5, and in *-indu-* in l. 26 but not in *kīrti*, in l. 26 and in *punantu*, in l. 4.

The **language** is Sanskrit, with a few grammatical errors appearing here and there, which are all pointed out and corrected in the text given below. And except for the word *svasti* in the beginning, *itaś=cha* in l. 4, *atha cha* in l. 10 and the portion giving the date in the end, the

[1] This report was not printed and my reference to it is from H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwālior Rājya-kē Abhilēkha* (Hindi). It is No. 122.

entire record is in verse, consisting of 70 verses composed in the Kāvya style, all of which are numbered.

With reference to **orthography,** we note that (1) *b* is everywhere denoted by the sign for *v*, as in *vabhūva*, l. 25 ; (2) a class-consonant as a subscript of *r* is generally doubled, *e.g.*, in *sarvva-* l. 5, and *t* as a superscript of *r* is occasionally doubled, as in *-chhattra-*, l. 5 but not in *tatra*, l. 6 ; (3) in a very few instances the dental sibilant is employed for the palatal, *e.g.*, in *prasasti-*, l. 39, and *vice versa* is the case in *-śrōta-* (for *srōta*) in l. 38 ; (4) *prishṭha-mātrā* is used with a few exceptions as in *-pratishṭhō-*, l. 21 ; and in a few instances the vertical of it cannot be distinguished from a *daṇḍa* and the *ā-mātrā* of the preceding letter ; (5) omitting a few instances, *e.g.*, in vv. 13 and 26, the final *m* is wrongly changed to *anusvāra* : and finally, (6) *ujjvala* in l. 12 is spelt as *ujvala*, *aṅghri* in l. 14 as *aṁhri*, *arṇṇava* in l. 40, with dental *n*, *parjanya* as *paryaṇya* in l. 33 ; and *kh* is substituted by *sh* in instances like *ashaṇḍa*, l. 23, *shāha*, l. 27 and *shaṇḍita*, l. 32. The word *tanūruha*, which generally denotes a 'hair' is used in the sense of 'a son' in l. 20. Errors in composition are pointed out in the transcript below.

The inscription belongs to the reign of **Āsalarāja** or Āsalladēva of the **Yajvapāla** dynasty of Narwar (Nalapura), and its **object** is to record the construction of a temple by the royal officer Jaitrasiṁha (v. 36) and its consecration by Nāgadēva, in the year which is mentioned in v. 40 in wordnumerals as *nidhi* (9), *indu* (1), *agni* (3) and again *indu* (1), *i.e.*, **1319,** which is evidently to be taken as of the Vikrama era. The year is repeated in figures in the end, where the unit figure is partly engraved and the decimal figure is altogether omitted, leaving its place vacant. The month, the *paksha* and such other details are not mentioned ; and taking the year as Chaitrādi *current*, it is equivalent to **1261 A.C.,** and as *expired*, to 1262 A.C.

The inscription is a sectarian record, and a *praśasti*, as the word is used in v. 67 and also in each of the following two verses. It may be split up into three sections. The first of these sections, which comprises vv. 1-14, begins with paying homage to Ādidēva (Ṛishabhadēva), Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra, Śāradā and the (Jaina) saints, devoting one verse to each of them. It then mentions the ruling family of the Yajvapālas, 'which was glorious in bringing the earth (*i.e.*, the particular region) under one sovereignty' ; and the first person introduced here is **Y(P)aramāḍirāja,** who is stated to have 'excelled Skanda, the destroyer of the demon Tāraka' (v. 7). Nothing can be gleaned from this poetic description. He was succeeded by **Chāhaḍa,** who is stated to have been 'a conflagration to scorch the forest of hostile kings' ; and though none of his adversaries is specified here, one of them appears to have been, as we are informed by Minhāj-ud-dīn, Malik Nusrat-ud-dīn Tayasāi, a general of Sultān Iltutmish, defeated by him on the bank of the Kālī Sindh in 1234 A.C.[1] He is no doubt the Chāhar-i-Ajar of Minhaj-ud-dīn who calls him 'the greatest of raes' in tract comprising Gwaliur, Chandiri, Nurwur and Malwah and as having 5,000 horsemen and 200,000 footmen under his command' and also the same as Jahir Deo of Firishta.[2] We have no inscription of Chāhaḍa himself or of his time, but on the basis of coins issued by him,[3] we know him to have been on the throne at least from V.S. 1294 (?) to 1311 (1237-1254 A.C.). The first of these dates, as rightly observed by Dr. D. C. Sircar, may be taken at least three years earlier when this king is stated to have gained victory over the Muslim general, as just seen. He was a contemporary of Sultan Nāsir-uddīn (1246-66 A.C.) of Delhi.

The record mentions nothing particular about Paramāḍirāja ; and this is the only record where his name figures. He may have been an ancestor of Chāhaḍa, and perhaps his father, as can be known from the way in which he is introduced here as any other ruler.[4] We have no evidence to show that this person actually occupied the throne ; and it is evident that in the confusion that followed the death of Iltutmish in 1233 A.C., Chāhaḍa, who was then watching

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[1] *Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī*, Raverty's Translation, Vol. II, p. 175.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 690-91; and *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhī*, Briggs' Translation, Vol. I, p. 239 respectively.

[3] Cunningham, *Coins of Med. India*, pp. 92 ff. Also see R. D. Banerji, *Num. Suppl.*, No. XXXIII, pp. 80 ff. and the Section on Coinage and Currency, above.

[4] Verse 8 introduces Chāhaḍa by the expression *tadanu* (after him), and similar expressions occur in vv. 9 and 11 while introducing Nṛivarman and Āsalla, who were respectively his son and grandson, as we know from the other records of the house.

an opportunity, captured the hill-fort of Narwar, as stated in the inscription of the time of Gōpāladeva of V.S. 1349,[1] and establishing himself there, began to raid the surrounding region and also to extend his kingdom. Thus he was the first ruler of the Yajvapāla house of Narwar.

Verses 9-10 of the inscription state that Chāhaḍa was succeeded by **Nṛivarman,** who 'knew the vulnerable points of his adversaries,' and he by **Āsallarāja** 'who closed the lotuses which were the faces of his enemies.' Here the relationship that either of these princes bore to his predecessor is not stated, but we know from the other records pertaining to the house that they were Chāhaḍa's son and grandson, respectively. The description of both these is too vague. It is, however, worth noting here that the last year when Chāhaḍa issued his coins is recorded to be V.S. 1311 or 1254 A.C., as seen above, which is also the first known year of the coins of Āsalladēva ;[2] and presuming this record to be correct, we have to conclude that Chāhaḍa was succeeded by his grandson Āsalla and also that Nṛivarman predeceased him. It is possible, however that Nṛivarman may have been a governor of some part of the kingdom under his father when he also participated in his warfare, as we learn from the following inscription, which states that he vanquished the haughty ruler of Mālava and exacted a tribute from him.[3]

Verses 12-13 describe Āsalla as a great warrior and a daring prince vanquishing his enemies; but this description is all poetic, supplying no historical information. The verse that follows mentions his capital Nalapura (*i.e.*, Narwar), situated in a *vishaya* (territorial division) known as *Pādōnalaksha*, *i.e.*, comprising 75,000 (villages).

The second part of the *praśasti*, which comprises vv. 15-64, contains the description of a family known as Jēyavāla (perhaps Jāyaswāl of the modern days). in which Jaitrasiṁha, who built the temple, was born. The first of his ancestors mentioned here is Sāḍhadēva, whose son was Kumāra, who, again, had a son named Nāgaṇa, who married Rājalladēvī and from her had a son named Jaitrasiṁha. This person is described here as 'an ornament of the royal assembly,' obviously that of Āsalladēva (vv. 16-20). He was a zealous devotee of Jainism. His wife was Śrī, who was a daughter of one Kēśava (about whom nothing is known) and who bore him seven sons of the names of Udayasiṁha, Śṛingārasiṁha, Rājasiṁha, Vīrasiṁha, Lakshmaṇasiṁha Ratnasiṁha and lastly, Nayanasiṁha, successive in age (vv. 22-29). Incidently some other members of the house are also mentioned here. Thus, the record states that Udayasiṁha, the eldest of the brothers, married Ajaïṇī, who bore him four sons, *viz.*, Karṇasiṁha, Dēvasiṁha, Padmasiṁha and Dharmasiṁha ; and the wives of the three of his successive younger brothers were Laduāḍā, Padmā and Vijayadēvī, respectively. Vijayadēvī's son was Kshēmasiṁha (vv. 24-33).

Verses 34-36 inform us that following the example of his ancestors, *viz.*, Vīlha, Agaṇē (?) and Kshmāsaṁkaṭa, the last of whom was honoured by the lord of Śākambharī, whose name is not mentioned, and realising that some of them consecrated one Jaina lord every day, the blessed Jaitrasiṁha, whose mind had been purified by the doctrine of Jainism, erected a temple for Jina (name not mentioned) at Palāsavāha. The next verse describes the temple in a poetic way, using varieties of the figure known as *utprēkshā*.

In the following four verses (37-40) it is stated that Nāgadēva, the foremost among the Jaina society, performed the consecration ceremony. He was the son of the brother of Śrīdhara.[4] He had two brothers Chāhaḍa and Gāṅgadēva and two sons, Āmradēva and Sōmadēva by name. We are further informed that the consecration was supervised by Vasantadēva, who was 'the moon sprung from the ocean of nectar in the form of enlightenment' and by Amarakīrtidēva, who was 'a thunderbolt for (to shatter) the mountains of false reasoning and was of chaste fame' (v. 41).

The next twenty-three verses (42-64) record the names of those who were on the managing committee (*gōshṭhikas*)[5] for the construction and consecration of the temple. In all they were 21 ; and this portion being historically worthless, only their list is given below. It may, however, be observed here that some and not all are mentioned here with their family names and

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[1] Below, No. 175.

[2] Below, No. 160.

[3] Cunningham, *C.M.I.*, p. 90.

[4] Here the text is *Śrīdhara-v(b)andhu-sūnuḥ*, which literally means as taken here. It is not known if *Śrīdhara-bandhu* is vaguely used to denote his father's name (the son of the *bandhu* of Śrīdhara).

[5] For this word, see n. in text, above, No. 154, v. 34.

some with surnames, whereas in the case of some of them the names of their dependents are also given.

1. *Śrēshṭhin* Mādhava of the Jēsavāla (Jāyaswāl) family, whose son was Dēvasiṁha and whose wife Vīrā had two sons, Salakshaṇasiṁha and Kṛityasiṁha, and a daughter of the name of Dhīrā (vv. 42-44).

2. *Sādhu* Jasē's son *Sādhu* Vijayadēva, whose wife was Śṛiṅgāradēvī and who had two sons, named Sh(S)āhadēva and Āmradēva (vv. 45-46).

3. *Śrēshṭhin* Jājē of the Paravāḍa family (v. 47).

4. Sahadēva (v. 48).

5. *Sādhu* Dhaināka (v. 49).

6. Āhaḍa (v. 50).

7. Chāhaḍa (v. 51).

8. Ābhū (v. 54).

9-10. Maradū and Chāha (v. 55).

11. V(B)ahula, the village headman (v. 56).

12. Nārāyaṇa (or Satyanārāyaṇa ?) of the Māthura family (v. 57).

13. Bhṛigu's son *Sādhu* Kuladhara (v. 58).

14-18. Jauṇapāla and Guṇapāla, who worshipped the Jina, *Sādhu* Mādhava, Nāsala and Tajū (v. 59).

19-20. Sīhuna and Vīhula, the sons of *Sādhu Mālū* (vv. 60-62).

21. Mardura of the Paurapāṭa family (v. 63).

The last section, which commences with v. 65, expresses the hope that as long as the splendour of the sky is adorned by the moon, the Sun and the stars resembling a string of pearls, – even so long may the temple last.

The next two verses furnish the details about the poet who composed the *praśasti*. He was the illustrious Dēvachandra, a disciple of Vīrēndra, or Vīrachandra, who was known as the moving goddess of Learning and who again was a disciple of Dēvagupta of the Śvētāmbara clan who is stated to have delighted the king or kings (whose name or names is/are not mentioned). Lastly, we are informed that the *praśasti* was written by Vēdē, the son of Śarad,[1] a Kāyastha of the Vāstavya clan, and was engraved by Āmadēva, the son of the artizan Pāpaka of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*. In the last line we read the names of Udaï, the son of Lakshmī, who belonged to the Māthura clan (of the Kāyasthas); but the connection in which this name appears here is not stated in the inscription.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the present inscription, **Nalapura** (l. 10), the capital of the royal house of the Yajvapālas, is evidently the modern town of Narwar in the Shivpurī District of Madhya Pradesh; and the *vishaya* of **Pādōnalaksha,** in which it is stated to have been situated (l. 9), is obviously the surrounding region. **Palāsavāha,** where the temple was erected (l. 22), cannot be identified; but from the provenance of the inscription, it is possible to suggest that this may have been the ancient name of Bhīmpur itself, the details of which have already been mentioned above.

TEXT[2]

[Metres: Verses 1-4, 10, 14, 25, 41, 49 and 70 *Vasantatilakā;* v. 5 *Indravaṁśā;* vv. 6 and 50 *Svāgatā;* vv. 7, 17, 19, 22-23, 27-28, 36, 38-39, 42, 53 and 65 *Upajāti;* vv. 8, 18 and 63 *Rathōddhatā;* vv. 9, 11, 13, 16, 20, 24, 29-34, 40, 43-48, 51, 54-62, 64 and 68-69 *Anushṭubh;* vv. 12, 26 and 66-67 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita;* v. 15 *Mālinī;* vv. 21 and 37 *Mandākrāntā;* v. 35 *Indravajrā;* v. 52 *Śālinī*].

1 सिद्धम्[3] ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ भामंडलीयमि[ष]तः सवितारमेषा संसेवितुं दिवसवासवनन्दिनीव। यस्यांश(स)योल्लंसति
कुन्तलकान्तलेखा स श्रेयसे भवतु वः प्रभुरादिदेवः ॥१ उद्भासयन्ति यदुपर्युरगेन्द्रचूलारत्नप्र-

[1] Here the text reads *Śarad-ātmajaḥ* and also *Sōmadēva-samudbhavaḥ* (v. 68). It is not known if both these persons (Śarad and Sōma) were identical.

[2] From the original stone.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

2 दीपकलिकाः किल सप्तसंख्याः । तत्त्वानि सप्तभुवने कुमतान्धकारे पार्श्वप्रभुर्भवतु सैष[1] विभूतये वः ॥२
विस्र समानलवणोदधिमेखलेयमाकंपमानकुलशैलनितम्वविम्वा(म्बबिम्बा) यस्मिन्न-

3 भूद्वनियोषिदिदं मुदे वः श्रीवीरभर्त्तुरमराचलचालनं स्तात् ॥३ यस्याः प्रसादमधिगम्य जडाशयस्याप्याभाति
सा रसविशिष्टनिनादभंग्या । श्रीः शारदीनशिशिरद्युतिकौमुदीव साहर्न्नि-

4 शं मनसि दीव्यतु शारदा मे ॥४ स्याद्वादविद्यार्णवपार्व्वणेंदवः कारुण्यरत्नांकुररोहणाद्रयः कीर्त्तिप्रभाधौत-
दिगम्व(म्ब)रश्रियः श्रीमूलसंघे मुनयः पुनन्तु वः ॥५ इतश्च ॥ यज्वपाल इति सार्थक-

5 नामा संव(ब)भूव वसुधाधववंशः । सर्व्वतः कलितकीर्त्तिदुकूलश्छत्रमेकमसृजद्भुवने यः ॥६ कुले किलास्मिन्नज-
निष्ट वीरचूडामणिः श्री य(प)रमाडिराजः । शूरच्छिदाभर्त्सितताकश्रीः स्कंदोपि नास्कंदति

6 येन साम्यं(म्यम्) ॥७ तत्र नाक युवतिस्तनस्थलीपत्रवल्लिघनडंव(ब)रस्पृशि । चाहडः प्रतिनरेंद्रकाननप्लो-
षदावशिरिवमूर्त्तिरुद्ययौ ॥८ तत्र स्वर्ग्गपुरीपौरगौरवं समुपेयेषि । नृ वर्म्मा वैरिमर्म्माभिन्महीजानि-

7 रजायत ॥९ यस्मिन्विलासकुशले हृदयाधिनाथे स्थाने करं क्षिपति सागरमेखलायां(लायम्) । उत्कंटकानपृथु-
कंपवती न जज्ञे प्रौढांगनेव नवभारविवर्णभावं(वम्) ॥१० अस्मिन्नासेदुषि स्वर्गश्रीसंसर्गं महीभुजि ।
नंदत्या-

8 सलराजेंदुर्मीलितारिमुखांवु(बु)जः ॥११ संग्रामेषु समग्रसाहसरिपुक्षुण्णेभकुंभस्थल ।[2]मुक्तादंतुरिता कृपाण-
लतिका भाभाति हस्ते तव । श्रीमन्नासलभूप किं[नु] भवते जैत्रश्रिया । प्रेषितः कंदर्प्पोत्सवलेख

9 एष कदलीपत्रे[3] पवित्राक्षरः ॥१२ त्वयावधूतभूपालगोरक्षेणारियोषिताम् । लोचनेषु नृपासल्ल चक्रे लक्ष्मी-
र्निरंजना ॥१३ अस्य प्रतापकनकैरमलैर्यशोभिर्मुक्ताफलैरखिलभूषणविभ्रमायां(याम्) । पादोनलक्षवि-

10 षयक्षितिपक्ष्मलाक्ष्यामास्ते[4] पुरं नलपुरं तिलकायमानं(नम्) ॥१४ अथ च ॥ भ्रमरहितविकासः प्रीत-
सच्चक्रवर्ग्गः परिचितघनपंकं नालसत्वं दधानः । जयति भुवनलक्ष्मी विभ्रमागारभूमिः कमलवन-
सनाभिर्जे-

11 यवालान्ववायः[5] ॥१५ एतद्वंशसुधाम्भोधिसुधादीधितिरुद्ययौ । साढदेवः सुधीः पूर्व्वमपूर्व्वमतिवैभवः ॥१६
अभीकभावं भुवि भीरुव[र्ग]व्यथामकुर्व्वन्नपि यश्चकार[6] । स श्रीकुमारः सुकुमारवाचा पीयूषवर्षो
तदपत्यमासीत् ॥१७ नागणस्तदनु

12 तस्य नन्दनश्चन्दनैरिव यशोभिरुज्व(ज्ज्व)लैः । पूर्व्वपूरुषवियोगवेदिनीं मेदिनीं शशिमुखीमुपाचरत् ॥१८
चेतः श्रिता(?) केतकगर्भगौरं गिरः शरच्चंद्रसुधासध[र्म्म्याः] । शैलश्रियां मंगलसौधमंगं राजल्लदेवी
गृहिणी तदीया ॥१९ त[7]-

13 त्कुक्षिरोहणक्षोणिमाणिक्यं द्योतते भुवि । जैत्रसिंहः क्षमापालसभायुवतिभूषणं(णम्) ॥२० नानादानाव-
सरविलसत्कल्पनावारिभिस्ते भूयः [पं]कां यदिवभवर्नि त्वद्यशश्रीर्भ्रमित्वा(।)भेजे देवप्रवरभवनं
चंद्रपीयूष-

14 कुण्डे धौतांह्रि(घ्रि)स्तन्मृगमिव महापंकि तज्जैत्रसिंह ॥२१ नाकेशवात्केशवदेवनामा नित्यं सुधर्म्माश्रय-
वर्द्धितश्रीः । यस्याः पिता सा कुलधर्म्महर्म्यं विराजति(ते) श्रीर्दयिता तदीया ॥२२ सा सप्त-
गोत्रस्थितिसप्त[है]मसौ[8]-

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[1] Read *sa ēsha* but it would not suit the metre. The consonant of the preceding letter was first engraved as *t* and later on corrected.

[2] The *daṇḍa* is to show the vocative case, addressing the king.

[3] The preceding letter was originally engraved as *pu* and later on, the sign of the *mātrā* was erased, as can clearly be seen on the original.

[4] What appears as the sign of *anusvāra* on *kshyā* is the original fault of the stone.

[5] The figure of speech in this verse is metaphor, using expressions as are applicable to the name of the royal family, as well as to a lotus.

[6] The ends of the consonant of the preceding letter and the horizontal stroke are lined by a curve. Below, there are some other instances of the type, which are not noted separately.

[7] There is a redundant horizontal stroke at the end of the line.

[8] A *daṇḍa* was at first engraved after the bracketed letter and was subsequently scored off by a stroke.

15 धाकृतीन्सप्तसुतानसूत। महारथे श्रीजिनधर्म्मभानोरावि(बि)भ्रतः सप्ततुरंगभंगीम् ॥२३ तेषामुदयसिंहाख्यो मुख्यः सिंह इवैधते। निर्भिद्य कलिकालेभं कीर्त्तिमुक्तावलीः किरन् ॥२४ अद्यापि किं दहति दूरदरिद्रमुद्रा

16 विश्वं विभाति मयि दौस्थ्यवनैकदावि। किं दक्षिणस्तवनपाणिरितीव कोपादुज्जाज्वलीत्युदयसिंह[य]-शोणशोचिः[1] ॥२५ त्यक्त्वा सामरमन्दिरालगरलं(?) नित्यं ज्वलत्कौस्तुभस्वाहा[व]ल्लभमाविहाय भुजयोर्म्मध्यं मुरारेर-

17 पि। शश्वत्पातिशिलीमुखालिविषमादम्भोरुहाद्वि(द्रि)भ्यती धावत्यौदयसिंहमस्तदुरितं धाम प्रतिश्रीध्रुवम् ॥२६ शृंगारसिंहस्तदनुज्जिहीते शृंगाररत्नं सुविवेक भाजाम्[2]। ततोऽ[नु]भू राजति राजसिंहः कलानिधानं सु[3]

18 कृतैकतानः ॥२७ तस्यानुजन्मा सुकृतार्थजन्मा सन्मानसः खेलति वीरसिंहः। यशःपराभूतसुधा[न्शु]धामा[4] तस्यानुजो लक्ष्मणसिंहनामा ॥२८ आस्ते विपश्चितां(दां) रत्नं रत्नसिंहस्तदन्तिमः। लघुर्न्नयन-सिंहाख्यस्तस्मा-

19 दप्यलघुर्ग्गुणैः ॥२९ साधोरुदयसिंहस्य सा[भी]ष्टाऽजइणि[5]र्व्वधूः। चतुरश्चतुरम्भोधिविश्रुतान्सुषुवे सुतान् ॥३० कर्म्मसिंहः पुरस्तेषां देवसिंहस्ततोनुजः। तृतीयः पद्मसिंहाख्यो धर्म्मसिंहश्चतुर्थकः ॥३१ भार्या शृं-

20 [गा]रसिंहस्य शोभा ल[दु ?]अडाभिधा। प्रेयसी राजसिंहस्य पद्मा पद्मालयाकृतिः ॥३२ नाम्ना विजयदेवी-ति वीरसिंहस्य गेहिनी। पवित्रं चरितं तस्याः क्षेमसिंहस्तनूरुहः[6] ॥ ३३ अन्यदा धन्यधीः स्वान्ते जैनसिद्धान्त–

21 पाविते। जैत्रसिंहः प्रवु(बु)द्धात्मा चिन्तयामासिवानिति ॥३४ नित्यैकजैनेन्द्रकृतप्रतिष्ठो विह्ल स्ततोभूदग-णेर्ग्गुणज्ञ(ज्ञः)। सा(शा)कंभरीनाथकृतप्रसिद्धः(द्धिः) क्ष्मासंकटाख्यः पुरुषोत्तमः प्राक् ॥३५ अस्मत्कुला-लंकृतये व(ब)भूवुरन्ये-

22 पि धन्या इति जैत्रसिंहः ॥(।) विमृश्य तन्नाम नवीचकार पलासवाहे कृत[जै]नसौधः ॥३६ व्योमाभोगात्कि-मियममरद्वीपिनीवारिपूरः पृथ्वीपीठे पतति यदि वा तुंगमीशाद्रिशृंगं(गम्)। वेलाशैलः किमुत धवल-

23 क्षीरसिन्धूर्म्मिधौतन्नोन्नश्रीमज्जिनतरगृहं राजते जैत्रसिंहं(हम्) ॥३७ श्रीपौरपाटान्वयजैनवर्ग्गधुरंधर श्रीधरवं(बं)धुसूनुः। अषं(खं)डधीः पंडितपुंडरीकरवंडश्रियेहं सति नागदेवः ॥३८ तस्यानुजौ चाहडगा(गां?)-

24 गदेवौ स्वकीर्त्तिवाचालितनागदेवौ। सुतावुभावादिम आम्रदेवः कम्राकृतिस्तल्लघुसोमदेवः[7] ॥३९ श्रितमाहेन्द्र मुद्रेण[8] नागदेवमनीषिणा। प्रतिष्ठात्र कृता चैत्ये निधीन्द्वग्नीन्दुवत्सरे ॥४०॥

25 दुर्व्वादिगुर्व्वगुरुपर्व्वतवज्रदंडः श्रीखंडकीर्त्तिमहिमामरकीर्त्तिदेवः। वो(बो)धामृतार्ण्णवविधुश्च वसन्तदेवः प्रातिष्ठकृत्यविषयेऽत्र गुरुर्व(र्ब)भूव[9] ॥४१ श्रीजेसवालान्वयपारिजातवा(बा)लप्रवाल-

26 श्चरितार्थनामा [।*] प्रफुल्लयन्नुल्वणकीर्त्तिमल्लीः श्रेष्ठी परीराजति[10] माधवाह्वः ॥४२ तत्सूनुर्देवसिंहाख्यः श्रीणां लीलानिकेतनं(नम्)। गुणकैरवपर्व्वेन्दुः श्रद्धावल्लिनवान्वु(म्बु)दः ॥४३ वीराख्या गृहिणी तस्य धीरा तत्तनयावु-

27 [भौ][11]। प्राक(क्) सलक्षणसिंहाह्वः कृत्यसिंहस्ततः परः ॥४४ जसेसाधुतनूजन्मा साधुर्व्विजयदेवकः।

[1] Here the reading is certain but I am unable to make out the sense.

[2] The horizontal stroke of this *akshara* is not incised and the one marking it as consonant resembles the *mātrā* of long *ū*, the whole letter appearing as *gu*. Some other omissions of this type there are, but they are not noted separately.

[3] The stroke is to show that the word ends in the next line.

[4] Read *sudhāṁśu*.

[5] The Sanskrit form of this name would be *ajayinī*.

[6] This word strictly means 'a hair' and hence it is better to read *tanūdbhavaḥ*.

[7] Grammar requires a *visarga* after *ghu*, but it would not suit the metre.

[8] *Mudrā* is the mode of holding the fingers in religious worship.

[9] Read *guravō babhūvuḥ* dropping *atra* to suit the metre.

[10] Read *parirājati* which would not suit the metre.

[11] The consonant of the *akshara* appears as *s*.

श्रृंगारदेवी तज्जाया निर्म्माया वर्म्मकर्म्मसु ॥४५ तद्गर्भसंभवौ शोभावेभवध्वस्तमन्मथौ । सनयौ तनयौ भातः षा ।

28 हृदेवाम्रदेवकौ[1] ॥४६ जाजे श्रेष्ठी सतां श्रेष्ठः परवाडकुलाग्रणीः[2]। कलिसन्तापितक्षोणीचन्दनीकृत-कीर्त्तिकः ॥४७ सहदेवः स माधुर्यवचाधुर्यः कलापितां(ताम्)[3] । अनघ्यायः कुकृत्यानामसत्याना-मनास्पदं(दम्) ॥४८[4]

29 सव्येतरप्रवरपाणिसरोजरंध्रनिःस्यंदमानग[ज ?]दानजलेन जाते । जंवा(बा)लभूमनि यशःसितपंकजाली धेना-कसाधुरनुवर्द्धयते धरित्र्याम् ॥४९ आहडः स्फटिकशैल इवास्ते शंकरं शिरसि धारयमाणः[5][।*]

30 मानसेन विमलेन पवित्रश्चित्रमेष न तु कूटसामतः ॥५० सुवर्ण्णं चरितं यस्य कलिकालकषोपले शुद्धिं ददाति साधूनां चाहडः । सेषशेरवरः[6]॥५१ — — — मानिश्चलो वाचि साधु सर्व्वज्ञांहि(घ्रि)स्मेरदम्भा[`*]जभृंगः[7] । दाना

31 मानी कीर्त्तिकान्त्या हिमानीजेता नेता धीमतां धौतचेताः ॥५२ गम्भीर[ता]धःकृतनीरनाथः स्थैर्येण सन्तर्ज्जितसा(?)रुचूलः । दानावदातैर्व(र्व)लिराजकल्प[स्तु]ल्यः श्रिया नंदति साधुवाचः[8]॥५३ साधुरा(र) भू[त्*]पराभूतकुतीर्थपथ-

32 संक[थः] । हृदि सर्व्वज्ञरक्तेपि धत्ते वैमल्यमद्भुतम् ॥५४ [मर][9]दूचाहनामानौ गाढरागौ जिनाव्ध्वनि । गुणकेतकविस्मेरभाववषगिणोपमौ ॥५५ शक्रः सा(श्रा)वकचक्रस्य ग्रामणीर्ग्गुणशालिनां(नाम्) । पंडितः षं(रवं)डिताशेषव्वेषधीर्व्व(ब्वं ?)हुलाभिधः ॥५६॥

33 तमाश्छदविधिच्छेक[10]मावि(बि)भ्राणः सुदर्शनम् । सत्यो नारायणः श्रीमान्भाति माथुरवंशजः ॥५७ साधु कुलधरः संधानुजन्मे भृगुनंदनः । सौजन्यवल्लिपर्यण्य(र्जन्य)संन्यस्ताखिलदूषणः ॥५८ जौणपालः कृपालूनां धुरि धर्म्म[सु]धा-

34 म्वु(म्बु)धिः । प्रह्वस्ति गुणपालह्वः श्रीजिनाराधने धनी ॥५९[11]ससव्यसनसप्तार्च्चिः सन्तापशमनांवु(बु)-दौ । धर्म्मकर्म्मणि धौरेयौ साधुः माधवना[श]लः[12]॥ ६० कृपाव्रततिजीमूतः पूतधीः ⏑ ⏑ [13] विधः । तजूनामा सुधीः पा-

35 त्रं यशसां शिशि(रिव)तेजसां(साम्) । [।६१*]साधुमालूसुतौ सत्यशीलौ छी[हु]लवी[हु]लौ[14]। प्रणीतविबु(बु)धान [न]दौ गीर्व्वाणभिषजाविव ॥६२ पौरपाटकुलविंध्यभूधरे भद्रजातिमहिमन्युदीयते । उद्यशः कुसुमसौरभं दि-

36 [सा(शा)]मर्पयन्नवितथोयमर्दुरः[15] ॥६३ एतेऽस्मिन्नाहते चा[न्यै][16] जैनार्च्चालयकारिणः । वर्द्धन्तां गौष्ठिकाः पुण्यवनकंदलनांवु(बु)दाः ॥६४ चंद्रांशुमत्कुंडलमंडितेयं तारालिमुक्ताफलहारयष्टिः चकास्ति यावद्ग[17]-

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[1] The first letter in this line was originally engraved as given here but subsequently it was changed to *hma*.

[2] This family is the same as Paurapāṭa appearing in line 23 above.

[3] Read *kalāvatāṁ*.

[4] A *daṇḍa* at the end of this line, as also at the end of some others below, is only to fill in the gap.

[5] Read *dhārayan* but it would not suit the metre.

[6] The reading is certain but what is intended is not precisely known. Moreover, the number of the verse is followed by a vacant space for three *aksharas* which began the verse in *Śālinī*, as is evident from what follows. The preceding name *Chāhaḍa* is engraved in comparatively smaller letters.

[7] *Sarvajña*, which is a synonym of Buddha, is here to denote Jina. Moreover, a participle from the adjective *smēra* is formed here. The flaw can be removed by reading *smēra pathōja*. The first three *aksharas* of this verse are lost. Conjecturally they may have been *bhāsvaddhā*.

[8] Originally *chēḥ* with the sign of *mātrā* erased later on.

[9] Both these letters are crisped into each other.

[10] The reading of these letters is certain, but the meaning is not clear.

[11] The decimal figure of this number was at first carved as two horizontal strokes and subsequently corrected.

[12] The bracketed letter is not well formed and therefore the reading is not certain.

[13] The three letters were not engraved on the original stone and the space for them was left vacant.

[14] The bracketed *akshara* may also be read as *hva* at both the places.

[15] The reading of this and the preceding *akshara* is not certain as one of them is overwritten, after tampering the original.

[16] This letter is deformed and the sign of *visarga*, which was first put, was subsequently rubbed off. Read चान्यै.

[17] There are two redundant horizontal strokes here.

37 [ग]नस्य लक्ष्मीर्जैनालयं नन्दतु तावदेतत् ॥६५ अ[स्त्यै]केशगणारविन्दतरणिः श्रीदेवगुप्तप्रभुर्व्यारव्यानक्षणतो-
षितक्षितिपतिः श्वेताम्व(म्ब)रारवण्डलः । आसीदुग्रसमस्तवादिकरटिक्षोदैकपंचाननस्तत्पादाम्वु(म्बु)-
जराजह(हं)[1]-

38 समहिमा श्रीवीरचन्द्रः कविः ॥६६ तस्माज्जंगमभारतीति जगति स्याताभिधानाद्गुरोर्व्वीरेंदोरधिगत्य
सत्यमहिमभ्राजिष्णुसारस्वतम् । संसिद्धाम्व(म्ब)रसिंधुवं(बं)धुरगिरां शुद्धिः सुधानीरधिश्रो(स्त्रो)तप्रोतपदां
प्रशस्तिमकृत श्री-

39 देवचंद्रः कृती ॥६७ वास्तव्या[न्व]यकायस्थशेखरः शरदात्मजः । प्रशस्तिमलिख[2]द्देदेरिमां सोमसमुद्भवः
॥६८ [भूतः][3] कस्य(श्य)पगोत्रस्य[4] पापकः सूत्रधारक[:।*] आमदेवो(वः) सुतस्तस्य प्रस(श)स्ति
प्रोच्चकार सः ।[। ६९*]

40 श्रीमाथुरान्वयमा(म)हार्न्न(र्ण्ण)वराजहंश(सः) लोकोपकारकरगौ ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑[5] । धमा-
(र्मा)र्थकामकुशलो(लः) प्पिषिला(?)कलानां साधु[:*] सधर्मलष्मेसुतशाधु(साधुः) उदइ[6] ॥७०॥
संवत्.०[7] [॥*]

No. 160 ; Plate CXXXXVII

A YAJVAPĀLA STONE INSCRIPTION FROM NARWAR

(Undated and Incomplete)

THE stone bearing this inscription was discovered by M. B. Garde, the then Director of Archaeology in the (former) Gwālior State, in 1925 A.C. It was found by him in a vegetable vendor's (*kūṅjaḍā's*) house, at **Narwar,** an ancient town in the Karērā *tehsīl* of the Siprī (Shivpurī) District of Madhya Pradesh. Garde, who removed the stone to the Archaeological Museum at Gwālior, briefly summarised the contents of the record in the *Annual Report* of the Department for the same year, where it is stated that the inscription was engraved during the reign of Āsalladēva of the Yajvapāla dynasty. Subsequently, the record was edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 65 ff., and Plate. He has rightly shown that the epigraph did not belong to the time of Āsalladēva but to that of his son Gōpāladēva, as to be seen below. The inscription is edited here from the original stone, which I examined in the Museum, and an inked impression supplied by the Chief Epigraphist, to whom my thanks are due.

The record is inscribed on the countersunk surface of a dark pinkish stone surrounded by a plain border, and measures 64·5 cms. broad by 61 cms. high. It consists of eighteen lines of writing, covering a space 48·3 cms. broad by 34·5 cms. high. But a noteworthy feature of it is that it is **incomplete.** Its last line, which contains the concluding part of verse 22, ends with the first six syllables of a new stanza, but the rest of the verse was not incised, even though there is enough space below (about 10 cms. high).

1 There is a redundant vertical stroke here also.
2 Originally *khā* with the *mātrā* scored later on.
3 These letters are partly lost and hence cannot be distinctly made out.
4 Originally *syā* with the *mātrā* scored on subsequently.
5 These letters too are partly preserved and cannot be made out.
6 The fourth foot does not appear to be metrical.
7 The decimal figure is only a dot and the tail of the unit figure appears to have been left while engraving. It may have been 9.

The letters are carefully drawn and incised, but the surface of the stone on the proper right side has irregularly peeled off or worn here and there, resulting in the loss of a number of the *aksharas* in each of the lines, the loss being greater in ll. 7-10 where almost the first half in each has disappeared. Nothing, however, is lost on the proper left side. The average height of the letters is about 1·5 cms.

The **characters** are Nāgarī, bearing a general resemblance to those of the preceding record but showing angular bends. Worth noting is the fully developed form of *ch*, *e.g.*, in *chaṁdra*, l. 5, and that of *dh*, with its horn bent in some instances as in *Dhār-*, l. 11, but not in the same word in l. 5 ; that of the slightly different forms of *bh*, as in *-abhūta-* and *bhaṭa*, both in l. 4 : the slightly different forms of *ś* in *śuchi-* and *śyāma-*, both in l. 10 : and lastly, that of *s*, which is devoid of the tail on the left limb, as in *asti*, l. 9.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, which is generally correct, and except a small sentence in the beginning which invokes the blessings of *Gaṇapati*, the whole of the extant portion of the inscription is in verse, containing 22 verses and a part of the next verse, as stated above. The verses are all numbered though we find that some of the numerical figures are lost with the *aksharas* which have now peeled off. In spite of the fact that the engraver has done his work with care, arbitrary strokes of the chisel have in some instances changed the forms of letters, *e.g.*, in *prasādāt*, l. 1, the third letter appears as *dvā*, and in *kurvvati*, l. 8, the second letter has become *rdva*.

The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities, *e.g.*, (1) throughout *v* is written for *b* also, as in *vala-* and *valavān-*, both in l. 12 ; (2) the occasional use of the dental for the palatal sibilant as in *śivāy=ādisatāṁ*, l. 2, in which only the second of the sibilants wrongly takes the place of the palatal ; (3) the doubling of a consonant following *r*, *e.g.*, in *Durggā-*, l. 9 ; (4) the use of the *pṛishṭha-mātrā* ; (5) the *anusvāra* generally serving the purpose of a nasal, except in a few cases, *e.g.*, in *nīlāṁ-*, l. 1 and *khaṇḍa-*, l. 2 ; and lastly, the spelling of the word *ujjvala* in l. 2, with a single *j*, is noteworthy. The *kāka-pada* sign is put at the end of some of the lines, to show that the word is completed in the next line.

The inscription, in its present form, contains no date ; and since it is incomplete, its **object** cannot be definitely known, though it may be surmised that it was to record some meritorious work like the excavation of a step-well, as to be found in some other inscriptions of the time of the Yajvapāla kings.[1] The first two verses of it invoke the blessings of the gods Murāri (Kṛishṇa) and Vāṇī (Sarasvatī), as we find also of verse 2 of inscription No. 175, below ; and the expression *saurājya-bhāsura* in its verse 9 is also used in a similar context in one of the inscriptions of the house (No. 161). This fact led Dr. Sircar to suggest that the record, like both of them, belongs to the reign of **Āsalla's** son Gōpāla, and was probably composed by Śivanābha, the same poet who drafted the other two records just referred to. Following this suggestion, we may also conjecture that the name of Gōpāla may have been mentioned (in its short form Gōpa) in verse 7.

Beginning with the customary obeisance to Gaṇapati, in a small sentence as said above, the inscription invokes the blessings of Murāri (Kṛishṇa) and Vāṇī, respectively in the first two of its verses. The third verse mentions a *vishaya* (territorial division), the name of which is lost but can be made out on the basis of the preceding record as *Pādōnalaksha*. The next five verses are devoted to tracing the genealogy of the ruling house. The name of the first of the kings is lost in verse 4, but he was undoubtedly **Chāhaḍa** since the following verse mentions his son **Nṛivarman,** who is known from the preceding record.

Verse 5 of the inscription is historically important. It states that Nṛivarman vanquished the proud king of Dhārā and exacted tribute from him. This statement cannot be verified, and therefore the details thereof can only be conjectured. The Balvan inscription of the Chāhamāna Hammīra, dated V.S. 1345, tells us that his father Jaitrasiṁha harassed a king named Jayasiṁha in Maṇḍapa ;[2] and we have seen above that this Jayasiṁha was no other than the king Jayavarman II of Dhārā, whose earliest inscription is dated V.S. 1312 or 1256 A.C.[3]

[1] See below, Nos. 161, 175 and 179. They were all composed by the poet Śivanābha, suggesting that like them all, the present inscription too may have been composed by the same poet, as held by Dr. Sircar.
[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 49 ff. See Text, vv. 7-9.
[3] The Rāhatgaḍh Stone Inscription. See above, No. 54.

And though there is nothing to verify the suggestion, it is possible to hold, in view of the close proximity of both the places, namely Narwar and Raṇathambhōr, that Nṛivarman (the Yajvapāla prince), who was the eastern neighbour of Hammīradēva, may have sided Hammīra in the latter's expedition over Mālwā. But while making this suggestion, we have to presume that Nṛivarman, who predeceased his father Chāhaḍa, may have participated in the struggle, referred to above, as a prince, during the reign of his father.

The latter half of verse five gives the names of three persons, namely, Skanda, Chandra and Parita, who may have been, as pointed out by Sircar, while editing the inscription, the Yajvapāla generals who helped Nṛivarman in his encounter with the king of Dhārā.

The next verse introduces Nṛivarman's son, **Āsalladēva**, the first *akshara* of whose name is mutilated. Verse 9 of the record informs us that Āsalla's queen was Savanā.[1]

The remaining portion of the inscription is devoted to the description of a family of the Māthura Kāyasthas, hailing from Gōpagiri, *i.e.*, Gwālior. The first of the names introduced here is Śyāma, who is stated to have been meritorious and resembling a banyan tree (of course, in giving shade and protection). The next member in this family was Bhuvanapāla ; his relationship with his predecessor is lost in verse 12, but he appears to have been a son of Śyāma. Verse 13, which is fortunately preserved with the exception of a few letters towards the end, mentions Bhuvanapāla's contact with Bhōja, the king of Dhārā, the half of whose throne he is said to have occupied ; but, because of the loss of a portion which may have said something definitely in this respect, we can hardly be definite on the point, though the expression *mantra-balāt*, used in this verse, indicates that he was Bhoja's minister, and probably the Chief minister, as also suggested by the word *mukhya* used along with it. Bhuvanapāla's son was Vāsudēva, who is said to have curbed all his enemies, who are not mentioned by names ; and his son was Dāmōdara, who was the Treasury Officer of the king Chāhaḍa.

Taking Dāmōdara as a contemporary of Chāhaḍa (1231-1254 A.C.), and the former's grandfather as a contemporary of Bhōjadēva of Dhārā, as mentioned in the record, we find an interval of nearly two centuries between the Paramāra Bhōja and the Yajvapāla king, which appears to be rather great, though Sircar has observed that it is not altogether impossible.

Reverting to the main theme, we are told that Vāsudēva's wife was Dharmā, who gave birth to five sons, all of whom were intelligent (vv. 11-19). The name of the first of these sons is again lost in verse 20 ; he is stated to have acquired proficiency in all the branches of learning and was also expert in describing families (*vaṁśa-varṇana*). He was helpful to the kings of Gwālior, in the work of administration, and he was a warrior too. Here the expression *Gōpa-bhūpa* appears to signify Gōpāla, the Yajvapāla king, in its shorter form.

A portion of the next verse only states that "I am his younger brother" ; and here the inscription abruptly ends.[2] It however appears that the following portion may have been desired to be devoted to the description of this younger brother whose name and the other details we do not know. And it may also be apparently presumed that the remaining portion of the epigraph was devoted to mention the object of the record and the date, probably also with the name of the composer and the year at the end.

Pīthana mentioned in line 15 cannot be identified. He may or may not have been the homonymous person mentioned in verse 15 of the next inscription.

As for the **geographical** names mentioned in the inscription, **Kāśi** and **Gayā** (v. 17) are the well known holy places ; and **Padōnalaksha** (v. 3) may have been applied to the dominion of the Yajvapālas. **Dhārā** (vv. 5 and 13) is evidently the Paramāra capital Dhār, and **Gōpagiri** (v. 10) is the well-known Gwālior.

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[1] Here the reading is *Savanāṁ*, with a portion lost. It is not known if we should have the *padachchhēda* as *saḥ vanām*, which, however, appears to be rather curious.

[2] For a similar incomplete inscription, see *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 637.

TEXT[1]

[Metres: Verse 1 *Upajāti;* vv. 2, 4, 6-7, 9-12 and 15-20 *Anushṭubh;* vv. 3 and 5 *Vasantatilakā;* vv. 8 and 13 (partially preserved) *Āryā; Gīti* or *Upagīti;* vv. 14 and 21 *Āryā;* v. 22 *Gīti*].

1 सिद्धम्[2] ॥ सिद्धिः ॥ गणप[ति]प्रसाधा(दा)त् ॥ नीलांबु(बु)दस्या(श्या)[मरु]चिः कपोले पुनातु लक्ष्म्याः प्रतिविंवि(विंबि)तो वः । स्फुरन्मयूरवे [वि]मले मुरा[3]-

2 रि[रुन्मा] ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ [ख?]ण्डमिंदोः ॥१ — ⏑ —[4] तमसो वा(बा)टं स्फुरन्तो [स्थितिसा-(शा)]लिनी । कुंडले वस्तनुर्व्वापि शिवायादिस(श)तां शिवं(वम्) ॥२

3 पा[दोनलक्ष]विषयैकविभूषणं[5] यो यो नैषधक्षितिपकीर्त्तिविकाश(स)हेतुः । यः श्रेयसां च विभवस्य च पात्र-मेकमास्ते स शृंगरव-

4 चि[त] ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — द्रिः[6] ॥३॥ तस्मिन्नभूतपूर्व्वोभू[च्चाहडाख्यो महीप]तिः[7] । भुजसौ(शौ)-टीर्यनिर्द्धूतप्रतीपभटपौरुषः ॥४ तस्मादभूदमल-

5 कीर्त्ति] ⏑ — ⏑ — — ; [श्रीमा)न्नृवर्म्मनृप[तिः] ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — —[8] [।] [श्री]स्कंद-चंद्रपरितैः परिभूय येन धाराधिपादपि करो जगृहेतिदसात् ॥५

6 ततो भू ⏑ ⏑ — सल्लः[9] सिंहसं[हार] — ⏑ — । ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓[10] [प]वित्राभूद्यस्य कीर्त्तिरिव प्रिया ॥६ लेभे तस्य पदं कीर्त्तिपूतनिःशे-

7 ष — ⏑ —[11] । ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — — ⏓ ; ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓ [॥७] [दान]जलार्द्रकराग्रः[12] प्रतिहतविघ्नः सदोदिताखिलसि-

8 द्धिः । ————————[13] [॥८] ⏓ नीतिं नीतिसंपन्नां स वनामवनोज्व(ज्ज्व)लाम् । अलंकु[र्व्वं]ति ॥[14]

9 सौराज्यं ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — ⏑ ⏓ [॥९] ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — — ⏓ ; ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ सर्व्वमंगलः । अस्ति गोपगिरिर्नाम दुर्ग्गो दुर्ग्गापतिर्यथा ॥१०

10 वंशो धरावतं[सो] ⏓ ; ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — ⏑ —[15] [।] तेषां हारि[त]गोत्राणां माथुराणां यशोर्थिनां(नाम्) ॥११ गुणैः शुचिरपि श्यामो नाम्ना श्या-

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[1] From the original stone and an inked impression.

[2] Denoted by a symbol.

[3] A *kāka-pada* sign (taken by Sircar as a *daṇḍa*) is engraved here, as also at the end of lines 8, 11 and 12, below.

[4] These three syllables are restored by Sircar as *Śāmbhavī*, qualifying *tanuḥ*.

[5] The reading of the bracketed letters is from the traces left. The name also appears in the preceding inscription, text, lines 9-10.

[6] Conjecturally restored by Sircar as तस्त् नलाभिधाद्रिः. Two letters after *ga* are also missing; they are probably written above the line, which Sircar took as an unnecessary mark.

[7] The bracketed syllables are all damaged and the restoration is conjectural. The name Chāhaḍa is partially preserved.

[8] The first lacuna in this line may be conjecturally restored as *virājamānaḥ*, and the second as *prathita-pratāpaḥ*.

[9] The lacuna may be filled in by reading *n-ṛipa-Ā*.

[10] Sircar conjecturally restored these four *aksharas* as *Lāvaṇy-ati*, suggesting the name of the queen to be Lāvaṇyadēvī, as it appears also in verse 6 of the next inscription. Or, the intended reading may have been *Lōṇābhidhā*, as well, giving the Prakrit form of the name.

[11] To read *diṅ-mukha*, as suggested by Sircar, or, the intended reading may have been *vishṭapa*, as well.

[12] The reading of the bracketed *aksharas* is conjectural.

[13] The verse is *mātrika* and hence the short and long syllables cannot be known; and thus this long line, to show that the latter half of the verse is completely lost.

[14] The first of the *daṇḍas* is redundant and the second is a *kāka-pada* sign, partly visible.

[15] All these letters are visible in their lower parts. As Sircar observed, the intended reading may have been *kulēna cha dhanēna cha*.

11 मो वटो यथा[1] ॥ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — — ⏓ ; हृततापोर्थिनामभूत् ॥१२ अध्यास्त भुवन-
पालो धाराधीशस्य भोजभूपस्य । सिंहासनमप्य-
12 द्धं मंत्रव(ब)लान्मुख्य————[॥१३] व(ब)लवानुद्धृतगोत्रः परहितकृत्येषु संततं निरतः। उप-
शमिताखिलनागस्तस्य सुतो वा-
13 सुदेवोभूत् ॥१४ कृ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — प्रोतिगोत्रानंदी वृषस्थितिः। दामोदरोभवत्तस्मादपूर्व्वो-
मितविक्रमः ॥१५ ततश्चाहडभूपाल-
14 कोशाध्यक्षो विशुद्ध[धीः][2] । ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ स्तनयो जज्ञे कुटुंव(ब)भरसासहिः ॥१६ काशीगयादितीर्थेषु
स्नानपिण्डोदकक्रियाः। कृत्वात्म(त्मा)
15 मोचितो येन त्रि ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — ⏑ त् ॥१७ तेन धर्म्माभिधा धर्म्म्या साध्वी पीथनपुत्रिका।
उपयेमे कुटुंवा(बा)र्थिद्विजानंदपरा प्रिया ॥१८
16 तस्यां स मानशी[लं] ⏓[3]; ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — ⏑ नां(नाम्)। उत्पादिताः सुताः प्राज्ञाः
पंच पंचेषुणा समाः ॥१९ तेषामाद्यः कृताभ्यासो विद्यासु सक-
17 लास्वपि। अस्याः ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ — — ⏓ ; ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏓ ⏑ —ग्रधीः[4] ॥२० मानि त
मार्ग्गणवृंदः कविरस्मिन् वंशवर्णने निपुणः। शिष्यैरिव प्रवं(बं)धैर्नि-
18 र्दोषैर्यो यश[स्तेने] [॥२१]————कार्येषु गोपभूपस्य[5] । शस्त्रे शास्त्रे निपुणः शुचिरनुकूलः
प्रियंवदी दाता ॥२२ तदवरजोहं . . . . . .[6]

No. 161 : Plate CXXXXVIII

BAḌŌDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GŌPĀLADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1336

THE stone bearing this inscription was discovered in 1922, by M. B. Garde, who was then the Superintendent of the Archaeology department in the former State of Gwālior, now integrated with Madhya Pradesh. It was found lying on a hill near the village of **Baḍōdi,** a petty hamlet not far from Narwar in the Karērā *parganā* of the Shivpurī District, and was removed to the archaeological museum at Gwālior, where it is now exhibited. The inscription was noticed by Garde himself in the *Annual Report* of the Department for V.S. 1979 (1922-23 A.C.), as No. 26,[7] and also in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, for the same year, on p. 187. Subsequently, it was edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, with text in the

[1] There is a play on the words *śuchi* and *syāma*, which, besides their meaning 'pious' and the name 'Śyāma', as applicable here, convey the sense of white and black, and respectively show a contrast. For the mention of śyāma (*vaṭa*) in literary, works, see reference given in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. *XXXIII*, p. 67, *n.* 2.

[2] The *akshara* in the brackets is conjecturally restored.

[3] The intended reading may have been *-śīlāyaṁ*. What look like *anusvāras* on some letters in this line are due to scratches on the stone.

[4] Probably *kuśāgra-dhīḥ* is intended.

[5] The word appears to denote Gōpāladēva, as mentioned above.

[6] Sircar read the last letter as *hri*, but on the stone it is clear as taken here. The rest of the *praśasti* was not engraved although there is enough space below on the stone.

[7] Unfortunately, this report is not available as it was not printed. The reference here is from H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwālior Rājya kē Abhilēkh*, a Hindi publication of the same department, No. 132.

Roman characters and a facsimile prepared from impressions under his supervision in 1952, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIII (1959-60), pp. 31 ff. It is edited here from the original stone and one of the above-mentioned impressions, which was kindly supplied to me by the Chief Epigraphist.[1]

The slab, on which the record is inscribed in a sunken panel, measures 70 cms. broad by 58 cms. high, including the plain border it has on all the four sides. The writing, which covers a space 55 cms. broad by 46·5 cms. high, consists of twenty-nine lines. The size of the individual letters ranges between 1 and 1·5 cms. In about the first one-third portion of the inscription, they are slightly bigger and sparsely written than those in the remaining portion, where they are somewhat unsymmetric in form and size. The mechanical execution of the inscription is sloven and subsequent insertions as of the *visarga* in *namaḥ*, l. 1 and the *daṇḍas* often, corrections by overwriting, changes of the forms of some of the *aksharas* by redundant chisel strokes, and such other foibles on the part of the engraver are to be noticed here and there, to which attention has been drawn in the transcript that follows or in the foot-notes appended to it.

The **characters** are Nāgarī. As regards individual letters, attention may be drawn to the form of *k*, which sometimes loses its loop when a *mātrā* is attached to it below, *e.g.*, in *-aṁkura-*, l. 1, and when it is a superscript of a conjunct consonant, *e.g.*, in *vakshaḥ*, l. 2 ; *ch*, which has already developed its modern Nāgarī form, occasionally shows its reversion to that of *v*, *e.g.*, in *-chakāra*, l. 4 ; the superscript forms of *t* and *n* are occasionally alike : cf. *chhinna-* and *tanvat-*, both in l. 6 ; the slightly varying forms of *bh* may be noticed in *bhaṁga*, *bhūti-* and *-bhēva*, all in l. 24 ; *r*, which generally appears in its modern form, is occasionally wedged as in *ravīr=api*, l. 4, and is also sometimes marked as a vertical with a stroke attached to it on the left at the middle, cf. *Rauhiṇēya-* and *-riva*, both in l. 9 ; and lastly, the left limb of the palatal *ś* is often joined to its vertical and that of the dental *s* begins with a curve so as to show a combination of both these letters ; cf., *e.g.*, *vilāsa-*, l. 2, *śuta-*, l. 3 and *-dhipaśya*, l. 13. Because of these peculiarities both these consonants cannot occasionally be distinguished from each other.

The **language** is Sanskrit ; and except for a short sentence in the beginning and the portion embodying the date at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. In all there are 29 verses, all of which are numbered ; but in the process of marking them, the figure 23 is repeated by inadvertence. Thus the total number of the verses is really 30. The language is fluent and often contains figures of speech like *anuprāsa*, *upamā*, *utprēkshā*, *rūpaka* and *ślēsha*.

As regards **orthography**, the inscription follows more or less the same system as to be observed in those of the contemporary times, *e.g.*, (1) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as in *vīja-*, l. 1 ; (2) the general use of the sign of *anusvāra* to denote a nasal even at the end of a stich, with a very few exceptions as in l. 2 ; (3) the occasional doubling of a consonant following *r*, as in *kīrtti*, l. 13 but not in *saṁtarpaṇa-*, l. 25 ; and (4) an indiscrimination between the use of the palatal and the dental sibilant, *e.g.*, in *srī-*, l. 4, *svasita*, l. 8 and *Pasupati*, l. 17, the dental sibilant is put for the palatal, and in *āśīt*, l. 14, *śita*, l. 18 and *śīma*, l. 25, the reverse is the case. Besides these, the *kāka-pada* sign appears at the end of some of the lines, to indicate that the word which could not be completed there is continued in the next line. There are a few grammatical and scribal errors, *e.g.*, the word *ujjvala* is written with a single *j* in l. 23, *nistriṁśa* as *nistruṁśa* in l. 8, *kīrttivatāṁ* for *kīrttimatāṁ* in l. 12, and *śēshara* for *śēkhara* in l. 19.

The proper **object** of the inscription is to commemorate the construction of a step-well (*vāpī*), by Dēvadhara, son of Jalhaṇa and the chief officer (Minister) of **Āsalladēva.** The **date** given in the end of the record, in numerical figures only, is, **Friday, the 6th day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha** of the (Vikrama) year **1336.** It regularly corresponds to **Friday, 27th October, 1279,** for the Chaitrādi V. *expired* and the *pūrṇimānta* month.

The contents of the record are as follows. Opening with the auspicious word *Svasti* and following it, a short sentence paying obeisance to Śiva, in the first verse, it glorifies the same deity, and in the second it invokes his blessings. Verses 3 and 4 respectively describes Nalapura (modern Narwar in the Śivpurī District) and the king **Chāhaḍa** who was reigning at that place.

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[1] It is *A.R.* No. 141 of 1952-53. In my visit to Gwālior in December, 1970, I succeeded in availing myself of a fresh impression taken under my supervision ; it helped me to finalise the transcript.

The name of his family is not mentioned in the record, but it is known to be **Yajvapāla** from the Bhīmpur stone inscription.[1] Chāhaḍa's son was **Nṛivarman,** who was devoted to Krishṇa and who also respected Śiva by worshipping the earth, which is one of his (eight) images, with lotuses in the form of the heads of his enemies (v. 5). His son was the illustrious **Āsalladēva,** a brave king who was a resort of multitudes of merits, and his consort was **Lāvaṇyadēvī** (vv. 6-7). He had a son whose name was **Gōpāla** who succeeded him (v. 8).

The record then introduces a Kshatriya family of the lunar race which was as dignified as the Brāhmaṇas (*mahīdēva-sādhāraṇa-śrīḥ*) and belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and of the Gauḍahara clan (v. 10). The persons born in this race were devoted to main power, Chāmuṇḍā, the goddess with her nine forms, and Gauḍaharā, their family-deity known after the clan Gauḍahara (vv. 9-12).[2] In that family was born Dāmōdara, a Minister of the king of Śūrasēna (v. 13). He had a son of the name of Nāmadēva, who was meritorious, efficient and righteous (vv. 13-14) and who again had three sons — Pīthana, Jalhaṇa[3] and Mālādhara (v. 15). Of these, Jalhaṇa, who was warlike, dexterious, well-versed in politics, a capable administrator and a man of confidence (of the king), was appointed an officer at Gwālior (*Gōpa-śaila*) by Hammīra himself (v. 16), whereas Pīthana, the eldest of the brothers, who was devoted to the worship of Śiva (*Paśupati*) and whose consort was Champā, begot a son of the name of Dēvadhara, who became Chief Minister (chief among the officers) under Āsalladēva (v. 20). Dēvadhara's consort was Nīlā (v. 21). He excavated a well at the village of Vaṭapadra, which had been (previously) donated to some Brāhmaṇas by the King Nāniṅga (?), who is otherwise unknown (vv. 22-23). The following two verses describe the well in an ornate style of poetry, containing *alaṅkāras* like *utprēkshā* and *ślēsha*, and it is blessed to be everlasting.

Verse 26 introduces three sons of Dēvadhara, in an incidental way, *viz.*, Harirāja, Mahārāja and Śivarāja ; and further we are told that the *praśasti* was composed by Śivanābha, a son of the Treasury Officer (*kōśādhipa*) Lōhaṭa and a grandson of Dāmōdara who belonged to the writers' clan (*lipikṛit-kula*) known as Māthura (v. 27), and that it was written (on the stone) by Vikrama, the son of Dhim(?) sūka (or Bhiṁguka ?), who too belonged to the Māthura clan of the Kāyasthas (v. 28). It is interesting to note here that the word *Kāyastha* is clearly mentioned in the latter of these statement, though not in the former. The last verse (No. 29)[4] embodies the name of the architect (*sūtrakāra*) Bhīmadēva, who incised the record, and also states that the whole work was carried on under the supervision of Sōmadēva. Here the inscription ends with the date, as already discussed above.

The names of Chāhaḍa, his son Nṛivarman, and the latter's son Āsalladēva, are known from the other records of the house ; but the present inscription mentions for the first time the name of Lāvaṇyavatī, the queen of Āsalla, and also the names of some officers under the reigning house of the Yajvapālas. The king of Śūrasēna (or, the king named Śūrasēna ?) and Nāniṅga cannot be definitely identified. Hammīra of the present record, however, in all probability appears to have been the homonymous Chāhamāna king of Raṇathambhōr who succeeded his father Jaitrasiṁha in 1282 A.C. We know that he was a brave and warlike prince, who immediately after his succession defeated the Paramāra king Bhōja II and also captured parts of Rājasthān in his military exploits.[5] We have no definite evidence on the point, but it is not unlikely that he may have held for some time Gwālior also. In his *Hammīra-mahākāvya* Nayachandra gives this king the credit of conducting a sort of *digvijaya*, during which he vanquished some of the rulers of Rājasthān and Mālwā.[6] And the contemporary history also gives some clue to solve this problem. It is well known that Iltutmish recovered

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[1] Above, No. 159, v. 9.

[2] These nine forms appear to be those referred to in the *Dēvī-kavacha* of the *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*, *viz.*, Śailaputrī, *Brahmachāriṇī etc.* For the other nine forms of the deity, as remarked by Sircar, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 32. He has also remarked that the word Gauḍahara possibly denotes the Gour Rājputs of the modern times.

[3] As the name is spelt in the record. It is, however, not known whether we have to take the name as Jahlaṇa.

[4] This No. is in fact 30, for which see above.

[5] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 516.

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 59 ff.

Ranthambhōr in 1234-35 A.C.[1] and following his death in 1236 A.C., the ruling house of the slave kings was not free from internal troubles and also from the external struggles. This state of affairs continued till about 1266 A.C. when Balban ascended the throne of Delhi, after ruling *de facto* for about two decades during the reign of his father-in-law Nasir-ud-dīn Mahmud (1246-1266 A.C.). Balban's activities in the Punjab, the rebellion of Bengal against Delhi and in the Doab, and, above all, the incursion of the Mughals in the north-west frontiers of India, continued to occupy his thoughts incessantly; and it is not unlikely that during this period of unrest, Hammīra, after strengthening his position at Ranthambhōr, may have endeavoured to extend his dominions in the east and up to Gwālior also, which is only about 180 kms. north-northeast of Ranthambhōr. Thus it is not unlikely, though this statement cannot be verified, that he may have appointed Jalhaṇa to control the region around Gwālior, as stated in our inscription. It has to be admitted, however, that this suggestion, which is purely tentative, cannot be finalised unless and until we have some definite information on the point.

As for the **place-names** mentioned in the record, **Nalapura** (l. 3) has already been identified with the modern town of Narwar in the Shivpurī District and the capital of the house of the Yajvapāla princes. **Gōpaśaila** is, of course, the mountain at Gwālior: and **Vaṭapadra-grāma** where the well is said to have been excavated (l. 22) can safely be identified with the modern village of Baḍōdī, near Narwar, where the inscribed slab was found on an adjacent hill, as seen above.

TEXT[2]

[Metres :- Verses 1, 8, 11, 15, 18, 19 and 21, *Upajāti*; vv. 2, 14, 24, 26 and 27, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 3-4, 20, 22 and 25, *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 5, 6, 7, 10, 13 and 16, *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 9, 12, 23, 28 and 29 *Anushṭubh* (*Ślōka*): v. 17, *Mālinī*]

1 स्वस्ति[3] [।*] ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ वी(बी)जानि कल्याणलतांकुराणां दीपास्त्रिलोकीतिमिरावलीनां(नाम्)। पुण[य]ात्मकानामपि पावनानि जयन्ति शंभोः पदयो

2 रजांसि ॥१[॥*] द्रष्टुं मन्मथमंथरेक्षणभवास्तास्ता विलास[4]क्रियाः पातुं चाधरविंव(बिम्ब)जन्ममधुरं पीयूषमत्यद्भुतं(तम्) [।*]· वक्षःपीठविमर्द्दरर्व्वितकुचं ल-

3 [व्धुं(ब्धुं)] तदालिगनं कायैक्येपि गिरीशशैलसु[4]तयो[रूक्षं][5] मनः पातु वः॥२[॥*] सौरा[ज्य]भासुर-मनोहरभूतिपात्रमास्ते पुरं नलपुराख्यमनन्य-

4 चारु। यत्राध्वरप्रचितपावकधूम[भू ?]मा तापं रवेरपि परास्य तिरश्चकार ॥३[॥*] तस्मिन्नभूत्सहजशौर्य-निवासभूमिः स्री(श्री)चाहडः क्षितिपतिः सुकृ-

5 ताधिवासः। दोर्दंडचंडचरितो विलसन्नितांततीव्रप्रतापशिखिदग्धविपक्ष्यकक्ष्यः[6] ॥४[॥*] तस्मादासी[दन]-वधिगुणः शौचगांगेयवृत्तो[7] दैत्यारा ।[8]

6 तिप्रणतिनि[रतः] श्रीनृवर्मा महीशः।[9] येन च्छिन्नै रिपुनृपशिरःपंकजैरर्च्चितेयं मूर्त्तिः शंभो रणवसुमती तन्वता शैववृत्ति(त्तिम्) ॥५[॥*] तत्पुत्रोभूच्छिरविमि-

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[1] As we are informed by Minhāj-ud-dīn. See *Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 334. D. C. Sircar took the name Hammīra to denote the Sultān Iltutmish (1210-1236 A.C.).

[2] From the original stone and impressions.

[3] Denoted by a symbol.

[4] As already stated, this letter is often a combination of the palatal and the dental sibilant.

[5] The subscript is devoid of its oblique stroke, as also in some instances below. The bracketed letters perhaps also may have been भक्तं But read उत्कं as read by Sircar.

[6] It is doubtful whether this *akshara* is *ksha* or *kshya*, as also in the preceding instance. Perhaps पक्ष: is intended.

[7] That is, whose conduct is as pure as that of Bhīshma. For गाङ्गेय = भीष्म.

[8] The *daṇḍa* is redundant. It is perhaps intended to be the *kāka-pada* sign, showing that the word is completed in the next line.

[9] This *daṇḍa* is thin and was engraved subsequently.

7 तनूपस्कं[धि]लः क्षौणिनाथः शौर्योदग्रो गुणगणनिधिः श्रीम[दा]सल्लदेवः। गौरी शंभोरिव जलधिजा केशवस्येव साध्वी निर्व्याजैकप्रणयव-

8 सतिर्यस्य लावण्यदेवी ॥६[॥*] यन्निस्तृं(स्त्रिं)शं हरितमणिजं मंचमारुह्य तिग्मैर्वैरिस्त्रीणां स्व(श्व)सि-[त]पवनैर्वीज्यमाना जयश्रीः।[1] अन्तःपाथोनिधिचल[म]-

9 [रु]ल्लोलसंघट्टनि[र्य]द्वि(द्वि)दुश्रेणीपरिचयमिलज्जाड्यदुः[खं] जहाति ॥७[॥*] तस्मात्सुधांशोरिव रौहिणेयः पिनाकपाणेरिव कार्त्तिकेयः। निधिर्गुणानां च सुतेजसां च

10 गोपालनामा जयति क्षितीशः ॥८[॥*] तस्मिन्नवति भूपालेधरामुद्दामधामनि। [अ]विश्रांतमखाहूत-पुरुहूतकृतालयां(याम्) ॥९[॥*] यस्योत्पत्तिः[2] सरसिजभुवः पावना[3]-

11 भ्यां भुजाभ्यां देवः साक्षादजनि भगवानादिमो यत्र चंद्रः। इष्टैः पूर्त्तैर[जनि] जगतां कर्मभिः संततं यः क्षात्रो वंशः स जयति महीदेवसाधारणश्रीः[4] ॥१०[॥*] तत्रा-

12 पि वत्साख्यमुनींद्रगोत्रवि[भू]षणं गौड[हरा]न्ववायः। पाठादिकर्मत्रितयप्रवीणः[5] श्रेयस्विनां कीर्त्तिव-(म)तां धुरीणः ॥११[॥*] चामुंडा परमा शक्तिर्देवी नववि-

13 धा तथा। पुण्या गौडहरा[ख्या] च तिसो(स्रो)मूर्यत्र देवताः ॥१२[॥*] अ[स्ति] ख्यातस्त्रिभुवन-गिरि[गुरु?][6]विश्रुतो राज[मंत्री] कीर्त्तिश्रेणीधवलितदिशः शूरशे(से)नाधिपश्य(स्य) [।*] पुण्यश्री-

14 कः शुचितरगुणो यत्र तद्वंशमुक्तारत्नं तन्वद्रुचमविकलामास दामोदराख्यः ॥१३[॥*] आशी(सी)त्स-[द्गु]णवा[रि]धिर्नृपतरोः कंदो यशःकौमुदीचंद्रस्तस्य [सु]तः पटुर्व्यवहृतौ श्री-

15 नामदेवाभिधः। मार्ग्रे(र्गे)सज्जनसेविते विचरताविश्रांतविश्राणनैर्येनामूर्भुवि भूतयः सुकृतिना नीताः परामुन्नतिं(तिम्) ॥१४[॥*] त्रयो व(ब)भूवुस्तनुजास्तदीया धर्मार्थ-

16 कामा इव मूर्त्तिभाजः। श्रीपीथनो जल्हणः(ण)कश्च[7] धीमान्मालाधरश्च प्रथिता गुणैः[8] स्वैः ॥१५[॥*] शौर्यांभोधिर्जयति चतुरो नीतिशास्त्रेष्वधीती सद्व्यापारप्रगुणितमतिर्ज-

17 ल्हणः पुण्यकीर्त्तिः। हंमीरेण स्वयमधिकृतो गोपशैले विदित्वा सर्व्वा[चार]क्षम[म]तिचयो विश्वविश्वास-धाम ॥१६[॥*] अमितगुणगरिष्ठः पीथनाख्यो वरिष्ठः पसु(शु)पति-

18 पदभक्तः पुण्यचर्यासु श(स)क्तः। स जयति शि(सि)तकीर्त्तिर्लोच[9]नानंदिमूर्त्तिः परिहृतपरहिंसः क्षत्र-वंशावतंशः(सः) ॥१७[॥*] चंपाभिधा तस्य सुधर्मपत्नी व(ब)भूव यामाप्य भृशप्रहृष्टः(?)[10]

19 विदेहजापायनिराश्रयः सन्पतिव्रत[स्याश्र]यतामियाय[11] ॥१८[॥*] तेनाजनि क्षत्रियशेष(ख)रेण तस्यां सुतो देवधरः कृतिज्ञ। आनंदिताशेषजनान्तरेण यथा घनान्तेन

20 दिवि प्रसादः ॥१९[॥*] सर्व्वोपकारनिरतो नयपारदृश्वा धर्मोदयाहितमतिः कृतवित्कृपालुः। आसल्ल-देवनृपतेरधिकारिमुख्यः कस्यांतरं न हरते स गुणैरुदारैः ॥२०[॥*] नीला-

21 भिधा तिष्ठति[12] तस्य कान्ना(न्ता) साध्वीसि(शि)रोरत्नमनंतकीर्त्तिः। वि[मु]च्य पत्युश्चरणद्वयं या न देवमन्यं खलु मन्यते[त्र] ॥२१[॥*] तेनावलोक्य पटलांतगतोदविं(बिं)दुलोलं वयश्च

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[1] This *daṇḍa* is thin and was engraved subsequently.

[2] The sign of *visarga* was inserted subsequently.

[3] The *kāka-pada* sign is engraved here and also at the end of some of the lines below.

[4] As *n.* 3 above. *Mahīdēva* means a Brāhmaṇa.

[5] First *rma* engraved and then altered to *rmma.*

[6] On the original गि later on changed to गु and the *mātrā* of the following letter has been scored off. But र remains as before. The following letters were read by Sircar, as विश्रुता राजधानी.

[7] This sign for *visarga* was first engraved and later on scored off as redundant, by stanting strokes.

[8] The sign of *visarga* was later on inserted.

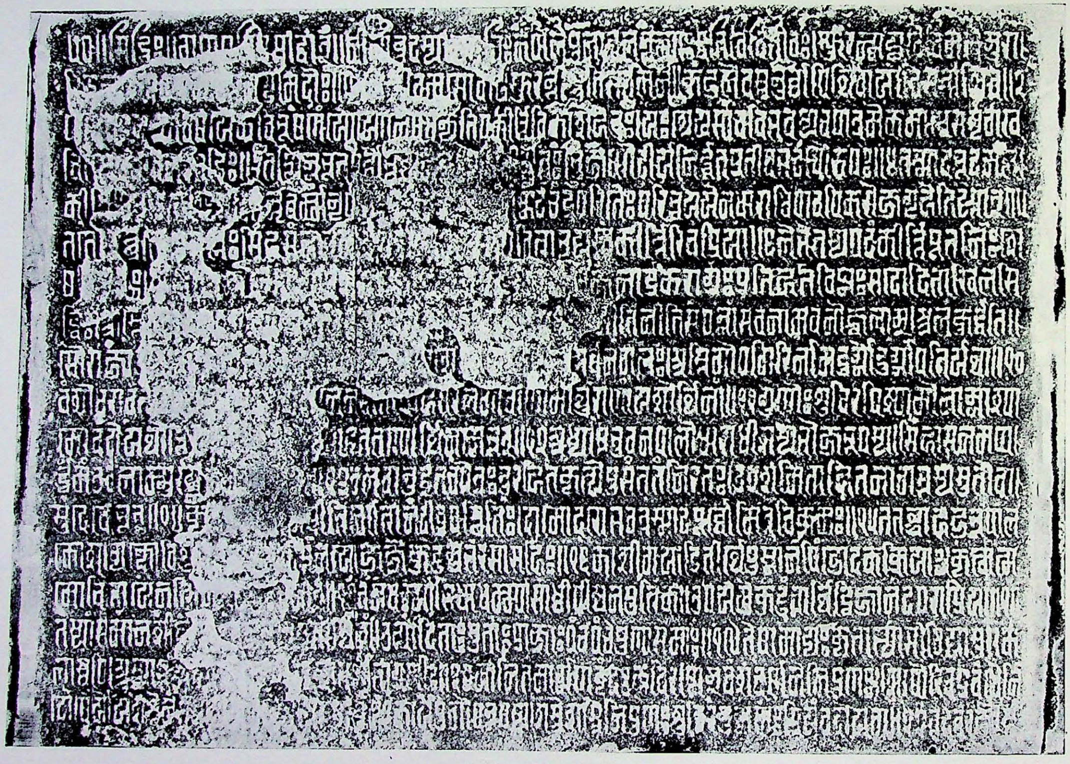
[9] The superscript *r* is clear on the original, though not in the impression.

[10] Sircar read सामत्यभृशप्रवृद्धा.

[11] Both the bracketed *aksharas* are mutilated and the reading is only conjectural. The idea here is that he did not marry again (*nirāśraya*) after the loss (*apāya*) of his consort, as Rāma did not marry another after that of Sītā. Here Sircar read : पतिव्रतस्तत्प्रियतामियाय.

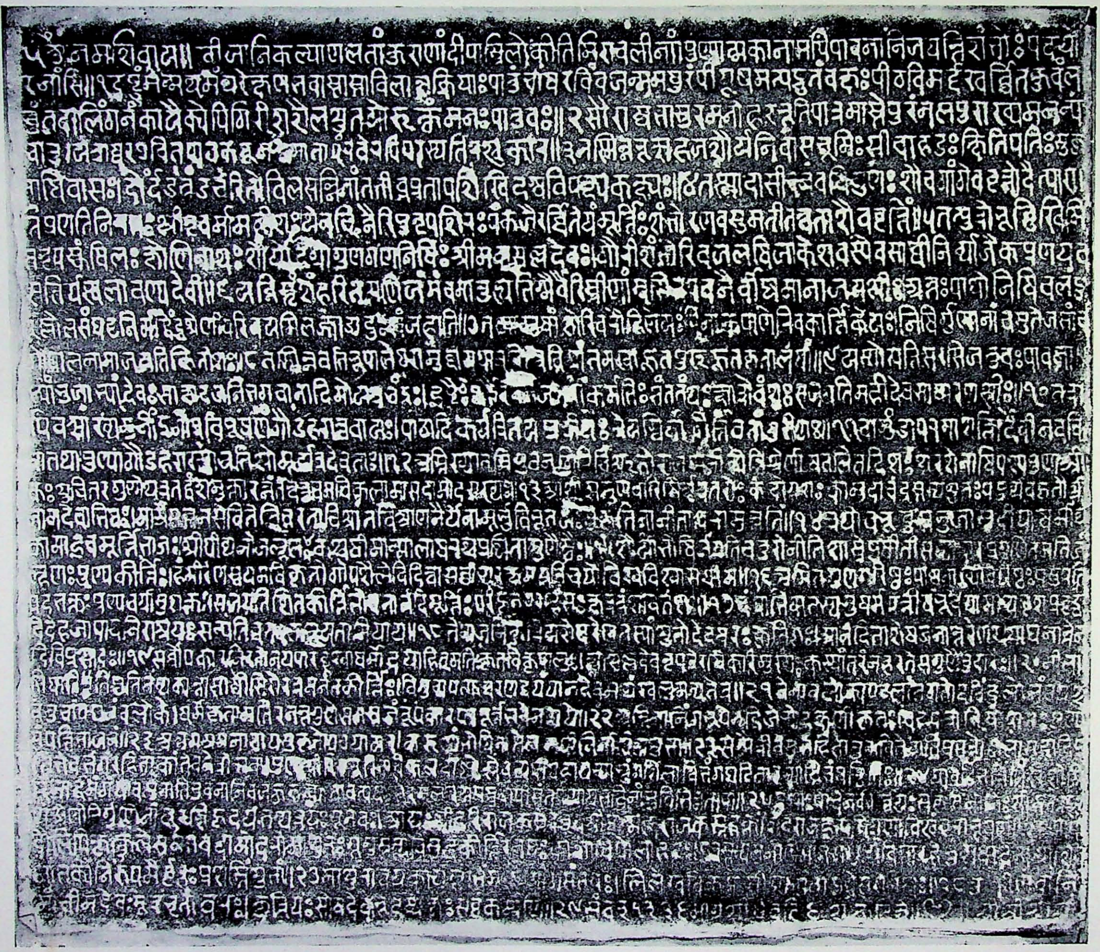
[12] The letters *tishṭha* were repeated and later on scored off by vertical strokes above the top-strokes.

NARWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ĀSALLADĒVA (FRAGMENTARY, UNDATED)



Scale : Two-fifth

BAḌŌDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GŌPĀLADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1336



Scale : Two-fifth

22 वसुधां [च] धनं च लोके। धर्मे कृता मतिरनन्तगुणे[1]समस्तजंतूपकारप[र]पूर्त्तभवेन[पाये] ॥२२[॥*]
अस्ति [ना?]निगभूपेन द्विजेभ्यो दक्षणीकृतः। वटपत्राभिधो [ग्रा]मः पुण्य-
23 संपत्तिभाजनं(नम्) ॥२३[॥] अव्वगश्रमनाशाय सुकृतोपचयाय च। करुणांभोधिना तेन वापी
निर्मापिता शुभा ॥२३[॥*][2] सन्मैत्रीव सुसंहिता सुकवितेवातिप्रसन्नो[ज्व(ज्ज्व)]ला सद्वादिप्र-
24 तिभेव भंगरहिता कांतेव नेत्रोत्सवा। पुण्यश्रीरि[वभूतिमंवु(बु)फल][3]दा [ज्योत्स्ने]व तापापहा यस्या-
स्तुंगशिलाविभंगघटिता रम्या[स्ति] वं(बं)धस्थितिः ॥२४[॥*] यावद्वि(द्रि)भर्त्ति गिरिशो गि-
25 रिजार्द्धमंगं याव[त्पु]नाति भुवनानि च जह्नुकन्या। तावत्पयोभिरमलैरियमस्तु वापी संतर्पणाय
भविनां भुवि भिन्नतापा ॥२५[॥*] [पुण्याः?[4]] पा[व]नकीर्त्तयः सुकृतिनो निःशी(सी)म तत्राङ्कु[5]-
26 [त]श्रेणीभिर्गुणिनां हरन्ति हृदयं तस्य त्रयः सूनवः। आद्यः श्रीहरिराजकस्तदनु [च] श्रीमान्महा-
राजकस्तद्भक्तः[6] शिवराजइत्यधि[7]गुणो विश्वंभराभूषणं(णम्) ॥२६[॥*] [गो]पा-
27 द्रौ लिपिकृत्कुले समभवद्दामोदरो माथुरः सूनुस्तस्य विसु(शु)द्धकीर्त्तिरनघः कोशाधिपो लोहटः।
पुत्रस्तस्य मनीषिमानसमुदां विस्तारहेतुं व्यधादेनां श्रीशिव-
28 नाभको निरुपमै[वृ]त्तैः प्रशस्ति [शु]भां(भाम्) ॥२७[॥*] माथुरान्वयकाय[स्थधि?]सूकस्यांगसंभवः[8]।
लिलेरव विक्रमो धीमान्सतामग्रेसरोनघः ॥२८[॥*] उत्कीर्ण्णवानि-
29 मां भीमदेवः सूत्रभृतां वरः। क्षत्रियः सोमदेवोभूदध्यक्षः सर्व्वकर्म्मणि ॥२९[॥*] संवत् १३३६
मार्ग्र(र्ग)शीर्ष वदि शुक्रदिने[9] ॥श्री श्री श्री श्री [॥*][10]

Nos. 162-74 ; Plates CXXXXIX

BAṄGLĀ STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TIME OF GŌPĀLADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1337

THE pillars which bear these inscriptions were all found on a waste land in the vicinity of a tiny hamlet known as **Baṅglā** situated about 8 kms. east of the fort of Narwar in the Shivpurī District of Madhya Pradesh. This site, which marks a battle-field, was first discovered in 1934-35 by the late M. B. Garde, who was then the Director of Archaeology in the former State of Gwālior, now integrated with Madhya Pradesh. He noticed the inscriptions in general in his *Annual Report* of the department for V.S. 1991 (1934-35 A.C.), pp. 8 and 12, and enlisted seven of them in its *appendix* (Nos. 7-13). The site was also visited subsequently in 1955, by Dr. D. C. Sircar, as the Government Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India, who prepared impressions of fifteen of these inscriptions; and he edited seven of them

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1 न्त is cut as *mta*.

2 The number 23 is by mistake repeated in the original, and following it the subsequent numbers are continued. These I have retained here for the sake of facility.

3 Most of the letters of the third quarter of this verse are mutilated and my reading is from the traces left. The consonant *t* is engraved as *r*, and *m* as *bh*. Possibly *bhūtyambu* is intended but it would not suit the metre.

4 The reading is doubtful. The consonant of the first letter appears as *s* and the superscript of the second, as *n*.

5 The *mātrā* of *u* is clear, and the following *akshara* is engraved as *ga*.

6 The sign of *visarga*, which was by mistake omitted first, was later on marked above its proper place.

7 Some other *aksharas* were first engraved here.

8 The second letter of the name is deformed. Sircar read it as *ga*, but the *mātrā* is clear on the original.

9 The form of a petal is engraved after *nē*.

10 These four *aksharas* are only to fill in the gap so as to complete the line. In the end, there is a heart-shaped design.

(Nos. 1-7) and noticed the remaining eight (Nos. 8-15) in an *appendix* in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 326 ff. Thirteen of these inscriptions are edited here from the same impressions, kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. G. S. Gai, the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Garde gave the following description of the village and the site where the pillar were found by him:

"..... There are traces of fortification wall round the village which is mainly populated by the Rajpūts. The piece of waste land, rocky and covered with thorny shrubs, which extends between the village and the river Barua, a small tributary of the Sindh, flowing at a distance of about a mile to the east, is studded with a number of memorial pillars. In a day's hurried survey I counted over sixteen such pillars either standing or lying on the ground, entire or broken. But further examination may bring to light some more pillars. They bear panels of sculptures usually depicted on pillars commemorating warriors killed on battle-fields — scenes of warriors, foot-men, horse-men and elephant-riders engaged in combat, and of fallen heroes reaching heavens and enjoying the company of heavenly nymphs or worshipping Śiva liṅga."

Almost the same description is given by Dr. Sircar also, in his article referred to above; but Garde's writing is reproduced here in a complete form, since his reports are now rarely obtainable.

Many of the pillars, as also observed by Garde, have their tops moulded into fluted *āmalakas* crowned with pinacles.

Four of the inscriptions dealt with here (Nos. 162 and 164-166) are purely in prose and the remaining four (Nos. 163 and 167-169) are partly in prose and partly in verse. The **language** is Sanskrit, often incorrect. The **alphabet** of all these inscriptions is Nāgarī and all are written in different hands, in a slovenly way. The epigraphs, in a majority of cases, have suffered from exposure to weather, so much so that on some of the pillars they have become partially or wholly undecipherable. On some of the pillars even the portions containing the inscriptions were not well dressed before making the incisions.

All the inscriptions, as stated earlier, refer to the death of certain warriors who lost their lives in a battle between the **Yajvapāla king Gōpāladēva** (*c.* 1279-89 A.C.) and the **Chandēlla monarch Vīravarman,** whose known dates range from 1261 to 1286 A.C. The date of the battle thus falls well between the range of dates known for both the kings. In seven of the records dealt with here (Nos. 164-167, 170 and 173-174), the **date** is given as the **7th of the bright half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama) year 1338,** the day being **Friday.** It regularly corresponds to **28th of March, 1281 A.C.** Four of the records (Nos. 162, 163, 169 and 171) on the other hand, mention the year as **1337** instead of 1338; and the reference to both these years, *i.e.*, 1337 and 1338, as Dr. Sircar has observed, indicates the year by regarding the latter as *expired* and the former as kārttikādi *current*.

The mention of the week-day as **Friday** in all these inscriptions goes to indicate that the battle lasted only for a day. However, Garde has noticed a solitary instance (his No. 8) which mentions the week-day as **Saturday.** From this he concluded that it is either mistake or it may be that the same *tithi* covered both the days, *i.e.*, Friday and a part of Saturday, and thus the battle may be taken as fought on two consecutive days.[1]

The dimensions of writings on these pillars with some other details are as tabulated below:

No.	Lines	Breadth of writing in cms.	Ht. of writing in cms.	Ht. of letters in cms.	Condition
162	5	...			
163	16	28	45	2·5	Good; letters sparsely written.
164	9	30	23	2	ditto.
165	11				

[1] Garde, *op. cit.*, p. 12, No. 3. For the unit figure of the number of the year, see *n.* in the text given below. This record is our No. 164.

No.	Lines	Breadth of writing in cms.	Ht. of writing in cms.	Ht. of letters in cms.	Condition
166	12	30	36	2·5-3	weather-worn and also damaged.
167	14	26	47	2-2·5	Carefully written but weather-worn.
168	9	23·5	15·5	·8	as above.
169	12	26·5	32·5	1-1·5	" " Last two ll. in a different hand, with slightly smaller letters.
170	8	30	28	2·5	Highly weather-worn; writing sloven.
171	9	30	31	2·5	Extremely damaged.
172	5	25	8	1	Several letters lost.
173	10	28·5	28	1·5	Highly weather-worn.
174	10	29·5	28	2	as above. ll. 7-9 totally lost with some other letters also.

Note:—In editing the inscriptions here I have followed the numbers given to them by Dr. D. C. Sircar, but his numbers 13 and 14 are excluded, as I am not sure whether they are connected with the battle. See his note also where he says that "it is not possible to be sure on the point."

None of the heroes whose names are recorded in the inscriptions seems to be historically important, except Brahmadēva who is endowed with the title *Mahākumāra* and who is mentioned as Gōpāladēva's Chief Minister. All the warriors commemorated in the records are stated to have fallen in field while fighting on behalf of the Narwar ruler Gōpāladēva, which may perhaps indicate that ultimately he came out victorious. The whole incident appears to have been that the Chandēlla forces took the initiative and penetrated into the Yajvapāla territories, but soon after they crossed the river, they were defeated and driven back by the army of the Yajvapāla king.[1]

Only one **geographical name** is mentioned in the inscription. It is variously spelt as Valuvā, Vālukā, Valua, Valuā, Valubā, Vāluka and Valuka, which is no other than the stream mentioned above as the tributary of the Sindh and flowing about a mile to the east of the hamlet of Baṅglā where the inscriptions were found.

No. 162[2]

1 सिद्धम्[3] [।*] संवत् १३३७ चैत्र सुदि ७ सु(शु)क्रे[4] । अद्येह श्रीमन्नलपुर-दुर्ग्रे(र्गे) । समस्त[राजाव]-
2 लीसमालालंकृतपरमभट्टारकेत्यादि[5]महाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्गो-
3 पालदेवदि(वि)जयराज्ये । इत्यस्मिन्काले वर्त्तमाने जेजाहुतिसं[6]महारा-
4 जस्री(श्री)मद्वीरवर्म्मदेवः चतुर्भिराज्ञा[7] स[ह] नलपुरे समायातः । वलु[व]ानदी-
5 क्षेत्रे । पतिवीसलसत्राणको[8] युद्धितः । महासती [धू]मादेवी प्रसिद्धाः[9] ।

[1] For more remarks on the same, see the Dābī plate inscription of the Chandēlla Vīravarman, in *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 74 ff. Also see *Ind. Ant.*, 1918, p. 241; and *I.H.R.*, XXXII, pp. 404 f.

[2] From photographic illustration accompanying Dr. D. C. Sircar's article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXI.

[3] Expressed by symbol, which, as already noted by Sircar, has not the usual globular sign at the end.

[4] This and some other *daṇḍas* below are redundant.

[5] As suggested by Sircar, read परमभट्टारकेत्यादिसमस्तराजावलीसमलंकृत—.

[6] This may be a contraction of *Samrāṭ*.

[7] Read चतुर्भिः (or चतुर्भी—) राजभिः. This clearly shows that the besiegers were repulsed.

[8] Read सद्राणक—. It cannot be definitely known whether it is one word, as taken by Sircar, or the prefix *sat* may be taken in the sense of showing faithfulness on the part of the *Rāṇaka*, to his sovereign lord.

[9] This expression is grammatically incorrect but the meaning is clear, *viz.*, that *Dhūmādēvī*, the chief consort of Vīsala who died fighting, committed *Satī*.

No. 163[1]

1 सिद्धम्[2] ॥ सिद्धिः ॥ का[र्य्ये][3] गोपाल-
2 भूपस्य वांदणो रण[नं?]-
3 दितः। पौत्रः श्रीभोजदे-
4 वस्य पुत्रो देवाभिधस्य
5 च ॥[१॥*] वोलुकासरितस्तीरे
6 सं[ग्रा]मे[4] वीरवर्म्मणः। यु-
7 युं(यु)धे तुरगारूढो निहत्य सु-
8 भटान्व(न्ब)हून् ॥२[॥*] सं १३३८
9 चैत्र सुदि ७ शुक्रवारे।[5] श्रीनल-
10 पुरे। महाराजश्रीगोपालदेव-
11 कार्यें चंदिल्ल[6]महाराजश्री-
12 वीरवर्म्मसंग्रामव्यतिकरे। रा-
13 उतभोजदेवपौत्रो राउतदेव[ा]-
14 पुत्रो रायराउतगजवाहराउ-
15 तवांद[णो] वलुआनदी[तटे][7]
16 युयुधे ॥[8]

No. 164[9]

1 सिद्धम्[10] ॥ संवत् १३३८ [स्व]स्तिः[11] ॥ श्रीमन्नलपुरदुर्ग्गात्[12] ॥
2 परमः(म)भट्टारकः परमे[स्व(श्व)]रः परमः(म)माह(हे)स्व(श्व)[13]-
3 र[ः*] परमः[14] गुरः(रुः) परमराजश्रा(श्री)मद्गोपाल्ल(ल)देवा(वः।)
4 महाकुमारः श्रो(श्री) [जै] तव्र(ब्र)म्हदेव[15] [ः*]। महाप्र-
5 धाना(नः) रा[दजै][16]। ज्वज्वकुल्लवं[शे]। एव [-] काल[ले]

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1 From an impression. It is No. 219 of *A. R. Ep.*,1954-55, *Appx*. B.

2 Expressed by symbol.

3 The left limb of this *akshara* is not joined to the right, and the signs above the top-stroke are ornamentally treated.

4 Sircar read the bracketed letter as *tā* which he corrected to *grā*; but the space with some traces in it goes to show that the letter appears to have been actually cut as *grā* in the original.

5 The *daṇḍa* is redundant, as also some others below.

6 As also noted by Sircar, this is a variant of Chandēlla.

7 The consonants of both these *aksharas* are so formed so as to make the word appear as नत्रे,

8 This expression also implies that the hero died in fighting. A slanting *daṇḍa* attached to the latter one indicates the end of the writing.

9 From an impression which is No. 216 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, *Appx*. B.

10 Denoted by symbol.

11 Read स्वस्ति. The subscript of the bracketed letter is so formed as to appear as *t*. It is so in *-īśvara* in the next line also.

12 The sign of *rēpha* has not come out on the impression but from the reverse it appears to have been incised.

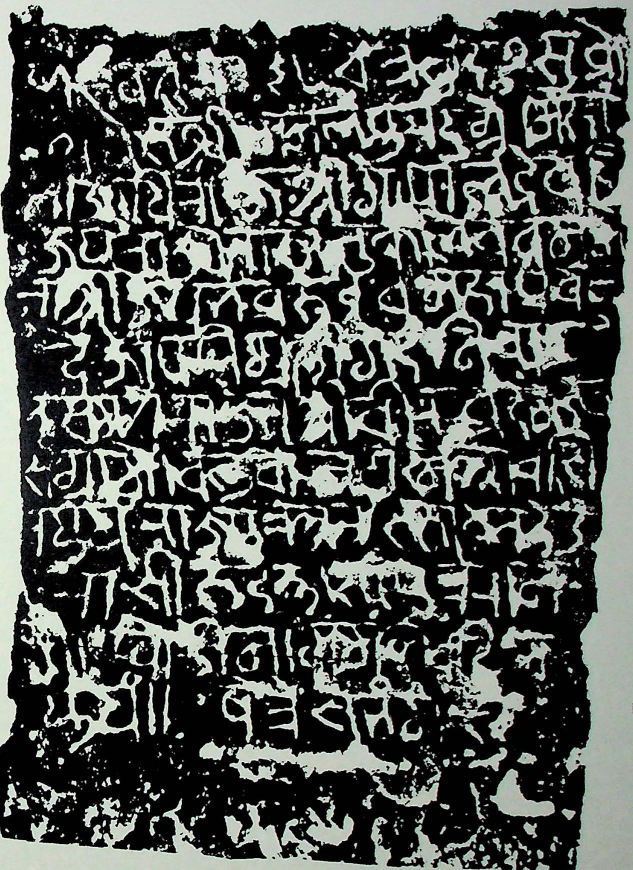
13 The sign of *mātrā* on *h* may have been incised on the original, as shown by a trace left there.

14 The horizontal stroke, which distinguishes this letter from *g*, is not formed. The word *guru* that follows is used here to denote 'the esteemed one', and not a preceptor.

15 As already noticed by Sircar, the first part of the name appears here and also in No. 176 as *Jaita*, in No. 165 as *Jayala*, and in No. 166 as *Jēyata*. The complete name appears to have been Jaitravarman and from the title *Mahākumāra*, he appears to have been the son of Gōpāladēva (?).

16 All these three *aksharas* are mis-formed. The consonant of the first appears as *s*, the second may have been *v*, and that of the third is indefinite. And what follows is intended to denote the family name Yajvapāla.

BAṄGLĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GŌPĀLADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1337



From Facsimile

BAṄGLĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GŌPĀLADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1337

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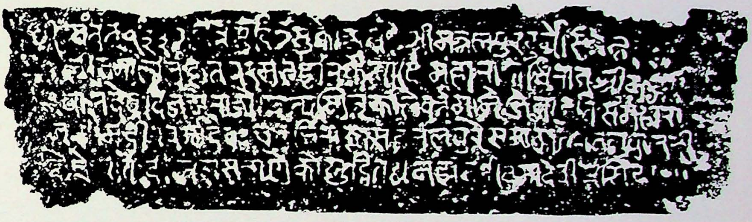

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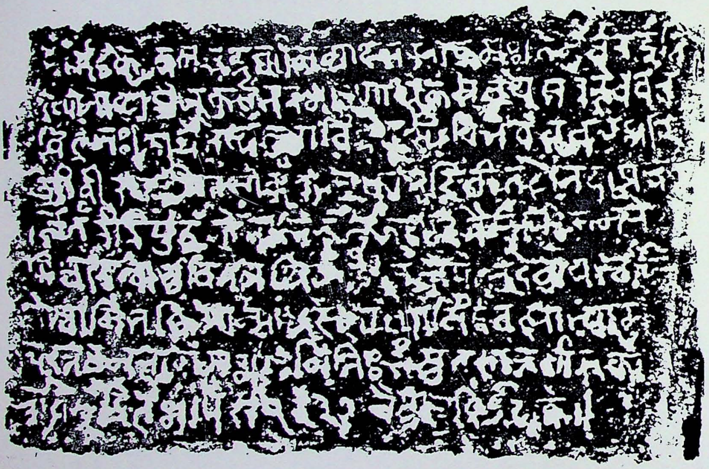

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6 वर्त्तमाने ॥ चौणाहमाणिकः(क)कुल(ले)[1] वंद्य ॥[2]
7 राकूम्वरासेहपुत्रः[3] राह[रा]देव(वः)[4]। युद्धे वलू-
8 वानद्या[:*] क्षेत्रः(त्रे) पन्चमपयेकशु[5] युद्ध(द्धे?) चैत्र सु-
9 दि ७[6] स(श)नौ दिने ॥

No. 165[7]

1 सिद्धम्[8] [।*] संवत् १३३८ चैत्र ७ सु(शु) क्रे ।[9]
2 अघेह श्रीमन(न्न)लपुरदुग्रे(र्गे)। महारा-
3 जाधिराजश्रीगोपालदेवविजयरा-
4 ज्ये तस्मिन् काले वर्त्तमाने रा[वत]-
5 जयतव्र(ब्र)ह्मदेवमहाप्रधानदेजै[10]-
6 परिग्रहीगदनिव्यपरितसमये
7 राजा(ज)श्रीवीरव्रह्मदेवसंग्रामे[11] वलुवा
8 नदीषे(क्षे)त्रावासितयुधं(द्धम्)। राजपुत्र[:*]
9 अरसीह[:*] अस्य पुत्र[:*] धधहेउ रा-
10 जपुत्रसीहडा ॥ देवासवटितय[ ]-
11 ध(द्धम्)[12] ॥ सति।

No. 166[13]

1 सिद्धम्[14] [।*] संवत् [१३]३८ चैत्र सुदि ७ सु(शु)क्रे
2 अघेह श्रीमन(न्न)लपुरदुग्रे(र्गे) महा
3 राजाधिराजश्रीगोपालदेववि-
4 जयराज्ये तस्मिन् काले वत्त(र्त्त)मा-

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[1] As Sircar has already observed, it is difficult to determine whether the first three *aksharas* denote the family name Chauhāna here.
[2] The *daṇḍa* which was first put appears to have been struck off by two horizontal strokes.
[3] I agree with Sircar's suggestion that here we should read रा(राउत)कुमारसिंह—,
[4] The *akshara* in the rectangular brackets is damaged and I am not certain about its reading, though here it is adopted as read by Sircar.
[5] I am not certain about the reading of this expression. Sircar takes it as *pañcha-padātikaiḥ*, with some hesitation; but I think that it is perhaps intended to be the same as *pañchatvam-upayātaḥ*.
[6] Sircar read this number as 2 but to me it appears as 7.
[7] From photo-lithograph accompanying Sircar's article.
[8] Expressed by symbol.
[9] This *daṇḍa*, as also the one in the next line, is redundant.
[10] For the name, see *n.* on the corresponding portion in the preceding inscription. Here the language is obscure but the sense seems to be that these persons were then looking after the affairs of administration.
[11] He is perhaps Vīravarman in whose battle Arasīha, mentioned in l. 9 for Arisiṁha, lost his life along with some others.
[12] Probably to read युद्धे सति. Sircar suggests that this obscure passage seems to mean "that a person named Vaṭita who was a resident of Dēvāsa (modern Dēwās) lost his life in the battle and that his wife committed *Satī*, or it may mean two persons named Dēvāsa and Vaṭita. But to me it appears to be restored to देवसेवाद्वितययुद्ध—, *i.e.*, battle fought for the lord for two days (?).
[13] From an impression. It is No. 221 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1954-55, *Appx.* B.
[14] Denoted by symbol.

5 न(ने)[1] । श्रीजेयतव्र[ह्मदे]वमहाप्रधान[2]
6 देजे ।[3] परिग्रह . . गदनिव्यापारि-
7 त[समये][4] राजा(ज)श्रीवीरव्रह्मदेव-
8 संग्रामे वलुक[5]नदी[क्षेत्र]ाव[ासि]-
9 [त]युधं(द्धम् ।) राजपुत्र . . . .[6]
10 रा[7] सीहदत्तास्य[8] 'पुत्र[:*] राना(णा)-
11 ग[ै]घो[से]न[:*] ममलदेव[:*]
12 युधं[9] ॥ षे(क्षे)त्रे सभंमस्[य][10] [॥]

No. 167[11]

1 सिद्धम्[12] । सिद्धिः ॥ संवत्[13] १३३८
2 चैत्र सुदि ७ शुक्रे [।*] वालुका-
3 सरितस्तीरे युद्धं सह वीर-
4 व्यर्म्मणः[14] । गोपालदेवका-
5 यें ज[न्म]मितं[15] राणमंगनं(नम्) ।[।*]
6 नलपुरदुर्ग्गात् महा-
7 राजा[धि][16]रा[ज*]पतिपन(र)-
8 मेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)-
9 रश्रीगोपालदेवरा-
10 ज्ये सताणघं क्रुउद्ध[17]-
11 रणं जदेवासुतगोतिनोदुण[18]-
12 वीरवर्म्मणा सह
13 युद्धं दशवर्तहि ज-
14 नम्[19] [ह]त्वा युद्धं जितं(तम्)[20] [॥*]

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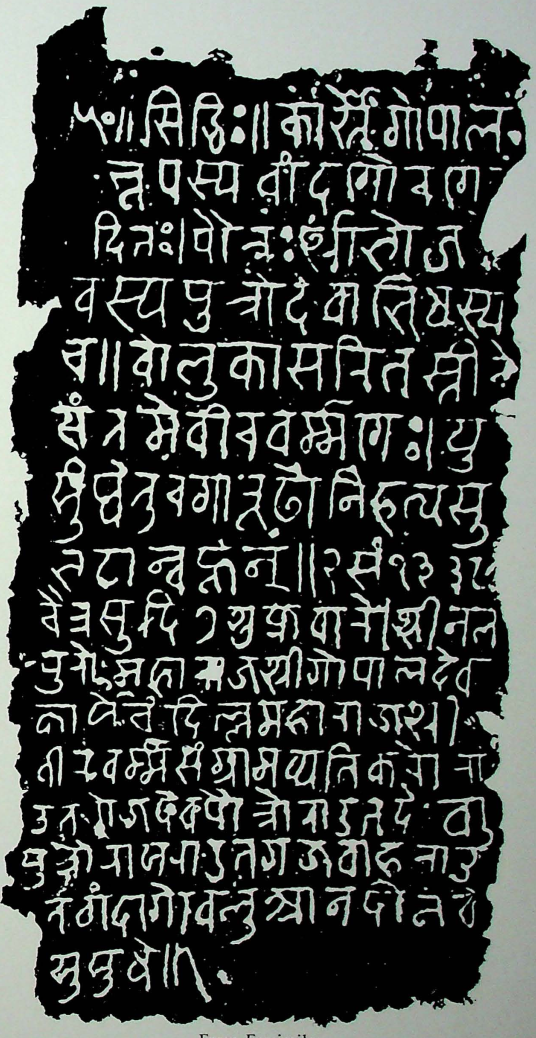
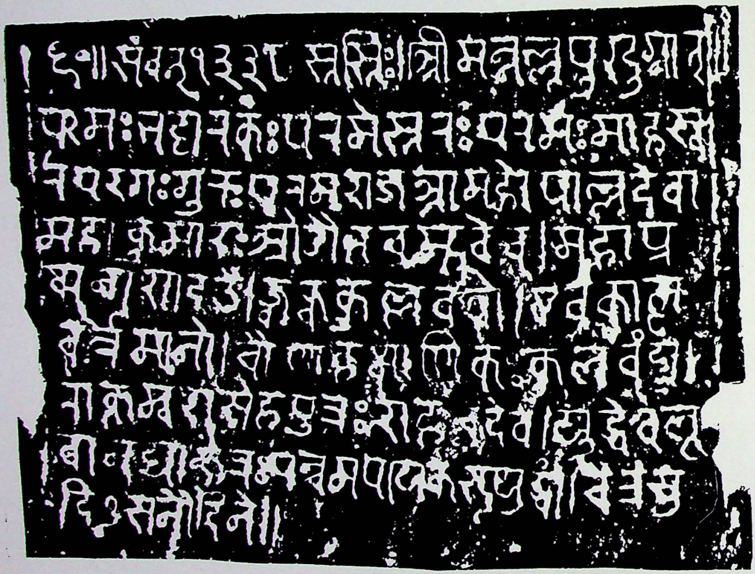
[1] A faint trace above shows that the sign of *mātrā* may have been cut above this *akshara*.
[2] The correct form of the name seems to be Jaitravarman, for which see *n.* elsewhere on the corresponding portion.
[3] Elsewhere this name appears as *Dējaï*. The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.
[4] For the sense and also for the name that follows, see *n.* in the preceding inscription.
[5] It is possible that this *akshara* is *vā*.
[6] All these letters are indistinct in the impression. Sircar read them as ल[सी भट ।?] वथ [:*]डेडे but I am not certain about the reading.
[7] That is, *Rāüta*.
[8] Read सिहदत्तोस्य.
[9] The name also indicates that the person died in the struggle.
[10] This expression is again obscure and we may accept Sircar's interpretation of it that the person in question died in an area belonging to a person named Sabhamma.
[11] From an impression which is No. 212 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, *Appx.* B.
[12] Denoted by symbol.
[13] Sircar read this *akshara* as *rt*, but what he took the sign of *rēpha* appears to be a fault of the writing which is very careless; and besides this, a number of the *aksharas* are damaged and indistinct as the stone appears to have been for long exposed to rains.
[14] Read वीरवर्म्मणा. The foot is metrically defective.
[15] The reading of the bracketed *akshara* is not certain. Should we read जनितं (?) The name that follows is not known.
[16] The consonant of this *akshara* appears as *sh*.
[17] This appears to be the same as *Kruddha*, but the preceding word, the reading of which is doubtful, is unintelligible, as also remarked by Sircar. Can it be the same as appearing in No. 162, l. 5 (?).
[18] The name consists of five *aksharas* but the reading is doubtful.
[19] The reading is not certain and the language too is defective. But as rightly held by Sircar, the passage refers to the heroes of the enemy's side who were killed by him.
[20] This statement indicates that he won the battle, and if so, the victory favoured the Yajvapāla king.

BAṄGLĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GŌPĀLADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1337



From Facsimile

BAṄGLĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GOPĀLADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1337



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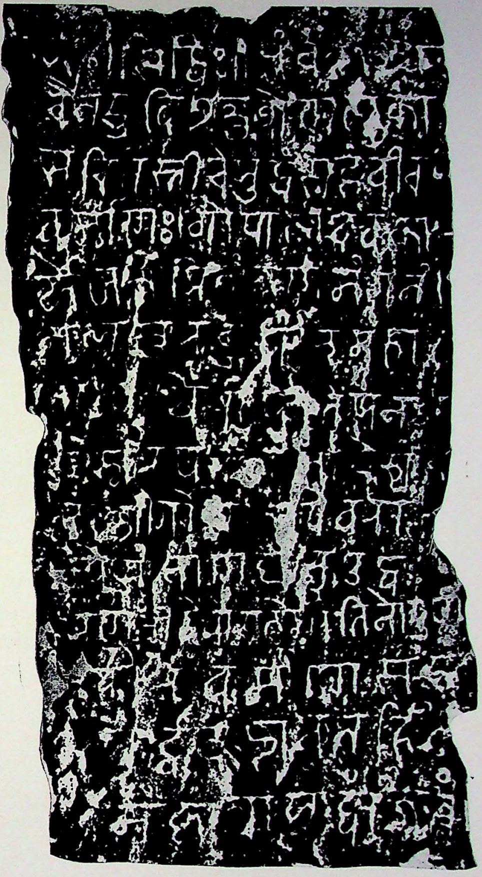
BAṄGLĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GOPĀLADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1337



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No. 168[1]

1 . . . . . .[2]मुर्व्यामव्याहतपराक्रमः। धनुर्द्धर इति
2 ख्यातो . . .[3]कु[ल]संभव ॥१ ग[ांय]कस्तनय[स्त][स्य*] व(ब)भूव व[र]-
3 विक्रमः। अथैतस्य सुतावि[द्र]वत्साविति व(ब)भूवतुः ॥२
4 श्रीवीर[वर्मणा] साकं वालुकातटिनीतटे। तदा प्र[व]-
5 [र्त्ति]तं रौद्रं युद्धं[गोपालभूभु]जः ॥३ वैरिणः समरे
6 जित्वा दत्वा(त्त्वा) [स्व]विजयश्रियं(यम्)। श्रीमद्गोपालदेवाय स्व[ामि]-
7 ने स्वामिभक्तिमान् ॥[४] स ताभ्यामिद्रव[त्स]ाभ्याम-
8 भ्यस्तधनुरागमः। [मु]नि[भिः] संस्तुतस्तत्र [गीय?]को[4]
9 भुवि युद्धितः ॥५ संवत् १३३७ चैत्र सुदि ७ शुक्रे ॥

No. 169[5]

1 सिद्धं(द्धम्)[6]। वघलके वंशे सिंहे नामा धनुर्धरो
2 व(ब)भूव[।*] तस्य [पु]त्रो गांगूको व(ब)भूव। अस्य
3 पुत्रौ [इं]दौ च कौकौ व(ब)भूवतुः[7] ॥ नलपुरस्य
4 राज्ञो गोपालदेवस्य कार्येण [जे]जा[भु]क्ती-
5 स्व(श्व)रेण वीरवर्म्मणा सह वलुकानदी-
6 तीरे इंदौको दित्रा(अत्र?)[8] [गां]गूकेन भ्रात्रा च
7 कौकेम(न)[9] सहितो रणे युद्धितः ॥ . . . .[10] ॥
8 सं. १३३७ चैत्र सु(शु)दि ७ शुक्रदिने ॥
9 . . . .
10 . . . .[11]
11 नागधोणुकहाथ जवले॥ अस्य इंदौकस्य पं-
12 चावे [कुं]दानि न(?)ष्टंकु[12]मारीआरयण वरइतु[13] ॥९

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[1] From an impression which is No. 222 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, *Appx.* B.
[2] Six syllables along with the symbol for *Siddham* are indistinct here.
[3] The *aksharas* for the name of the family are indistinct in the impression.
[4] The reading of this name is not certain. The consonants of the first two letters are damaged.
[5] From an impression which is No. 214 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, *Appx.* B.
[6] Expressed by a symbol. The *daṇḍa* that follows it has disappeared, leaving only a trace.
[7] Sircar read *cha vabhūvuḥ* and emended it to *babhūvatuḥ* but the *mātrā* of *bhū* is distinct.
[8] I am not certain if the curve of the *mātrā* wrongly put on the first of these *aksharas* is later on scored off by a vertical stroke or it is only a scratch.
[9] By a redundant stroke of the chisel this letter has become *na*.
[10] Here appears a symbol to show that the record is complete. Its exact form cannot be made out.
[11] These two lines are illegible.
[12] It is difficult to know whether the first of these *aksharas* is *na* or *va*.
[13] The first and the third letters are rather so formed as to make the reading appear doubtful. The last two lines of the record, as also noted by Sircar, are in a different hand and the letters are slightly smaller in size. They appear to me in a local dialect, and it is also a guess that the first five *aksharas* give the name of the girl who committed *Satī*. *Javalī* seems to be the same as the silver ornaments for fingers still put on by newly married girls in the locality. Taking the second letter ग (of line 11) for ग्र the name of the lady may conjecturally be taken as Dhīṇuka, whose hands and figures were docorated with the ornaments as stated here.

No. 170[1]

1 सिद्धम्[2] [।*] सिद्धि[ः।*] संवतु(त्) १३३८ चैत्र सुदी(शुदि) ७ सु(शु)क्रे
2 नलपुरदुर्ग्गे [श्रि(श्री)]राजाधिराजगोपा-
3 लदेवः[3] मंत्रि[णा] देजापरिग्र(गृ)हिग(हीत?)-
4 दनि[4] ॥ रा[ज*]श्रि(श्री)वि(वी)रवर्म्मदेए[न*][5] वलुआ-
5 नदीषे(क्षे)त्रे युधं(द्धं) कलि सुय लेले[6]
6
7
8 . . .[7]

No. 171[8]

1 सिद्धम्[9] [।*] संवतु(त्) १३३७ चैत्र सु(शु)दि . .[10]
2 सु(शु)क्रे वलुआनदीषे(क्षे) . .[11]
3 [श्री] . .[12]राजाधिराजगो-
4 पालदेवप्रधानदेजम(द)[13]-
5 नि कार्ये . . . . . राजवि(वी)र[14]

No. 172[15]

1 . . . .[16](शु)दि ७ सु(शु)क्रे । अद्येह श्रीमन्नलपुरमहा . . . . .
2 [17]द्गोपालदेव . . . . . .[18][तस्मिन् काले]
3 [जे]जाहुतिराजा(ज)[श्री]वीरब्रह्म[देवः] चतु[र्भिः]

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[1] From an impression which is No. 213 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1954-55, *Appx.* B. The letters are extremely damaged.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] The sign of *visarga*, if engraved, is smaller in size.
[4] As in the corresponding portion of the preceding records. Here the person seems to be called a *mantrin*.
[5] Read देवेन.
[6] As already noted by Sircar, these are probably the sons of the person who died in fighting.
[7] Lines 6-8 are damaged and therefore indistinct.
[8] From an impression which is No. 223 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1954-55, *Appx.* B.
[9] Expressed by a symbol followed by two illegible letters which appear as traces of *Svasti*.
[10] The number showing the *tithi* is lost here.
[11] Read क्षेत्रे, which is followed by 2 or 3 letters which I cannot make out as they are carelessly formed.
[12] Sircar observed that the broken letters may have been महा, and the reading has to be adopted here. They are in the form of traces only.
[13] See *n.* on the corresponding portions in Nos. 165, 166 and 174.
[14] Possibly to be read as राजाधिरा. The rest of the inscription, which contains four lines, is illegible.
[15] From an impression which is No. 218 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1954-55, *Appx.*
[16] This portion which is broken, may have contained the year and the name of the month. Also whether the consonant of the following *akshara* is dental or palatal cannot be ascertained.
[17] Possibly to be restored to राजाधिराजश्रीम–.
[18] The letters are not clear in the impression but the lacunae may conjecturally be filled in by विजयराज्ये.

4 . . .[1]सह नलपुरे समायातः। वलुआनदी[क्षेत्रे?][2]

5 . . . . .[3]पुत्र! रा[4]. . .युद्धितः ॥ . . .[5]

No. 173[6]

1 . .तु(त्) १३३८ चैत्र सु(शु)दि ७ सु(शु)क्रे[7]

No. 174[8]

1 सिद्धम्[9] [।*] सिद्धि[ः।*] संवत् १३३७[10] चैत्र सु(शु)दि ७ शु-

2 क्रे . . . . नलपुरदुर्गे राजादी(धि)-

3 राजश्रि(श्री)गोपालदेव [ः*] कुम[ा]रस्री(श्री)-

4 जैतव्र(ब्र)ह्मदेव [ः*] प्रधानदेजपरिग(ग्र)[हे]

5 मदनि . . . . . . जयश्री . . . .

6 राज . . . . . . .स्री(श्री)वि(वी)रवर्म्मदेव [ः।*]।

7

8

9

10 . वलुआनदीवीरषे(क्षे)त्रे जुधं(युद्धम्) . . .

---

[1] The lost letters may have been राजभिः, as in No. 162.

[2] Sircar observed that here the portion may have contained *tīrē*. but to me they appear to be traces of क्षेत्रे, as taken here.

[3] Here the name of the father may have been given but it cannot be made out completely.

[4] That is, *Rāüta*. Following it is probably the name of the hero and the letters appears as कैंजेको, but the reading is uncertain.

[5] Whether the *daṇḍas* were followed by some more letters cannot be determined.

[6] From an impression which is No. 217 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1954-55, *Appx.* B.

[7] The first two letters in this line are broken off, and except a letter or two here and there, the whole of the rest is lost. It is, however, included as it belongs to the battle and shows the year 1338.

[8] From an impression which is No. 215 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1954-55, *Appx.* B.

[9] Expressed by a symbol.

[10] The year agrees with that in Nos. 162, 168-69 and 171 although in Nos. 164, 167, 170 and 173-174 it is given as 1338, for which see Dr. Sircar's remarks, as already stated above.

No. 175 ; PLATE CXL

NARWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GŌPĀLADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1339

THE stone on which this record is inscribed was discovered in 1917-18, by M. B. Garde, the then Superintendent of Archaeology in the former State of Gwālior, and was brought to notice by the same scholar in the *Annual Administrative Report* of the department for the year Vikrama 1971 (No. 9), which was not printed,[1] and also in the *Indian Antiquary*. Vol. XLVII (1918), p. 242. The record was also enlisted by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India* under No. 603, and subsequently it was edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, with transliteration of the text in Roman characters, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIII (1959-60), pp. 36 ff., with Plate, facing p. 40. It is edited here from the original stone which now exists in the Archaeological Museum at Gwālior.

The inscription was found at **Narwar** the ancient Nalapura, which was the capital of the Yajvapāla dynasty in the latter half of the thirteenth century A.C. The place lies in the Karērā *parganā* in the Sipri (Shivpurī) District of Madhya Pradesh, about 26 kms. north by west of Karērā and almost equidistant south-east of Shivpurī, and contains ruins of old palaces ascribed to the ruling house of the Yajvapālas. The stone bearing this inscription is stated to have been discovered in these ruins.

The complete dimensions of the stone including a plain border which it has on all the four sides, are 73·5 cms. by 72 cms. The writing, which is in a sunken panel thereof, covers an area about 56 cms. broad by 54 cms. high and contains 27 lines of equal length. But it has suffered a good deal owing to the effects of weather. A number of the *aksharas* have been brushed off or damaged, particularly in the middle portion of ll. 7-18, where some of the letters are more or less rubbed out, since the work of engraving too was far from satisfactory, as will be shown below. The size of the letters varies from 1·2 to 1·5 cms. in height.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the thirteenth century A.C. The forms of *ch*, *dh* and *v* are often confounding with each other; *e.g.*, the letter *ch*, which almost resembles *v* in *vidhau cha*, l. 1, has its loop angular in *prōṁchchhita-*, l. 3 and it also approaches its modern Nāgarī form as in *-Achyuta-*, in the same line. The horn of the left limb of *dh* is prominent in most of the cases; it is sometimes oblique, *e.g.*, in *vidhau*, l. 1, but in some instances it is joined to the top of the horizontal bar, as in *niruṁdhan*, l. 3. Unlike the preceding record, this letter bears a top-stroke in the present one. *J* is in a transitional stage, its antique and modern forms being noticed respectively in the same word *Jajapēlla*, in l. 5. The subscript forms of *chh* and *th* are alike; cf. *avasthā-* and *vāṁchhita-*, ll. 1 and 19, respectively. The middle vertical bar of *ṇ* often ends in a loop as in *-varmaṇaḥ*, l. 18; as a latter member of a conjunct consonant, this letter is marked as *l*, *e.g.* in *vardhishṇu*, l. 21; and when joined with the same syllable, it is marked by a slanting stroke, as in *kā(kī)rṇṇa-*, l. 20. The forms of *t* and *bh* continue as in the preceding inscriptions; and those of the palatal and the dental sibilants are so engraved as to show a combination of both; see *saikata*, l. 18. The consonant *r* which has assumed its modern Nāgarī form, has occasionally the wedged form and also the one as the vertical marked by a horizontal stroke, as in the preceding records. The medial short *u* is sometimes denoted by a curve attached to the vertical of a letter to which it belongs, as in *-śruti-*, l. 7, sometimes the lower extremity of the curve is curled up, sharply, as in *-Achyuta-*, l. 3, and with an angle, as in *niruṁdhan*, in the same line; but generally it assumes the modern form, *e.g.*, in *diśatu* in the same line. The medial long *ū* is occasionally marked as the subscript *t* attached to the left lower part of a letter, *e.g.*, in *pūta-*, l. 17.

Mistakes of the writer and the engraver are to be noticed throughout the inscription;

[1] The reference here is H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājya-kē Abhilēkha*, No. 141, as noted before also.

[2] For the antiquities of Narwar, see Cunningham's *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 308; Vol. VII, p. 95 and Vol. XXI, p. 58. Also see *A.S.I.R.*, 1922-23, p. 187; *ibid.*, 1924-25, p. 164, and *ibid.*, 1925-26, p. 189.

and we also find limbs of some of the letters occasionally omitted, *e.g.*, *tasmād-* in l. 7 appears as *tasgād-*, without the horizontal stroke of *m*, and *viśva-* in l. 1, as *vimva*, as the tail of the left limb of *s* is omitted. On the other hand, a redundant chisel stroke has changed *g* to *m* in *gamya-*, l. 3, and *t* is often formed as *v*, *e.g.*, in *tadā-*, l. 5. Errors of this type and subsequent corrections and insertions that the inscription often has are all noted in the text that follows.

The **language** is Sanskrit: and with the exception of the opening word *Siddham* and the portion containing the date in the end, the record is metrically composed in the same fluent style as the preceding one, by the same poet Śivanābha. In all there are 27 verses, which are all numbered. It is interesting to note that verse 10 is composed in a metre of rare occurrence, known as *paṅkti* which belongs to the *supratishṭhā* group.

The following **orthographical** peculiarities may be noted. (1) The general use of *v* to denote *b* as in *-vimvita-*, l. 2; (2) the doubling of a consonant following *r* with certain exceptions, cf. *kīrtti-* and *-ūrjita*, both in l. 5; (3) the occasional use of the dental for the palatal sibilant *e.g.*, in *visuddha-*, l. 25, and *vice versa* in *śēnā*, l. 15; (4) the general use of the sign of *anusvāra* in place of an appropriate nasal, even at the end of a stich, with a few exceptions as in *kānti-kāntam*, l. 2. Besides these, the medial dipthongs are denoted sometimes by the *prishṭha-mātrā* and in the other instances by the *ūrdhva-mātrā*; the sign of *avagraha* occurs only once, in l. 14, to denote the name of Ajayadēva correctly; and the *kāka-pada* sign is used at the end of ll. 1, 2, 10 and 22.

The inscription is a *prasasti* (laudatory account), as the word is used in l. 26 (v. 26), and refers itself to the reign of **Gōpāladēva** of the royal house known as that of the **Jajapēlla (Yajvapāla)** dynasty of Nalagiri (the fort of **Narwar**). The immediate **object** of it is to record the excavation of a stepped well (*vāpī*) and planting of a garden by Gāṅgadēva, Minister of Gōpāladēva, evidently at Narwar, where the stone was found. The last line of the record shows the date in decimal figures only; it is **Thursday, the tenth of the dark half of Pausha of the (Vikrama) year 1339**, which, as calculated by Dr. Sircar, regularly corresponds to **26th November, 1282 A. C.** The month was *Pūrṇimānta*.[1]

Like any other *praśasti*, the record falls into two parts, the first nine verses containing the *maṅgala-ślōkas* followed by the genealogical account of the royal house, and the remaining eighteen verses speaking about the well and its excavator, with the names of the composer, writer and the engraver of the composition. After the introductory word *Siddhiḥ*, the inscription has two invocatory stanzas inviting the blessings of Sadāśiva and Achyuta, respectively. The next verse introduces Ratnagiri, and says that a hero of the name of **Jayapāla** was created by Maha(hā)ruṇḍā, who appears to have been the family-deity of the house to which he belonged. Ratnagiri, where the family is stated here to have its stay, cannot be satisfactorily identified, though Dr. Sircar suggests that it may be the same as the modern town of Ratangarh Kheḍī (Lat. 24° 49′; Long. 75° 13′) in the Mandsaur District of the former Gwālior State on the route from Neemuch to Būndī, 36 miles (58 kms. north-east of the former and 73 miles (117 kms.) south-east of the latter.[2] The description of the mountain in v. 3, that it (is so lofty as to) obstruct the speed of the Sun's chariot is all poetic. With reference to the family name Yajvapāla, it is possible to say that it may have been the Sanskritised form of Jayapāla, who appears to be an eponymous hero, or mythical king, in view of the fact that the real history of the house begins from **Chāhaḍa.** This prince is stated to have captured, by the force of his arms, Nalagiri and some other places from his enemies whom he vanquished (vv. 6-7); and then we find the name of his son, **Nṛivarman.** After him (*tadanu*) was born **Āsalladēva** whose description is merely conventional (v. 8). The definite relationship between these two rulers is not mentioned in the present record, but from the other inscriptions of the house we know that the latter was the son of the former. Āsalladēva's son was **Gōpāladēva** who is stated here

[1] Sircar, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[2] Ratnagiri can hardly be identical with Rarangarh, as suggested. The fort at that place is not old. See *G.A.R. for* 1929-30, p. 21, and besides, it is situated about 460 kms. south-west of Narwar. It is possible that the place may have been identical with the village known as *Dōṅgar*, lying almost mid-way between Narwar and Shivpurī (See *G.A.R.* for 1928-29, p. 11), but in this case we have to presume that this place was called by the name Ratna, or it may have been a poetic fancy. In any way the hill appears to be near Narwar and not so far in the Mandsaur district.

to have vanquished Vīravarman, the king of Jējābhukti, in a struggle on the banks of the river known as Sikatā. The Chandēlla ruler Vīravarman's reigning period is known to be from c. 1247 to 1286 A.C. and the battle referred to here is the same in which his distinguished general Balabhadra Mallaya vanquished the lord of Narwar, as seen above, while commenting on the Dāhī grant of the Chandēlla king.[1]

What is new in the genealogy of the royal house of Narwar is only the name of Āsalla's son Gōpāla, as stated in v. 9 of the present record, which also goes to corroborate the account of the battle between him and Vīravarman, as seen above.[2]

The second part of the *praśasti* which commences from v. 10, mentions the ancestors of Gāṅgēyadēva who got excavated a stepped well, evidently at Narwar, the place where the inscribed stone was found. The first name mentioned here is that of Vijayadēva, whose son was Suraśrī, who was a warrior and who killed enemical forces consisting of elephants in a battle (v. 13). Here the reading *viśvala-prabhu-balāni* is doubtful; but it is not unlikely, as suggested by Dr. Sircar, that the word Bundēla may have really been intended here. The successor of this man there was one Jayadēva "who put the mark of gold in the form of his weapon on the army of the Mlēchchhas which was the touch-stone". It is a poetic way of saying that he struggled with the Muslim forces and conquered them, which appears to be a reference to his battle with the army of Gayās-ud-dīn Balban who was then carrying on raids in Rājasthān and in the surrounding region.[3] Jayadēva's wife was Saubhāgyadēvī (v. 16). She gave birth to Gāṅgadēva, who became Minister of Gōpāladēva and who actively participated in his master's warfare with Vīravarman, the struggle with the Chandēlla king, as we have seen above. Verse 18 supplements our information by recording that in this battle he was associated with Jayanta, the Minister of the son of Nṛivarman, *i.e.*, Āsalladēva

Verses 21-24 state that Gāṅgadēva, gratified the distressed (his subjects), spread merits, directed welfare, removed sins and distributed wealth. With a desire to increase his merits, he excavated the well where good water was obtained, and also planted a beautiful garden for the satisfactions of his ancestors, gods and travellers. The next verse expresses the hope that the well may be everlasting.

Verse 26 gives the name of the poet, Śivanābhaka, who composed the *praśasti*. He was the son of the Treasury-Officer, Lōhaṭa by name, and a grandson of Damōdara, who had emigrated to Gōpādri from Mathurā. The verse giving all this account is reproduced from the preceding inscription which too was composed by the same poet some three years earlier. The last verse states that the record was written, (on the stone) by Maharāja. Here the inscription closes with the date, as seen above, and with the expression *śubham = astu* (may it be well) and the Nāgarī letter *chha* showing auspiciousness.

The name of the engraver, which does not appear in the main body of record, is incised on the lower border of the stone. He was Jiṇ(n)ēs(ś)vara belonging to the engraver's clan.

As for the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, **Ratnagiri** (v. 3) may be the hill near Narwar, as seen above, and **Nalagiri** (v. 6) is the hill adjoining to Narwar where the stone was discovered probably the same. **Sikata-nimnagā** (v. 19), also appearing as **Saikata-taṭini** (v. 9) is the stream known as Baruā or Baluā, a tributary of the Sindh which flows near Narwar; and **Gōpādri** (v. 26) is, of course, Gwālior.

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[1] *ASIR.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 74 ff.

[2] See above, nos. 162-174.

[3] See *S. E.*, p. 148.

[4] As the second *akshara* of the name is so spelt also in No. 178, below, the name does not appear to be a mistake for Mahārāja. This person is also obviously different from Mahārāja, the son of Sōmarāja, who incised No. 139, above, which is dated V. 1252, and is thus earlier by 87 years.

[5] All these variants appear in the inscriptions discovered at Baṅglā (to be seen above). Baluā is the corrupt form of *Bālukā = Sikatā*.

NARWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GŌPĀLADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1339

Scale : Two-fifth

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Upajāti* (combination of *Vaṁśastha* and *Indravaṁśā*); vv. 2, 6-7 and 19 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 3, 5 and 14-17 *Upajāti*; vv. 4, 21, 23, 25 and 27 *Anushṭubh*; vv. 8, 11 and 12 *Mālinī*; v. 9 *Mandākrāntā*; v. 10 *Paṅkti*; v. 13 *Rathōddhatā*; v. 18 *Āryā*; vv. 20, 22 and 26 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; and v. 24 *Aupachchhandasika*].

1 ओम्[2] ॥ सिद्धिः ॥ न यत्र रूपादिविवेकिताग्रहो[3] विम्व(श्व)स्य निर्माणविधौ च न श्रमः । अधिश्रितस्तां परमामवस्थां सदाशिवो[4] वः शिव-

2 मातनोतु ॥१ दृष्ट्वातसीकुसु[5]मकोमलकान्तिकान्तमंगं रहस्यपमले प्रतिविंवि(बिम्बि)तं स्वं(स्वम्) । लक्ष्मी-कपोलफलकेंजनशं[5]क-

3 या तदुत्प्रोंच्छितं दिशतु वः शिवमच्युतस्य ॥२ गम्यो[6] न विद्वेषिमनोरथानां रथस्यदं भानुमतो निरुंधन् । वासः सतामस्ति वि-

4 भूतिपात्रं रम्योदयो रत्नगिरिर्गिरींद्रः ॥३ तत्र सौर्यमयः कश्चिनि(न्नि)र्मि[तो] महरुंडया[7] । जयपालो-भवान्नाम्ना विद्विषां दुरतिक्र-

5 मः ॥४ [त]दाख्यया प्राकृतलोकवृंदेरुच्चार्यमाणः [शु]चिरूर्जितश्रीः । व(ब)लावदानार्जितकांतकीर्त्तिर्वंशः[8] परोभूज्जजपेल्लसंज्ञः ॥५ तत्रा-

6 भवन्नृपतिरुग्रतरप्रतापः श्रीचाहडस्त्रिभुवनप्रथिमानकीर्त्तिः । दोर्द्दंडचंडिमभरेण पुरः परेभ्यो येना[हृ]ता नलगिरिप्रमुखा गरि-

7 ष्ठाः ॥६ तस्गा(स्मा)[9]दनेकविधविक्रमलव्ध(ब्ध)कीर्त्तिः पुण्यश्रुतिः समभवन्नरवर्म्मदेवः । भूभृद्व्युदास[10] पदि(टि)मारिपुनागदान्तिदक्षः श्रिया परिवृ-

8 तोत्र यथा मुरारिः ॥७ अजनि जगदनर्घ्योद्दाम[जाग्रत्प्रकोप]स्तद[नु वसुम]ती[शः] श्रीमदास[ल्ल]देवः । प्रगुणितगुणराजीरंजितासा(शा)-

9 वकाशो निरुपधिनिधिरेको विश्रुतः श्रेयसां यः ॥८ श्रीगोपालः समजनि ततो भूमिपालः कलावां[स्त]न्व-न्कीर्त्ती(र्त्तीः) समिति सिकतानि-

10 म्नगाकच्छभूमौ । जेजाभुक्तिप्रभुम[तिव(ब)]लं[11] वीरवर्मा[णमाजौ जित्वा चं]द्रक्षितिधरपतिं लक्षणं सांयुगीयां-(याम्) ॥९ रक्षति भूमिं तत्र मही-

11 शं । वारिधिसीमामीतिविमुक्तां(क्ताम्)[12] [॥१०] निजवदनसमीहा[स्त्रेणचां]शेन[13]वंद्यो विविधसमरसीमाल[व्ध-(ब्ध)]सत्कारकीर्त्तिः । प[शु]पतिपदशे(से)-

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1 From the original stone.

2 Denoted by a symbol.

3 What appears as the sign of *Anusvāra* above *ta* is the original fault of the stone.

4 This may also be taken as सदाशिवः.

In many cases this *akshara* appears as a combination of the palatal and the dental sibilant. At the end of the second line, as also at the end of some other lines below, the sign of *kāka-pāda* is engraved.

By a redundant horizontal stroke, *ga* appears as *ma*. In contrast, see *n.* 9 below.

7 In No. 178, below, the name appears as *Mahāruṇḍā*. Evidently the *mātrā* of the second letter of the name is here dropped as it would not suit the metre here.

8 First engraved as दानोर्जित, and then the stroke above the top of the second letter is scored off. *Avadāna* means 'a glorious achievement'.

9 The horizontal stroke of the consonant *m* is not engraved and thus it appears as *g*. cf. *n.* 5 above.

10 Restore to भूभृत्युवास पटिमा — meaning 'who was dexterious in curbing the elephants of his enemies, lived on the hill'.

11 It can also be read as अधिव(व)लं. The reading of the six bracketed letters that follow is from the traces left. The word *Chandra* here probably denotes Chandēlla (or Chandēri ?).

12 *Sīmā* here gives the sense of 'the end', and *īti* means a distress, usually of six types as *ativṛishṭi*, *anāvṛishṭi*, *etc*.

13 The reading of the bracketed *aksharas* is only from the faint traces on the stone and therefore uncertain. Sircar read [वद्य]वंशानवद्यो.

12 वाधूतपापो वदान्यः सततविदलितार्थिस्वां[त]संताप[शान्तिः?][1] ॥११ अजनि विजयदेवस्तस्य सूनुः सुरश्रीः[2] प्रकृतिसुकृतनिष्ठो[3]वीरचर्याधु-

13 रीणः । अपहृतगुणिदुःखो दिग्बधूवक्त्रशोभाकरणचणविसर्पत्कीर्त्तिकर्पूररेणुः[4] ॥१२ हस्ति[भासुररणे] महौजसो वि[श्व]लं(?) प्रभुवला-

14 नि निघ्नितः[5] । वक्तुमस्ति विभुरत्र विक्रमे यस्य वक्त्रशत[शोभितः फणी?] ॥१३ ततो[भ]व[च्छन्न]वि[भोंशु?] माली धरावतंसोऽजयदेवसंज्ञः ।

15 यो म्लेच्छशे(से)नाकषपट्टिकायां चक्रे परी[क्षां नि]जदण्डहेम्नः ॥१४ नागेन केनापि [प]रं स्पृसं(शं)ती विमुक्तकामा जगदेकमान्या । लोक-

16 त्रयं यस्य विशुद्धवेषा कीर्त्तिः परिभ्राम्यति तापसीव ॥१५ तस्यानुरूपा कुलवृत्तशीलैः सौभाग्यदेवी दयिता व(ब)भूव । यया सुचारित्रमयेन

17 शस्व(श्व)त्स्वतेजसा विस्व(श्व)मकारि पूतं(तम्) ॥१६ आस्ते तयो[ः*] सूनुरुदारकर्मा श्रीगांगदेव भटमौलिरत्नं(त्नम्) । येनार्जितं सैकतसिंधुसख्ये यशोनवद्यं सु-

18 भटातिसा(शा)यि ॥१७ शै(सै)कततटिनीसंख्ये भुजव(ब)लजितवीरवर्मणः कृतिनः । सचिव[6]तया यः प्रथितो: नृवर्मसूनोर्जयंतश्च ॥१८ पादोनल-

19 क्षविषये चिरकालभग्नान्देवालयान्गमयिताभिनवामव[स्थां(स्थाम्)] । येनार्जितं सुकृतमक्षयमप्रमेयमेकं पदं त्रिजगतीजनवांच्छितानां(नाम्) ॥१९

20 दीनांस्तो[ष]यतो गुणान्प्रथयतः श्रेयः समादि[श्य]तः पापं निर्द्दहतो धनं वितरतो यस्यानवद्यं यशः । [पी]यूषैरिव पूरितं हिमकरैः कीर्ण्ण[7]मृणा-

21 लीलवैश्छन्नं हारलताभिराचितमिदं चक्रे त्रिलोक्व(क्य)तरं(रम्)॥२० उपायैरितरैः [सिद्धं] क्षीयमानं(णं) विलोक्य सः । पुण्यैव(र्व)र्द्धिष्णु तत्कुर्व्वन्वापीमेताम-

22 कारयत् ॥२१ तापापायपटूदयैः समुदयत्स(च्छ)र्मोर्मिसंपच्चितैः सौरभ्यं परमं वहद्भिरमलैरामोदिभिर्भूरिभिः । या [भा]ग्यैरिवमूर्त्ततामुपगतैः पु-

23 ण्यान्न[वा]रिश्रया[8]पूर्ण्णा स्वादुतरैः पयोभिरामितैर्वर्द्धिस्नु(ष्णु)भिः संततं(तम्) ॥२२ मनस्वितेव गंभीरा स[द्वृ]त्तिरिव निर्मला । अभेद्या साधुमैत्रीव भासते या

24 मनोहरा ॥२ कुशु(सु)मफलभराभिनम्रशाखैर्विटपिभिरुन्मदभृंगकोकिलै(लौ)घैः । रुचिरमुपवनं व्यधापि(यि) तेनाहि[ततो]षं पितृदेवताध्वगानां(नाम्) ॥२४

25 यावद्वसति लोकेशो नाभीवारिरुहे हरेः । तावद्भूयादियं वापी श्रेयसेस्य महात्मनः ॥ २५ गोपाद्रौ लिपिकृत्कुले समभवद्दामोदरो माथुर[ः*] सूनुस्तस्य विसु(शु)-

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1 Here too the reading is from the traces left.

2 The sign of *visarga* is almost mingled with the letter that follows.

3 This *akshara* appears as ग्वो.

4 Most of the *aksharas* in the latter half of this verse have now disappeared, leaving only traces.

5 The reading of bracketed letters at both the places in this half of this verse is uncertain; and according to Dr. Sircar, they are Hastināpura and Vīsvala, respectively. Sircar also suggested that the latter denotes the Chāhamāna king Vigraharāja IV, whose known dates are 1153 and 1164 A.C.; and since Vijayadēva's grandson, the hero of the present record, was a later contemporary of the Imperial Chāhamāna king of Ajmer and Delhi, and probably also an officer under the Gāhaḍavāla monarch Vijayachandra (*c.* 1255-70 A.C.), who is reported to have come into conflict with the king of Delhi, his grandfather (Vijayadēva) may be taken to have been a minister under Āsalla, son of Nṛivarman, who also defeated Vīravarman, in battle with Gōpāla and thus he continued for two generations. For this suggestion of Sircar, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 37. But this is merely a conjecture, unsupported by any other evidence and also involving a number of probabilities, besides that it is based on the uncertain reading of both the names, *viz.*, Hastināpura and Vīsvala, which may also be read as *Vimvala*.

6 Engraved वु, subsequently changed to व, with the mark of the *mātrā* still visible.

7 The upper curve of the *mātrā* of the preceding letter is extremely faint on the original.

8 Sircar read पुण्यां[त]रारी[क्ष]या.

26 द्धकीर्त्तिरनघः कोशाधिपो लोहटः । पुत्रस्तस्य मनीषिमानसमुदां विस्तारहेतुं वि(व्य)धादेनां श्रीशिवनाभको निरुपमै[र्वृ]त्तैः[1] प्रशस्ति शुभां(भाम्) ॥२६ माथु-

27 रान्वयकायस्थसोमराजांगजन्मना । लिखिता महराजेन[2] प्रशस्तिरियमुत्तमा ॥२७॥ संवत् १३३९ पौष वदि १० गुरुवासरे ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥छ[3]॥

No. 176 ; Plate CXLI

SURWĀYĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GŌPĀLADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1341

THE stone bearing this inscription was found in an old ruined well, locally known as Dabia *bāōḍī* in a jungle about 5 kms. to the north of **Surwāyā**[4] a tiny hamlet on the Jhāṅsī-Sīpri metalled road, about 20 kms. to the east of Sīprī, the headquarters of a *tehsīl* and district in Madhya Pradesh. Removed from its original place some time in 1918 by the late Shri M. B. Garde who found the stone in the well, it was for some time exhibited in the portico of a temple at Surwāyā and was subsequently transported to the archaeological museum at Gwālior where it now exists. The inscription was briefly noticed in a publication of the department of archaeology of the former Gwālior State and entitled '*A Guide to Surwāyā*' (1919), on pp. 25-26 and illustrated on plate XII. It was also included by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions in Northern India* (No. 607). It is edited here for the first time from the original stone which I examined in the Museum where it exists, and from an impression of it which I owe to the Curator of the Museum.

The inscription covers a space 43.5 cms. broad by 42.5 cms. high. It is engraved on a counterstruck surface of a dark pinkish stone which has broad borders on all the four sides including which, the stone measures 57.5 cms. in each side. The writing is in a state of good preservation, except a letter each in the middle of ll. 6-9, which has been abraded though it can be read with certainty. The letters are well formed and carefully cut and their size is about 1.5 cms., except in the last line where are a little smaller. On the upper border of the stone and separated from the main body of the record, is another line, 20 cms. long, in slightly bigger letters which are sparsely written. It reads *Paṁḍita-Sōmadhara-putra-īśvara-vāpikā* : and similarly, on the right side of the lower border of it is engraved another line which gives the name of the engraver of the record with date in figures.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the thirteenth century A.C., to which the record belongs. They are symmetrical in form and are written and cut more carefully than those of the preceding

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[1] The sign of *rēpha* on the bracketed latter is very faintly carved.

[2] On this name, see *n.* in the edition of the inscription.

[3] It is the sign showing auspiciousness. On the lower border of the stone, in the middle but slightly towards the left is engraved in the same hand सूत्री टंकान्वयसाधुरुच्चकार जिणेस्व(श्व)र(रः) ॥

[4] The history and antiquities of this place are described 'in *A. S. I R.*, XXIV, p. 25 and also in the *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, for 1915-16, p. 11.

inscription which was engraved only a couple of years before. Attention may be drawn to the form of the initial *i*, the loop with the tail of which is separated from the rest (*e.g.*, in *iti*, l. 12); to that of the initial *u* incised as *nu* (see *udāra-*, l. 9); to that of *ṇ* with its middle vertical stroke ending in a loop (see *purāṇa*, l. 13); to that of *p* engraved as *y* (cf. *kalpa-*, l. 1); and lastly, to the mark of a final consonant resembling the *mātrā* of long *ū*, as in *samyak*, l. 5. The limbs of the letters are formed angular.

The writing is correct but involves a few mistakes as *tammāt* for *tasmāt* and *nimmala* for *nirmmala*, both in l. 9. The *language* is Sanskrit, which is generally correct; and except for the opening word *siddhiḥ*, the record is metrically composed. The verses, which are all numbered, total 19. The poet who had a deep knowledge of the *Harshacharita* on which the initial portion of the record is based, has some slackness in his composition; *e.g.*, the use of the word *su-vidvān* and the redundant *tē* and *tu*, all in v. 9.

As regards **orthography,** we note that (1) *v.* is written throughout for *b*; cf. *vudha-*, l. 2; (2) the dental *s* is put for the palatal *ś* in a few instances like *Sarvva* for *Śarvva* in the same line; (3) *anusvāra* is wrongly used in a few cases at the end of a stich, *e.g.*, at the end of the first half of v. 1, but not so at the end of it; and lastly, (4) a consonant after *r* is generally doubled excepting in a few instances; see *sarvva-*, l. 1 but not in *-arjita-*, l. 13.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the excavation of a stepped well (*vāpī*), evidently the same in which the stone was found, by a person whose name was Iśvara. The record does not refer to any ruling prince by name nor to any dynasty which was then holding its sway in the region; but as the **date** is mentioned to be **the fifth of the bright half of Kārttika, Wednesday of the Vikrama year 1341,** which regularly corresponds to Wednesday, 3rd October, **1285** A.C.[1], it may be ascribed to the period of the **Yajvapāla Gōpāladēva** who was holding sway in that region from 1279 to 1289 A.C.

Opening with the auspicious word *Siddhiḥ*, the record has one verse to invoke the blessings of Śiva under the name Śarva. It then mentions the origin of the Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas, stating that the river Sarasvatī married the sage Dadhīchi who was performing penances on her bank and had from him a son of the name of Sārasvata (born of Sarasvatī). He pleased Indra by his penances at the time of a drought and obtained rains from him (vv. 2-3). In his generation which flourished at Sarasvatī-*pattana*, there were several learned persons who were all devoted to performing sacrifices and worshipped Śiva (v. 4). The next verse states that in his lineage was born Bhadrēśvara, the crest-jewel of the Dīkshitas, who worshipped Vishṇu (*yajñapurusha*) by sacrifices. His son was Āśādhara, the foremost among those who knew the supreme Spirit and the good conduct personified (v. 6). From him was born Hṛishīkēśa, whose heart was pure and who was compassionate, generous, of good conduct and a member of a society (*sabhāstāra*).[2] His wife was Lahuvaḍā, the daughter of Rālha, who knew two of the Vēdas (v. 8). She gave birth to three sons, *viz.*, Sāmadhara, Nāyaka and Ghuḍaddēva (v. 9). Sāmadhara was proficient in the three Vēdas, the Purāṇas and grammar (v. 10). His wife was Dēvasirī (Dēvaśrī), the daughter of Bharahapāla (v. 11), who is otherwise unknown. Her sons were Ratnākara, Sōma, who was a poet, Īśvara, Sīlaṇa and Rudra (v. 12). The next verse states that the well, evidently the same where the stone was discovered, was excavated by Īśvara. Nothing more about this person is known.

Verse 14 is devoted to describing the well in a poetic way; and the next verse states that the *praśasti* was composed by Sōmamiśra, the son of Sāmadhara and thus a brother of Īśvara himself, who excavated the well, as known from v. 12, above. Verse 19, the last of the verses of the record, states that it was written by Gāṅgadēva, the son of the Brāhmaṇa Manē who belonged to the Gauḍa lineage. It was engraved by Ratana (Ratna), whose name appears on the lower border of the stone, as seen above, along with the date in figures.

The inscription is void of any historical interest.

The only **geographical name** appearing in the inscription is **Sarasvati-pattana** (v. 4), which is the modern village Surwāyā, near which the stone was found. For the ending *-wāyā*, we may compare the name Padmāvati changed to Pawāyā, which is in the same region.

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[1] See *I. N. I.*, No. 607. The year is expressed in word-numerals, excepting the first one.

[2] For the meaning of this word, see *n.* under verse 7 in the text, below.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1-2 and 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 3 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 4, 6 and 10 *Upajāti* ; vv. 5 and 9 *Upajāti* (combination of *Vaṁśastha* and *Indravaṁśā*) ; v. 7 *Śikhariṇī* ; vv. 8 and 18-19 *Anushṭubh* ; v. 11 irregular ; vv. 13-14 *Rathōddhatā* ; v. 15 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 16 *Upajāti* (combination of *Indravaṁśā* and *Indravajrā*) ; and v. 17 *Āryā*].

1 ओम्[2] सिद्धिः ॥ विश्वं विश्वसिसृक्षया सृजति यः संभूतिभेदास्पदं भूतं भूतरिरंसया त्ववति यः सत्कर्म्मशर्म्मस्थिति(तिम्) । [3]कल्पानल्पजिही[र्ष]-

2 या पुनरिदं स्वस्मिन्निधत्तेतरां स(श)र्व्वः सर्व्ववु(बु)धाश्रयो दिशतु वो देवः शुभं शाश्वतम् ॥१ आसीद्व(द्ब्र)ह्मसरः सुधासहचरं व्र(ब्र)ह्मांडभांडात्ततः

3 प्रावर्त्ति[ष्ट][4]सरस्वती सुरनदी गंभीरनीरा भुवि । सा [तीरे] तपसि स्थितं वृतवती देवी दधीचिं मुनिं तस्मादाप सुतं वशिष्ठसदृशं सारस्व-

4 तं नामतः ॥२ तत्रानावृष्टिरासोज्जगति तनुतरव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणे द्वादशाव्दं(ब्दं) तस्यामासाद्य वृष्टिं कथमपि तपसा देवराजप्रसादात् । वेदांगां-

5 गैः समेतान् स्मृतिपथविमुखान्व्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणान् भक्तिभाजो भूयः सारस्वतो यः श्रवणरससुखं पाठयामास सम्यक्[5] ॥३ सरस्वतोपत्त-

6 ननामधेये सारस्वतास्तस्य सुता व(ब)भूवुः । श्रुतिस्मृतीहासपुराणविज्ञा[6] यज्ञप्रधानाः शिवसन्निधानाः ॥४ व(ब)भूव तेषां वि-

7 दुषां शुभान्वय(ये) भद्रेश्वरो दीक्षितमौलिभूषणं(णम्) । श्रियं समासाद्य विधान[वो(वो)]धिकामीजे स यज्ञैरिह यज्ञपूरुषं(षम्) ॥५ तस्मादभू-

8 द्व(द्ब्र)ह्मविदां वरिष्ट(ष्ठ) आशाधरः शारदचंद्रकान्तः । यज्वा सदाचारनिधि[र्व्वि]नीतः सुगीतकीर्त्तिः सु-कृतस्य मूर्त्तिः ॥६ हृषीके-

9 शस्तम्मा(स्मा)दजनि तनयो निम्म(र्म्म)लमना रिपौ न व्याक्रोशीं क्षणमपि रुषा यो न विदधे । [उ]दारः[7] साचारः सुकृतनिच-

10 यासादितसुखः स[भा]स्तारो[8] वक्ता जगदुपकृतौ कीर्त्तिपटहः ॥७ द्विर्व्वेदराल्हूतनयामुपयेमे स वीरसूम् । लो-

11 के लहूवडख्यातां[9] धर्म्म[शी]लां[10] पतिव्रतां(ताम्) ॥८ तस्यां व(ब)भूवुस्तनयास्त्रयस्ते ज्यायानभूत्सामधरः सुविद्वान् । विद्याधरो

12 नायकनामधेयस्त्वन्यो घुडद्देव इति प्रसिद्धः ॥९ आसीदसौ सामधरो धरायां त्रैविद्यविद्येषु समात्तपूजः ।

13 पुराणमुद्राजितपौरराजः पदप्रपंचे जितवादिराजः ॥१० भरहपालतनयामुपयेमे देवसिरी[11] इति

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1 From the original stone and an impression.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 This *daṇḍa* is very close to the following letter and appears as a part of it.

4 A redundant chisel stroke has made this *akshara* appear as *ṭha*.

5 For all this mythical account and the origin of the Sārasvatas, see *Harsha-charita*, Ch. I.

6 The word *itihāsa* has been contracted here for metrical exigencies.

7 The *akshara* in the brackets is engraved as *nu*.

8 One who conducts or is a member of an assembly. See *Vāchaspatya*, under the word, where it is stated :

अर्थिप्रत्यर्थिनौ सभ्यान् लेखकप्रेक्षकांश्च यः ।
धर्मवाक्यै रञ्जयति स सभास्तारतामियात् ॥

Also see *Śabdakalpadruma* in M. William's Dictionary, under '*sabhā*'.

9 It is not known if the second *akshara* of the the 'name has to be read as *i*, for which cf. *iti* in the next line and again in l. 13.

10 By a wrong stroke the letter in the brackets shows a combination of the dental and the palatal sibilant.

11 The Sanskrit form of this name would be *Dēvaśrī*. What is intended is *nāmnīṁ*, which would not suit the metre. It may also be noted that in each of the quarters of the verse, which is *Svāgatā*, the first *akshara* which should be long has been changed to two short ones.

14 नाम स धन्यां(न्याम्) । जनकराजदुहितासुचरित्रां देवनदीमिव पुण्यपवित्रां(त्राम्) ॥११ तस्यां तस्य विजज्ञिरे सु[त]-
15 नया रत्नाकरः कोविदो मिश्रः सोमकविस्तथेश्वर इति ख्यातोपरः शंकरः । अन्य सील[ण]संज्ञकः सुचरितो वि-
16 ज्ञो वदान्यस्तथा रुद्रो रुद्रमना मनोज्ञविनयो विद्वान्विशुद्धाशयः ॥१२ ईश्वरः स्वयमिहेत्य लीलया तेषु सत्सु
17 च विहृत्य वं(बं)धुषु । संस्मृतः सुरगणेन वापिकां निर्म्ममाय निरगात्त्रिविष्टपं(पम्) ॥१३ या हिमालय-शिलाविला-
18 सिनी लोकलो[च]नचकोरचंद्रिका । कोकचक्रकलहंसनिःस्वना भाति निर्म्मितिरिवेह वेधसः ॥१४ सारस्वतेन
19 कविना कविनेव[1] सोममिश्रेण सूखिरसामधरात्मजेन । गंभीरपेशलपदा सरसा सुवृत्ता संकीर्त्तनाय वि-
20 दधे विमला प्रशस्तिः ॥१५ यावद्गिरीशो गिरिजामुरस्थले[2] धत्ते च यावत्कमलां मुरारिः । यावद्रवींदू चर-
21 तो नभोंगने(णे) तावद्धरा तिष्ठतु वापिकेयं(यम्) ॥१६ सदलंकृतिपदरुचिरा सहृदयहृदयानुरागिणी सरसा ।
22 मुक्तामणिरिव विमला विलसतु सततं सतां कंठे[3] ॥१७ एकाब्धि(ब्धि)रामरूपांके विक्रमादित्यवत्सरे । कार्त्तिके शु-
23 क्लपंचम्यां प्रशस्तिर्व्विहिता वु(बु)धे ॥१८ गौडान्वयो मने नाम व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणः साधुसंमतः । तत्पुत्रो गांगदेवाख्यो लिलेखेमां प्रयत्नतः ॥१९ [॥*][4]

No. 177 ; Plate CXLII

SESAI PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GŌPĀLADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1341

THIS inscription is on a memorial stone pillar in the tiny hamlet of **Sēsai** on the Agra-Bombay road, situated about 15 kms. south of Sīprī (Shivpurī), the headquarters of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. It was discovered in 1914, by M. B. Garde, the Superintendent of Archaeology in the former State of Gwālior, and was brought to notice by him in the *Annual Report* of the department for that year (*i.e.*, V.S. 1971), which is not available in print.[5] The pillar was again found at the same place by Dr. D. C. Sircar, in 1955, in his tour in the Shivpurī District; and from the impressions then prepared by him, he edited the record, along with some others, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXI (1957), pp. 323 ff, with its transcript in Roman characters. The record is edited here from one of those impressions which were taken by Dr. Sircar and kindly supplied to me by Dr. G. S. Gai, the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.[6]

The inscription consists of twelve lines of writing, covering a space about 30.5 cms. broad by 20.3 cms. high, and has suffered from long exposure to weather. Its preservation is not satisfactory. The mechanical execution was rather sloven. The average size of the letters is 1 cm.

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1 This word denotes Śukrāchārya who is known to have been a poet.

2 The *visarga* of *uras-* is dropped according to the *Vārtika* on *Pāṇini*, VIII, 3 36. It is rare *sandhi*.

3 The adjectives used in this verse are applicable to both, *i.e.*, a pearl and the *praśasti*.

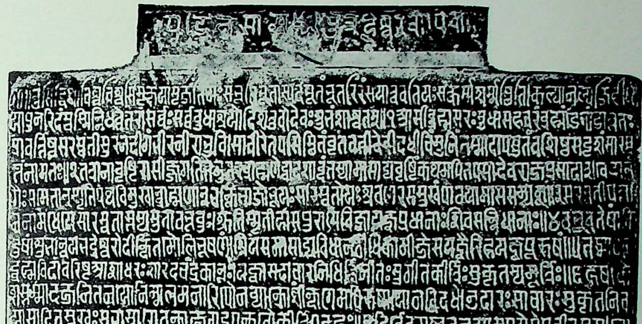
4 The name of the engraver, which could not be accommodated in the main body of the inscription, is incised on the lower part of the border of the stone, on the right side, along with the date in numerical figures. The whole reading is :

सूत्रधार रतन ॥ छ ॥ छ ॥ सं[व]त् १३४१ कार्त्तिक सुदि ५ वु(बु)धे ॥

5 Here the reference is to H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwālior Rājya-kē Abhilēkha*, No. 151.

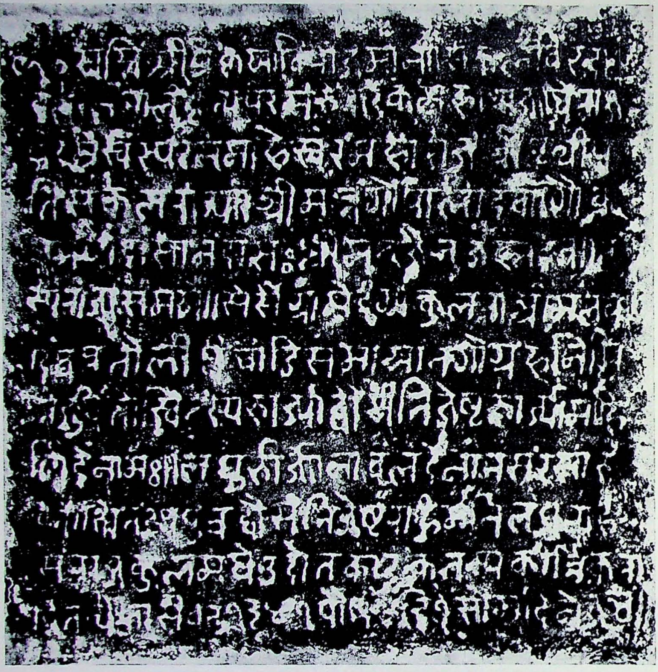
6 His No. is B-231 of 1955-56.

SURWĀYĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GOPĀLADEVA, VIKRAMA 1341



From Photograph

SĒSAI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GOPĀLADĒVA, VIKRAMA 1341



Scale : One-half

The **characters** belong to the Nāgari alphabet ; and from the point of view of the palaeography, it may be noted that the letter *bh* is antique in form, *e.g.*, in *bhaṭṭāraka*, l. 2 ; that *r* is sometimes denoted by a vertical with a horizontal stroke attached to its middle, on the left, as in *rājya*, l. 4 ; and that the sign of the final consonant in *saṁvat*, l. 12, almost resembles the sign of the medial *u*. The **language** is Sanskrit, which is corrupt and often also grammatically incorrect ; and the entire record is in prose.

The **orthography** does not call for any special notice, except that vertical strokes, which are decorated with top-strokes, are often used to separate words as the commas of the modern times, for which see ll. 1, 2 and 4.

Beginning with auspicious words, the inscription mentions the name of the illustrious **Gōpāldēva** with the epithets including *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, stating at the same time that he was a great devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva). From the provenance of the record and also from the year mentioned in it, this king is no doubt the homonymous ruler of Narwar, whose rule extended from *c.* 1279 to *c.* 1289 A.C. Following this, is introduced the illustrious **Jaitujamhadēva** a slave of the devotees of Brāhmaṇas, who was then governing the region. The relation that this person bore to Gōpāladēva is not specified in the record ; but as rightly remarked by Dr. Sircar, on the basis of taking him identical with the *Mahākumāra* or *Kumāra* Jaitravarman called Jaitavrahmadēva, Jayatavrahmadēva and Jeyatav(b)rahmadēva of the Baṅglā inscriptions,[1] that he was undoubtedly a subordinate ruler under the Yajvapāla monarch and probably also enjoyed the status of a crown-prince (*yuvarāja*).[2]

The **object** of the inscription, as given in ll. 5 ff., is to record the death of *Rā*, *i.e.*, *Rāüta* Malayadēva in a battle fought in connection with a case of cattle-lifting at the street (*pratōlī*) in the village of Sēsai (where the inscribed pillar was found), probably along with both the wives who too were killed by the cattle-lifters, as suggested by the language of the record. The elder wife was Māhiṇīdēvī and the younger one was Nāvuladēvī (ll. 8-9). The pillar was erected by their sons who were the *Rā* (*Rāüta*) Himāṇa and the *Rā* (*rāüta*) Haṁsarāja (ll. 10-11), who (thus) brought fame to the family.

The inscription ends with the **date** *viz.*, the (Vikrama) year **1341** (expressed in numerical figures only), the **first** *tithi* of the **dark fortnight of Pausha** when it was **Monday**. Working out the details of the date, Dr. Sircar observed that "they (the details) are irregular, but may refer to the **25th of December, 1284 A.D.**" This view may be accepted.[3]

Sēsai-*grāma*, mentioned in l. 6 of the inscription, is, no doubt the village of the same name where the pillar has been found.

TEXT[4]

1 सिद्धम्[5] स्वस्ति श्री[:]प्रक्र(क्रि)याविराजमान-॥[6] सकलवि[रु]दा-

2 वलीसमालंकृत-। परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-

3 परमेस्व(श्व)रपरममाहेस्व(श्व)रमहाराजश्रीपृथी(थ्वी)प-

4 तिसकलराज्य-[7] ॥ श्रीमन्तगोपालदेव[8] ॥ गौ(गो)व्रा(ब्रा)-

5 ह्मणदासानुदासः श्रीमत्जै[त्र]जह्मदेव[:][9] ॥ त-

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[1] Above, Nos. 165 and 166, each in l. 5, and No. 174, in l. 4.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXXI, p. 324.

[3] On Monday, the first *tithi* ended at .06 moment of the day, and the second, at .97 moment on the same day. Thus the mention of the first *tithi*, which was current at sunrise, appear to be justified.

[4] From impression.

[5] Expressed by symbol.

[6] Here and in some lines below, the *daṇḍa* is used to separate the expressions, as already stated above. Sircar suggested that *prakṛityā* may also be the reading, but it is generally not found in inscriptions.

[7] A word like *pati* is to be supplied here.

[8] Read *-dēvaḥ*, to be restored to *-dēvē Prithvīpatau*, as suggested by Sircar, drawing attention to his *Select Inscrc.*, pp. 283, 285, 324, *etc.*

[9] Sircar read *tu*, but the sign of the *mātrā* appears to have been erased in the impression and the consonant *ttr* is misformed. Read श्रीमज्जैत्रब्रह्मदेवः.

6 स्य राज्यसमये ॥ सेसैंग्रामे दंग्रोत्कुलरा–[1]श्रीमलय-

7 देव[ः] प्रतोलीसंघाडि[2]समायातगोग्रहनिमि-

8 त्ते जुधितोस्वि(स्ति)[3] [।*] तस्य भाज्यार् द्वौ सन्ति जेष्टभाज्यार् माहि-

9 णिदेनामः ॥ लघुर्भाज्यार् नावुलदेनामा[4] सरसार्जु[5]-

10 धितोस्ति[6] [।*] त[स्य] पुत्र(त्रौ) ढ्वौ संन्ति(स्तः) [।*] जेष्ट(ज्येष्ठः)-रा[7]हिर्मान(णः) लघु[ः*] रा-हं-

11 सराज[ः] कुलमधे(ध्ये) उदो(द्यो)तकारक(कौ) [।*] तस्य कीर्त्ति[ः*][8] करा-

12 पितत्ये:[9] ॥[10] संवतु(त्) १३४१ पौष[व][10]दि [१] सोमदिने जुध[11] ॥

No. 178 ; Plate CXLIII

SURWĀYĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GAṆAPATI

[Vikrama] year 1350

THE slab bearing this inscription is stated to have been discovered at **Surwāyā**[12] a small village about 20 kms. east of Sīprī (Shivpurī), and is now exhibited in the archaeological Museum at Gwālior. A synopsis of the contents of the record, prepared by Hiranand Sastri, was published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol. for the year 1903-04, Pt. II, pp. 286 f. and it was included by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 636. The inscription was also published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 339 ff., and Plate. It is edited here from the original stone, which I examined in the museum where it exists, and from an inked impression which I owe to the kindness of the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India.

The record is incised on a stone slab measuring 57.5 cms. square, including a broad border on all the four sides. The inscribed portion, which is in a sunken panel of it, consists of 22 lines covering a space 41.9 cms. broad by 43.18 cms. high. It is neatly engraved and is in an excellent state of preservation, with a few *aksharas* damaged here and there. Writing in 1903, Hiranand Sastri remarked that "one letter in the second line, two in the third and fifth lines and one in the seventh and the seventeenth lines are abraded" ; but now it has suffered slightly

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1 This is a contraction of *rāüta*. Perhaps we have also to read *daṁgrōla*-.

2 This word stands for *saṁghaṭṭa*, meaning a battle (D.C.S.).

3 That is, died in fighting, as in some of the Baṅglā inscriptions. Cf. No. 168, l. 9, and No. 172, l. 5, above.

4 Restore the whole to तस्य भार्ये द्वे स्तः । ज्येष्ठा भार्या माहिणीदेवीनामा । लघुर्भार्या नावुलदेवीनामा.

5 Read सहसा. The second *akshara* which was probably intended to be ह, is misformed and appears as *ra*.

6 That is, were killed in the battle.

7 Read ज्येष्ठो—. *Rā* stands for *rāüta* ; see *n.* above. The reading of the name that follows is not certain.

8 The word *tasya* here refers to Malayavarman, and the word *kīrtti* denotes the pillar raised in memory of him.

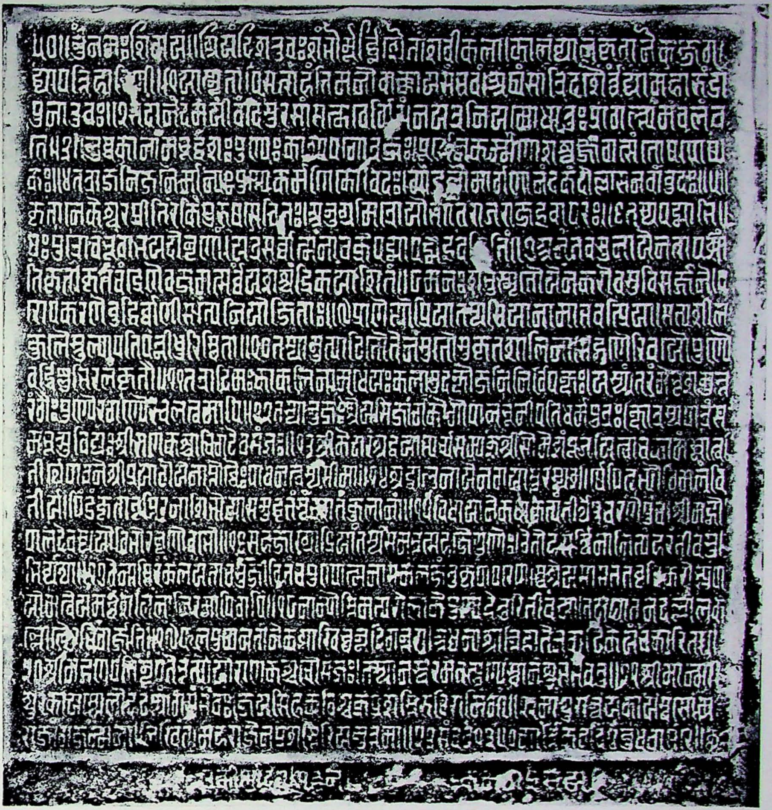
9 What follows the second *akshara* in this is probaly त्येति.

10 This letter is extremely mutilated and I follow Sircar's reading, though the probability of it being न् cannot be altogether avoided.

11 The last letter appears to have a faint sign of *anusvāra* above, or it may be the fault of the stone.

12 The information about the name of the place is based on H. N. Dvivedi's *Gwalior Rājya-kē Abhilēkha*, No. 163. In his *A.S.I.R.* (Vol. II, p. 316) Cunningham states to have discovered an inscription in a well locally known as the *Sūpaṭ bāoḍī* and it appears to have been the same. In his *Guide to Surwaya*, p. 25, *n.* 3, M.B. Garde also expressed the same view.

SURWĀYĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GAṆAPATI, VIKRAMA 1350



Scale : Two-fifth

more showing damage of parts of one letter each in ll. 6, 15 and 22, though the whole text can be made out with certainty. The size of the individual letters varies from 1.3 to 1.5 cms. On the lower border of the slab is another line in two parts, the one on the left measuring 8.5 cms. and the other on the right measuring 8 cms. long. The letters in the main record are well formed and deeply incised, but those in the line on the panel are somewhat roughly formed, though they show the same palaeography. Two or three letters on the right side are indistinct.

The **characters** are *Nāgarī*, resembling those employed in the preceding inscriptions, but also showing some development in their formation and approaching those of the modern Nāgarī. The tail of the left limb of *t*, *h* and *s* is occasionally not carved when the letter is the first member of a conjunct consonant or when a *mātrā* is attached to it below; e.g. in *diśatu*, l. 1, *surasā-*, l. 3 and *haraṁtī*, l. 16. The initial stroke of *ch*, which distinguished the letter from *dh* and *v*, is occasionally lightly treated, or is bent, *e.g.*, in *-Chāchiga*, l. 13, *chētō-*, l. 16, which is almost similar to *v* in *vasu-* in the same line, and in *ruchirā-*, l. 21; the slightly different forms of *bh* are to be seen in *saṁbhava-*, l. 2, and *bhūmī-*, l. 12; and lastly, the palatal sibilant, which has assumed its modern Nāgarī form, shows its ligature form less number of times and almost when it is a superscript.

The **language** is Sanskrit; and except for *Oṁ namaḥ Śivāya*, in the beginning, and the date at the end, the record is metrically composed throughout, containing 23 verses, all of which are numbered. All the numerical figures are marked by two vertical strokes at their beginning, except the figures 3 and 5 which have the strokes also after them. The **orthographical peculiarities** are almost the same as we find in the preceding records, *e.g. b* denoted by the sign for *v*, as in *vabhūva-*, l. 7; and the use of the sign of *anusvāra* in place of a nasal except in a few instances. The sibilants are correctly used, except in one case where the dental is put for the palatal, in *anasvara-*, l. 20, and there are two cases, *viz.*, *śita-*, l. 8 and *śalila-*, l. 18, where the case is *vice versa*. A consonant following *r* is reduplicated but there are exceptions; e.g., in *karmma-* in l. 4 it is observed but not in the same word in l. 5. The rule of *sandhi* is violated in *padmai iva*, l. 7, and the plural in *niyōjitāḥ*, l. 9, is grammatically wrong, as shown in a foot-note. Writing *vāpi* instead of *vāpī* in l. 18, is apparently a scribal error. The name *Siyā* in its Prakrit form in l. 9 is interesting.

The inscription is one of **Chāchigadēva** an officer[1] under the illustrious **Gaṇapatidēva** whose dynasty is not mentioned, but from its provenance and from the year recorded therein, he can be identified with the **Yajvapāla** ruler Gōpāladēva of **Narwar,** whose known dates range from V.S. 1348 to 1356. The **object** of the document is to record the construction of a stepped well by Chāchigadēva. The record is **dated** in the year 1350 (expressed in decimal figures only). The *tithi* was the **7th of the dark half of Kārttika,** on **Wednesday.** The year is evidently of the Vikrama era, and the date regularly corresponds to 23rd September, 1293 A.C. for The Northern Vikrama *expired*, as already calculated by Sircar, who also observed that the *saptamī tithi* began on that date at .19 of the day.

After the customary obeisance to Śiva, the inscription opens with three invocatory verses in honour of the crescented moon adorning the forehead of Śambhu, the goddess Mahāruṇḍā, the family deity of the Yajvapāla royal house,[2] and lastly, the speech of the poets (goddess of Learning), devoting one verse to each of them. With verse 4 begins the pedigree of Chāchigadēva who built the well. His grandfather was Gōddhala (?) born in the Lubdhaka family of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*. He was famous for his liberality and ever brought contentment by acts of pious liberality (vv. 4-6). He had a son, Padma by name, who was an abode of the goddess of wealth.[4]

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[1] In his article in *I.H.R.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 399, Dr. D. C. Sircar takes Chāchigadēva to be a feudatory of Gōpāla, which may be possible from the use of *Rāṇaka* about him; but he is also called Gōpāla's *dharma-putra*.

[2] See Narwar inscription of V. 1339, v. 4, above, No. 175.

[3] For the word *pūrtta*, see *M.S.*, Ch. IV, v. 226. D. C. Sircar connected Lubdhaka with the Lodhās of the neighbouring Agra region who are stated to be an agricultural community. See his article, p. 340.

[4] The text here reads *padmā padmai iva sthitaṁ* (v. 7). Grammatically the correct form would be *-padmairiva*; but what appears to have been intended is *-ravasthitiṁ*, meaning the goddess of wealth made her residence in him by *padma*, *i.e.*, ten *arbudas* or ten thousand millions. Cf. '*Padma-śaṅkhā-dayō nidhēḥ (bhēdāḥ)*, as stated in the *Amara-kōśa*.

His description in verses 7-9 is all poetic. His wife was Siyā (v. 10), who gave birth to two sons (v. 11). The elder of them was Kākali (v. 12), and his younger brother was the illustrious *Rāṇaka*[1] Chāchigadēva, who was a learned Kshatriya and the adopted son of Gōpāla (v. 13). Verses 14-16 inform us that Chāchigadēva performed pilgrimages to the holy places Kēdāra (in the north), Sōmēśa, *i.e.*, Sōmēśvara (evidently in Saurāshṭra), Prayāga, and the Ganges, which are all well known. He performed obsequies for the manes at Gayā and paid his debt to Gopāladēva by noble deeds at the *tīrthas* and on the battle fields (vv. 15-16). His wife was Sahajā (v. 17). The next verse tells us that considering wealth and life to be fickle and desiring to increase his spiritual merit, Chāchigadēva built a stepped well (v. 18). Verse 19 is devoted to the description of the well; and v. 20 informs us that he also planted a garden full of creeper and trees bearing fruits and flowers to remove the fatigue of travellers. The next verse expresses the desire that the meritorious place (where Chāchigadēva built the well and planted the garden) may prosper.

Verse 22 embodies the name of the poet of the *praśasti*. He was Jayasiṁha, a son of Lōhaṭa,[2] belonging to the Māthura clan of the Kāyasthas. And the last verse of the record tells us that it was written (on the stone) by Maharāja, who was the son of Sōmarāja, who too belonged to the Māthura clan of the Kāyasthas. He is the same person who also wrote the Narwar inscription of V. 1339 (No. 175).

The record was engraved by Dēvasiṁha, whose name appears on the lower border of the stone; and the right side thereof supplies the person who supervised the whole work. It cannot be definitely made out as this portion is mutilated.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, **Kēdāra** is in the Himayalas, **Sōmēśa** or Sōmanātha, is in Saurāshṭra, and **Prayāga** is near Allahābād, as already stated. Gayā is in Bihar. The community of the **Māthura** Kāyasthas was known after Mathurā in Uttar Pradesh.

TEXT[3]

[Metres : Verses 1-11, 16-17, 19-20; and 22-23 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 12 and 15 *Upajāti* ; v. 13 *Indravajrā* ; v. 14 *Śālinī* ; v. 18 *Vasantatilakā* ; *and* v. 21 *Āryā*].

1 सिद्धम्[4] ॥ ओंनमः शिवाय ॥ श्रियं दिशतु वः शंभोर्मूर्द्धि[?]शैतांशवी कला । कालव्यालकृतानेकजग[5]-

2 द्व्यापत्तिहा[रि]णी ॥२ या[6] स्मृतापि सतां हंति मनोवाक्कायसं[भ]वं(वम्) । अघं सा त्रिदशैर्व्वंद्या महारुंडा

3 पुना[तु] वः ॥२ [स]दानंदमयीं वंदे मु(सु)रसां सत्कवेर्गि[रं(रम्)] । न यत्र नियमो धातुः प्रागल्भ्यमवलंव(ब)-

4 ते ॥३॥ [लुब्ध(ब्ध)][7]कानामभूद्वंशः पुण्यः काश्यपगोत्रजः । पू[र्त्ते]न कर्म्मणा शश्वज्जगत्संतोषपोष-

5 कः ॥४ तत्राजनि जनैर्मान्यः पुण्यकर्मणि कोविदः । गोद्धलो[8] मार्गणानंदकंदोल्लासनवांवु(बु)दः ॥५॥

6 कृतानेकेश्वरप्रीतिरकिंपुरुषसे[वित]ः । अनुग्रमित्रो यो भाति राजराज इवापरः[9] ॥६ तस्य पद्माभि-

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[1] As remarked by Hiranand Sastri, the word *rāṇaka* here appears as an attempt to Sanskritise the word *rāṇā* though the latter is commonly rendered by Sanskrit *rājānaka*.

[2] Lōhaṭa appears to have been the same person who is mentioned as Chāhaḍadēva's treasury officer. See v. 27 of the next inscription.

[3] From the original stone and an inked impression.

[4] Denoted by a symbol.

[5] A *kāka-pāda* appears here, as also at the end of ll. 4, 6, 16 and 20.

[6] Originally यां with the sign of *anusvāra* scratched off later on; but its mark is still visible.

[7] In place of the first of these letters some other letter was originally written and the second letter is misformed; but the reading is certain, as also taken by D. C. Sircar. For a similar form of *l*, see *Śraddhālu* in l. 14, below.

[8] All the three *aksharas* are abraded and the reading is not certain, I have, however, adopted the reading of D. C. Sircar.

[9] This is a fine example of *vyatirēka* based on *ślēsha* and meaning that the person described just above.. is. as if, another *rājarāja* (Kuvēra, and his sovereign), for whereas Kuvēra is devoted to one god (Siva), is attended by the kinnaras and is a friend of the one who is not *ugra i.e.*, is pleasant (meaning, the moon), this person, quite unlike him, is devoted to many deities; he is served by several unferocious people and is a friend of those who are gentle in behaviour.

7 धः पुत्रो व(ब)भूवाभयदो नृणां(णाम्)। यत्र सर्व्वात्मना चक्रे पद्मा पद्मै इव(पद्मैरिव) स्थि[1]ति(तिम्) ॥७ अनन्तवसुना येन तापशां-

8 तिकृता कृतं(तम्) [।*] चंद्रेणेव जगत्सर्व्वं यशश्चंद्रिकया शितं(सितम्) ॥८ मनः शंभुस्मृतौ येन करो वसुविसर्ज्जने। प-

9 रोपकरणे वु(बु)द्धिर्व्वाणी सत्ये नियोजिताः[2] ॥९ प्राणेभ्यो[पि*] प्रिया तस्य सियानामाभवत्प्रिया। सत्यशील-

10 कुलैस्तुल्या पतिपत्नीधुरि स्थिता ॥१० तस्यामुत्पादितौ तेन[3] सुतौ सुकृतिशालिना। सद्गुणैरिव यौ पुण्यै-

11 र्वर्द्धिष्णुभिरलंकृतौ ॥११ तत्रादिभः काकलिनामधेयः कलासु दक्षोजनि निर्विपक्षः। यस्यांतरं[गै] भृशमुत्त-

12 रंगैः पुण्यैरगण्यैरचलत्वमापि ॥१२ तस्यानुजः श्रेयसि जागरूको[4] गोपालभूमीपतिधर्मपुत्रः। क्षात्रस्य पात्रं स-

13 मभूत्सुविद्यः श्रीराणकश्चाचिगदेवसंज्ञः[5] ॥१३ श्रीकेदारं श्रद्धयाभ्यर्च्य सम्यक् श्रीसोमेशं पूजयित्वा च कामं(मम्)। स्नात्वा

14 तीर्थे पावने श्रीप्रयागे येनाप्तोच्चैः पावनत्वस्य सीमा ॥१४ श्रद्धालुना येन गयासुरस्य शीर्षे पितृभ्यो विमलं वि-

15 तीर्य। पिंडं कृता तृप्तिरनाशिभोग्या[6] समुद्धृतं स्वं[चि र]तं कुलानां(नाम्) ॥१५ विधायानेकधा कृत्यं तीर्थेषु च रणेषु च। श्रीमद्गो-

16 पालदेवस्य यो विभोरनृणो व(ब)भौ ॥१६ सहजाख्या प्रिया तस्य समभूत्सहजैर्गुणैः। चेतोहरार्थिनां नित्यं हरंती वसु-

17 भिर्व्यथां(थाम्) ॥१७ तेनास्थिरं कलयता वसु जीवितं च पुण्यात्मना सकलजंतुकृपापरेण। स्वश्रेयसां सततवृ[द्धि][7]करोभ्युपा-

18 यो मत्वेयमच्छश(स)लिला निरमापि वापि(पी) ॥१८ नान्योस्ति मत्परो लोके पुण्यहेतुरितीव या। तटाघातनदल्लोलक-

19 ल्लोलैरधिगर्ज्जति ॥१९ फलपुष्पनतानेकशाखिच्छन्नदिगन्तरा। अध्वन्यश्रान्तिहा तेन वाटिकेयं च कारिता ॥२०

20 श्रीमद्गणपतिनृपतेर्भृत्यो यो राणकश्चचौसंज्ञः[8]। तस्यानस्व(श्व)रमेतत्पुण्यं [स्था]नं शुभं भवतु ॥२१ श्रीमान्मा-

21 थुरकायस्थो लोहटस्यांगसंभवः। जयसिंहकविश्चक्रे प्रशस्तिं रु[चि]रामिमां(माम्) ॥२२ माथुरान्वय-कायस्थसोम-

22 राजांगजन्मना। लिखिता महराजेन[9] प्रशस्तिरियमुत्तमा ॥२३ संवत् १३५० कार्त्तिकवदि ७ वु(बु)धवासरे ॥छ [॥*]

23 उत्कीर्णा देवसिंहेन[॥*] कर्म[कर?] इसहौति[10]

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[1] The consonant of this *akshara* has totally disappeared.

[2] Gramatically singular is required here. Drop the sign of *visarga*.

[3] The sign of *anusvāra*, which was originally put on this *akshara*, was later on erased on the stone, but the mark of it still exists.

[4] This *akshara* was first omitted and was engraved in a very small size just above the line. The *mātrā* in *mi* that follows (*bhūmī-*) is lengthened *metris causa*. The dot on ज्ञा is a fault on the stone. And not *cha=Adhigadēva*, as originally read by Hirananda Śāstrī and was followed later on. This was first corrected by Dr. Sircar in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 399.

[6] This *akshara* is mutilated.

[7] As above.

[8] *Chachau* is the colloquial form of Chāchiga, mentioned above in v. 13.

[9] On the correct form on the name, see *n.* in No. 175, above.

[10] This line is engraved on the lower panel of the stone. The *aksharas* in the brackets are mutilated and the *sandhi* in the end, if the reading is corrected, is wrong. But the reading is not certain. Sircar read these *aksharas as kama* [*ṭhā*]*isaddhā*...taking them as two names, Kamaṭhāi and Saddhā.

No. 179 : Plate CXLIV

NARWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GAṆAPATIDĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1355

THIS inscription was first brought to notice, in 1864-65, by General Cunningham in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. II (1862-1865), p. 315. Subsequently, a short account of it was published by Kielhorn in 1893, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, pp. 81 ff; but this account, which is based on a pencil rubbing supplied to him by Dr. Burgess, is without a transcript or a lithograph. The record was again referred to by M.B. Grade in the same *Journal*, Vol. XLVII (1918), p. 241, and also in the *Annual Report of the Archaeology Department* of the former Gwālior State, for Saṁvat 1971 (1914-15 A.C.); and it was also enlisted by D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions* (No. 642); and subsequently, it was edited by D. C. Sircar, in the (1958), *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXII pp. 343 ff., with a facsimile. I edit it here from the original stone and from two impressions, one of which was prepared by me, and the other which I owe to the courtesy of the Chief Epigraphist of the Archaelogical Survey of India.

The stone bearing this inscription was found at Narwar[1] in the Sīprī (Shivpurī) District of Madhya Pradesh and is now deposited in the Archaeological Museum at Gwālior. It has a broad border on all the four sides, and along with it, measures 66.5 cms. broad and 47.5 cms. high. The record consists of twenty-one lines of writing, covering a space 58.4 cms. broad and 40.6 cms. high, and is in a good state of preservation, except that three letters in l. 15 are abraded, though they can be made out with certainty from the traces left. The mechanical execution is good; the letters are bold and carefully formed and beautifully incised. The average height of the letters is about 1.2 to 1.5 cms.

The **characters** are Nāgarī, resembling those of the Surwāyā inscription that immediately precedes. Attention, however, may be drawn to the two forms of the vowel *a* in *ajaśra-* and *Āsalla-*, both in l. 4; to the subscript forms of *chh* and *th*, both of which are alike, as in *achchha-* and *sthāna-*, both in l. 16; to that of *ṇ* as subscript appearing as l, *e.g.*, in *pushṇati*, l. 16, but not in *utkīrṇṇa-*, l. 21; and finally, to that of *j* which appears both in its antique and modern forms, *e.g.*, in *nija-tējas-* in l. 7.

The **language** is Sanskrit; and with the exception of a small sentence paying obeisance to Śiva in the beginning and the concluding portion mentioning the name of the engraver and the date, the record is in verse. The total number of verses is 28, composed in all well-known metres; but in verse 2 the rare metre known as *pādākulaka* is employed. The style is fluent and the verses are often decorated with figures of speech, *e.g.*, *anuprāsa* (v. 5), *rūpaka* (v. 13) and, *upamā* (v. 24). In respect of **orthography,** the points that call for notice are : (1) the use of the sign for *v* to denote *b* as well, *e.g.*, in *vrahma-*, l. 5; (2) the dipthongs denoted by the *prishṭha-* and also by the *ūrdhva-mātrā*; (3) the occasional doubling of a consonant after *r*; cf. *dharmma-*, l. 4, but not in *varma-*, l. 3: (4) the occasional use of the dental for the palatal sibilant, as in *-sarmmā*, l. 4, and *vice versa* as in *ajaśra-*, l. 4, and *śarōja-*, l. 9; (5) the general tendency to put the sign of *anusvāra* for the final class-nasal, with a few exceptions as in v. 9. The spellings *aṁhri* in l. 9 and *yajñē* for *jajñē* in l. 10 exhibit the local element; and (6) placing the *daṇḍa* occasionally so close to the preceding letter as to look like an *ā-mātrā*, *e.g.*, at the end of l. 5.

There are a few mistakes of the engraver, *e.g.*, *rannē* for *ratnē* in l. 2, *śuschi* for *śuchi* in l. 2, and *raṇadvirēphaṁ* in l. 18; all such errors are pointed out in the text below.

The proper **object** of the inscription is to record that Palhadēva or Palhaja, who belonged to the Māthura clan of the Kāyasthas, constructed a *dharma-sthāna* (sacred place). He erected a temple of Śambhu (Śiva), built a stepped well and also laid out a garden in memory of and for the spiritual benefit of his younger brother who had predeceased him. It is a *praśasti*, as the word is used in v. 27; and as such, it gives an account of the ancestors of Palhadēva and also

[1] For the description and archaeological remains found there, see *n.* in above, No. 175.

of those of **Gaṇapati,** the king of **Nalapura,** in whose reign all these works of munificences were performed. The **date** of the record, as given in numerical figures only, is the **fifth of the dark half of Kārttika** of the (Vikrama era **1355** and day was Thursday.[1] The date regularly corresponds to 25th September, 1298 A.C.

The inscription opens with the customary sentence paying obeisance to Śiva : and the first two verses thereof, invoke the blessings of his matted hair and the Sun respectively.

The stanza, which describes the Sun, is rather ambigous, inviting difference of opinion as to its interpretation. D. C. Sircar is inclined to take *Raṇṇā* as a Prakrit form of *Rājñī*, who, as he adds, is known to the Epic and Purāṇic mythology as the wife of the Sun called Sāmbāditya whose abode is at *Samīsthala*, which cannot be identified but may have formed a part of Narwar itself or may have been in its vicinity. But the difficulty in accepting this view is that the Prakrit form of *Rājñī* would be *Rāṇṇī* and also that *Raṇṇā* can hardly be connected with it. It is also noteworthy that the word used here is with the dental and not the lingual *n*, as the Prakrit form would require. Thus, the suggestion, though ingenious, appears to be conjectural. To me, however, it appears that the Sun is here described as *ratnēśa*, and it is so called because it supersedes all the shining objects and imparts brilliance to them all. The last of the adjectives used in the verse, namely *śamī-sthala-vāsaḥ*, probably denotes the residence of the Sun in the *śamī* tree, in the form of fire, as is well known to the Puranic mythology.

The next verse describes Nalapura, and verses 4 to 8 are devoted to give an account of Gaṇapati and his ancestors, beginning from **Chāahḍa** whose son was **Nṛivarman.** The latter's son was **Āsalladēva,** his son **Gōpāla,** and his son again was **Gaṇapati.** This genealogy is all known from the other records of the house and it is also known that Nṛivarman predeceased his father and did not occupy the throne. The description is all conventional ; but verse 8 is historically important as it tells us that Gaṇapati made his fame firm by capturing Kīrtidurga.

The name of the enemy from whom he captured this fort is not mentioned in the record, but it can be guessed. Kielhorn is perhaps correct in taking Kīrtidurga identical with Kīrtigiri-durga (i.e., the fort at Dēogaḍh), mentioned in l. 7 (v. 6) of the Dēogaḍh rock inscription of the time of the Chandēlla Kīrtivarman ;[2] but the possibility that it may have been the fort at Chandērī in the Gunā District cannot be altogether avoided.[3] Both these places, however, are in the same region and both are situated to the east or south-east of the dominions of the Yajvapālas, which was then included in the dominions of the Chandēllas. Gaṇapati's contemporaries on the Chandēlla throne were Bhōjavarman (*c.* 1286-1289 A.C.) and Hammīravarman (*c.* 1289-90 to 1308 A.C.), and we know that during the reign of these two rulers who were the last to occupy the Chandēlla throne, the sway of this house was almost on its decadence. And though we have no evidence to support the suggestion, it is possible to presume that Gaṇapati may have renewed the struggle with the Chandēllas, which was begun at the time of his father Gōpāla, as known from the Narwar inscription of V.S. 1338 and also from those found at Baṅglā and dated in V.S. 1339. Or it may be, as suggested by Sircar, that Gaṇapati as a subordinate ally of the Muslim Sultāns at Delhi, may have helped them in their struggle with the Chandēllas. Both of these views are hypothetical.

With verse 10 begins the genealogy of the two brothers Palhadēva and Haṁsarāja. It commences with the praise of the fort of Gōpāchala (*i.e.*, Gwālior), the abode of many wealthy persons. At that place also flourished a family of the Māthura Kāyasthas of the Kāśyapa *gōtra*, who were intelligent and well known for their behaviour as also for their valorous deeds (v. 11). In that family was born a certain Alhaṇa, who was well versed in all arts and was also bountiful (v. 12). Alhaṇa's son, Kānhaḍa, was a devotee of Kṛishṇa (v. 13), and his son again was Vijahaḍa, who is stated to have been a Chief Minister (*mantri-varishṭha*) of a king whose name is not mentioned (v. 14). Vijahaḍa's wife was Maṇagā (v. 15), who worshipped Gaṅgā and Yamunā at

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[1] In his notice of the inscription in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII, p. 81, Kielhorn reads "either *Gurau* or *Śukrē*", from the rubbings he had, and supposing the day to be a Friday, he equates the date to be 26th September, 1298 A.C. In his *List of Inscriptions* (No. 642) D. R. Bhandarkar read *Sukrē* doubtfully, but accepted the equivalent of the date. But in all the impressions before me I can clearly read *Gurau*, and I have also verified the reading from the original stone. Also see *I.N.I.*, No. 642, where the week-day is doubtfully taken as *Śukrē*.

[2] See above, No. 111.

[3] See Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 2107, mentioning Chandērī (as Kīrtidurga).

Prayāga and obtained two sons who were named Gāṅgadēva and Yāmunadēva respectively (v. 16). Gāṅgadēva is again extolled in the next verse, the description being all conventional. His wife was Lōṇā (v. 18), who gave birth to four sons, *viz.*, Palhaja, Harirāja, Śivarāja and Haṁsarāja (vv. 19-20). Palhaja, who is evidently the same as Palhadēva of the inscription, as seen above, is eulogised in v. 21, as the object of his master's confidence, benevolent, pious, truthful and learned. He constructed a sacred place (*dharma-sthāna*) by building a stepped well and a temple of Śambhu with Umā and planting an orchard, for the merit of his deceased brother, Harirāja, evidently at the same place and at Narwar where the stone was discovered (vv. 22-25).[1] The next verse expresses the hope that the religious place may prosper.

The verse that follows is devoted to the description of Dāmōdara of the Māthura clan (of the Kāyasthas), his son Lōhaṭa, who was a treasury-officer (of Chāhaḍa, as already seen above), and the latter's son Śivanābha who composed the present *praśasti*.[2] He is the same person who also composed the Baḍodī and the Surwāyā inscriptions, dated respectively in V.S. 1336 and V.S. 1339; and the same verse which describes him for three generations and appears in those two records is repeated here. The record was written by Arasiṁha, the son of Abhinanda and was engraved by the *Sūtradhāra* (architect) Dhanauka. And here the *praśasti* closes with the date which we have already discussed above.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present inscription, **Nalapura** (l. 2) is the same as Narwar, as seen above, and Gōpāchala (l. 7) is, of course, Gwālior. **Kīrtidurga** (l. 6), as we have already remarked, may have been identical either with Dēvagaḍh or Chandērī; and **Gaṅga, Yamunā** and **Prayāga** (l. 11) are all well known. Saṁīsthala, or Śaṁīsthala (l. 2), if it is a place, cannot be identified.

TEXT[3]

[Metres: Verses 1, 5, 12-13, 17, 24 and 25 *Upajāti*; v. 2 *Pādākulaka*; vv. 3 and 20 *Āryā*; vv. 4, 7, 10, 11, 15, 18, 19, 22, 23, 26 and 28 *Anushṭubh*; v. 6 *Indravajrā*; v. 8 *Āryāgīti*; vv. 9 and 11 *Gīti*; v. 16 *Irregular* (first and third *pāda*, *Indravajrā*, and second and fourth *pāda*, *Indravaṁśā*); v. 21 *Sragdharā*; and v. 27 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*].

1 स्वस्ति[4] ॥ ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ स्वभावपिंगाः शशिरश्मिशुभ्रा भुजंगरत्नांकुरनीलभासः । रक्षंतु [वो][5] मन्मथ-[सू]दनस्य[6]जटाः शि(सि)ताव्द(ब्द)[7]स्थसुरायुधाभाः ॥१[॥*] अकलितमपि यः

2 कलयति कालं निजगत्ये चामितमहिमालम् । रत्ने(त्ने)शः कृततिमिरनिराशः पातु रविः स समीस्थल-वासः ॥२[॥*] आस्ते पुण्यैर्लभ्यं पुररत्नं[8] नलपुरं शुस्चि(चि) श्रीमत् । इय-

3 मपि वहति सगर्व्वा सत्याख्यां[9]वसुमती येन ॥३[॥*] तत्राजनि जगद्वंद्यश्चाहडः पृथिवीपतिः । प्रतापान-लदग्धारिभूभृद्वंशो नयाश्रयः ॥४[॥*] अभून्नृपस्तस्य सुतो नृवर्मा

4 व्यर्थीकृताशेषविपक्षकर्मा । अजश्र(स्र)मेवाहितसाधुस(श)र्म्मा यशःपराभूतमनुष्यधर्म्मा ॥५[॥] आसल्ल-देवस्त्रिविधः क्षितीशः[10] चूडामणिर्भूमिपतिस्ततोभूत् । आपू-

5 रितं यस्य भृशं यशोभिर्व्र(र्ब्र)ह्मांडमापत्तनुताख्यदोषम् ॥६[॥*] श्रीगोपालो नृपस्तस्मादभूत्तैस्तैर्निजैर्गुणैः । गामिमामखिलामुच्चैर्यः पुपोष दुदोह च ॥

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[1] As is also evident from the expression *iha* in l. 6 and *idam* in l. 18 of the present inscription.

[2] He also composed Nos. 161 and 175; and his brother Jayasiṁha composed the preceding record, as stated in its v. 22.

[3] From the original stone and impressions.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] The part of the stone bearing the *ūrdhva-mātrā* has peeled off, leaving only a trace of it visible.

[6] Here, as also at some places below, the letter in the bracket, appears as a combination of the palatal and the dental sibilant. The *ṭā* that follows appears as *ya* by a wrong stroke.

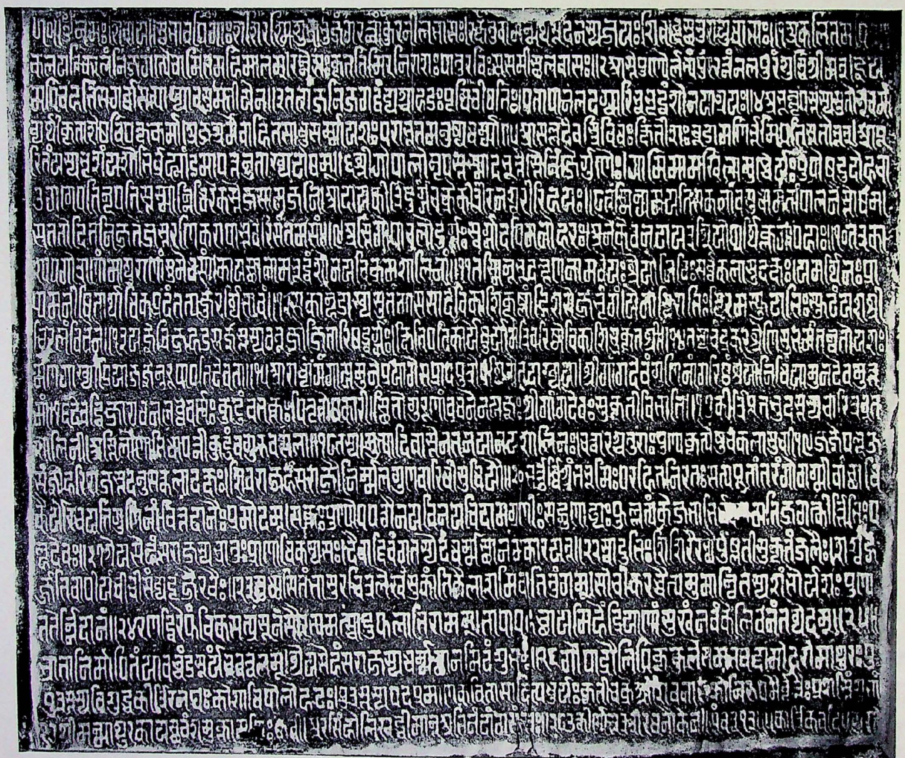
[7] Here the parts of two letters appear as mixed with each other. ता bears an additional chisel stroke.

[8] As also noted by Sircar, an *anusvāra* above *pu* seems to be rubbed off by the engraver.

[9] The sign of *anusvāra* is faintly visible on the stone and the superscript *kh* is not properly formed. Sircar read सत्याख्या.

[10] Read as one *pāda* after dropping the *visarga* after *dha* and also after *śa*. The adjective *trividha* here denotes *Aśvapati*, *Gajapati* and *Narapati* *i.e.*, strong in cavalry, elephant force and infantry, as already suggested by Sircar.

NARWAR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GAṆAPATI, VIKRAMA 1355



Scale : Two-fifth

6 ७[॥*] गणपतिनृपतिस्तस्मान्निधिरेकस्तेजसामजनि । आदाय कीर्त्तिदुर्ग्गं चक्रे कीर्त्तीरनश्वरीरिह यः ॥८[॥*] तस्मिन्नमयति सकलां वसुधामेतां [च*][1] पालनैस्तोषम् ।
7 सततोदितनिजतेजस्तरणिकरापास्तवैरिसंतमसां(साम्) ॥९[॥*] अस्ति गोपाचलो दुर्ग्गः स्वर्ग्गादपि मनोहरः । अनेके धनदा:यत्र श्रियोप्यर्थिक्ल[मा]पहाः ॥१०[॥*] तत्र का-
8 श्यपगोत्राणां माथुराणां सुमेधसां(साम्) । कायस्थानामभूद्वंशो नयविक्रमशालिनां(नाम्)॥११[॥*] तस्मिनू-(न्न)भूदल्हणनामधेयः श्रेयोनिधिः सर्व्वकलासु दक्षः यमर्थिनः प्रा-
9 प्य मनीषितार्थाधिकप्रदं तत्यजुरर्थिभावं(वम्) ॥१२[॥*] स कान्हडाख्यं सुतमाससाद[2] विकाशि(सि)कृष्णांह्नि(ष्णाङ्घ्रि)श(स)रोजभृंगं(गम्) । येनास्थिराभिः स्थिरमस्फुटाभिः स्फुटं यशः श्री-
10 भिरलं वितेने ॥१३[॥*] य(ज)ज्ञे विजहडस(सं)ज्ञस्तस्य[3] तनूजो जितारिषड्वर्गः । क्षितिपतिकार्ये धुर्यो मंत्रिवरिष्ठो विकाशि(सि)सुकृतश्री[ः] ॥१४[॥*]तस्य चंद्रकरश्रेणिसुभ[गं] तन्वतो यशः ।
11 मणगाख्या[4] प्रिया जज्ञेनुरूपा पतिदेवता ॥१५[॥*]आराध्य गंगायमुने प्रयागे स प्राप पुत्रौ प्रथितौ तदाख्यया । श्रीगांगदेवं गुणिनां गरिष्ठं श्रेयोनिधिं यामुनदेवमुत्त-
12 मं(मम्)॥१६[॥*] देवद्विजाराधनलव्ध(ब्ध)वर्ण्णः कुटुंव(ब)भक्तः पितृतोषकारी । स्थितो गुरूणां वच(च)ने नयज्ञः श्रीगांगदेवः सुकृती विभाति ॥१७[॥*] कीर्त्तिपूतभुवस्तस्य चारित्रव्रत-
13 शालिनी । अस्ति लोणाभिधा पत्नी कुटुंव(ब)गुरुवस(त्स)ला॥१८[॥*] तस्यामुत्पादितास्तेन तनया नयशालिनः । चत्वारश्चतुराः पुण्यकृत्येषु च कलासु च[5] ॥१९[॥*] जज्ञे पल्हज-
14 संज्ञो हरिराजस्तदनुस[क]लादक्षः । शिवराजहंसराजौ निर्म्मलगुणवारिधी सुधियौ ॥२०[॥*] भर्त्तुर्व्विश्रं-भभूमिः परहितनिरतः सत्यपूतांतरंगो वाग्मी वांच्छाधि-
15 कैर्यो रचयति गुणिनां वित्तदानैः प्रमोदम् । सक्तः पुण्योपपत्वौ(त्तौ) नयविनयविदामग्रणीः सद्गुणाढ्यः फुल्लत्पंकेजभाभि[र्धवल][6] [य]तिजगत्कीर्त्तिभिः प-
16 ल्हदेवः ॥२१[॥*] श्रेयसे हंसराजस्य भ्रातुः प्राणाधिकस्य सः । दैवाद्दिवं गतस्येदं धर्म्मस्थानमकारयत् ॥२२[॥*]स्वादुभिः शिशिरैरच्छै[7] र्षुष्णती (च्छैः पुष्णती) सुकृतं जलैः । शश्वद्ग-
17 र्ज्जति वापीयं वीचीसंघट्टजै रवैः ॥२३[॥*] सुधासितं भासुरचित्रलेखं मुकांतिकैलाशमिवाति तुंगम् । सोचीकरच्चैत्यमुमान्वितस्य शंभोर्यशःपुण्य-
18 ततेर्न्निदानं(नम्) ॥२४[॥*]रणद्वि(द्वि्व)रेफं विकसत्प्रसूनं सौरम्यमत्स्वा(त्स्वा)दुफलाभिरामम् । तापापहच्छाय-मिहेंद्रियाणां सुखं नवं केलिवनं तथेदम् ॥२५॥
19 भ्राता(त्रा) निर्मापितं यावच्चंद्रसूर्यं [भ]वत्वलम् । श्रेयसे हंसराजस्य धर्म्म[स्था]नमिदं शुभम् ॥२६[॥*] गोपाद्रौ लिपिकृत्कुले सं(स)मभवद्दामोदरो माथुरः पु[8]-
20 पुत्रस्तस्य विशुद्धकीर्त्तिरनघः कोशाधिपो लोहटः । पुत्रस्तस्य पदप्रमाणकवितासाहित्यधुर्यः कृती चक्रे [श्री]शिवनाभको निरुपमैर्वृत्तैः प्रशस्तिं शुभां(भाम्) ॥
21 २७[॥*] श्रीमन्माथुरकायस्थवंशमुक्तामणिः कृती । अरसिंहोलिखद्धीमान् अभिनंदांगसंभवः ॥२८[॥*] उत्कीर्ण्णा सूत्रधारधनौकेन ॥ संवत् १३५५ कार्त्तिक वदि ५ गुरौ ॥

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1 This syllable is supplied *metris causa*.
2 An unnecessary *anusvāra* above त was rubbed off by the engraver.
3 There is an unnecessary mark above ज्ञ The sign of *visarga* at the end of the verse appears to have been engraved in course of revision.
4 Sarkar read the first *akshara* of the name as मे but the sign of its *mātrā* appears to have been chiselled off.
5 This letter appears as *chī* as the vertical stroke that follows is placed close to it and a curve is also engraved above by way of ornamentation. The last *akshara* in this line is misformed; or it may have been ज as Sircar actually read it.
6 These three *aksharas* are abraded.
7 The superscript is wrongly engraved as *bh*.
8 This *akshara* is superfluous. On the stone it also appears to have been cancelled.

No. 180 : Plate CXLV

HALĀYUDHA-STŌTRA IN THE AMARĒŚVARA TEMPLE AT MĀNDHĀTĀ

[Vikrama] Year 1120

THIS inscription, which is a *stōtra* in praise of Śiva, was enlisted by R. B. Hiralal in his *List of Inscriptions in Central Provinces and Berar*,[1] and subsequently it was transcribed and edited for the first time by P. P. Subrahmanya Sastri, whose article, without a lithograph but with a note by N. P. Chakravarti, was published in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXV (1939-40), pp. 173 ff. Chakravarti also transcribed the colophon of the *stōtra*, which was omitted by Sastri, since it was irrelevant to the main *stōtra*. The complete epigraph is edited here from the original stone which I examined on 21-3-1973, and a set of impressions placed at my disposal by Shri R. S. Garg, Curator of the Central Museum at Indore.[2]

The inscription is incised on four rectangular slabs of stone fixed into the southern wall of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* of the Amarēśvara temple at **Māndhātā**[3] in the Khaṇḍwā *tehsīl* of the East Nēmāḍ District of Madhya Pradesh. The first slab contains ten lines, the second twenty-one lines, the third twenty-two lines, and the fourth only three lines of writing. The last lines of the second, third and the fourth slab are only half lines. They are all vertically placed, one below the other, and respectively measure in height 17.5, 35, 35 and 4.5 cms. The breadth of the writing on the first slab is 90 cms. and on the others, which are wider on the left side, it is about 94 cms.

The slabs bearing the epigraph are all corse and none of them was made smooth before engraving. And though the mason has done his work carefully, the writing has suffered from damages here and there, more so on the second and the third slabs which have lost a few *aksharas* owing to slightly breaking off parts of stone on the farther left corners, where some of the *aksharas* have also suffered from weather. It is a pity that a few *aksharas* (7 to 10) at the end of each complete line of the whole inscription are also now lost in a part of a wall which was later on constructed.[4] The engraving is rather shallow.

The whole epigraph consists of 56 lines. The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for a short sentence paying obeisance to Śiva in the beginning, the composition in lines 1 to 50 is metrical, and the rest of the inscription is all in prose. In all, there are 71 verses; and 61 of these in which the *stōtra* is composed, are in the *Mandākrāntā* metre, in imitation of the style of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*, from which expressions have been occasionally adapted.[5] The stanzas of the *stōtra* are all numbered. The language is almost correct, except in the colophon (ll. 48 ff.) which is the writer's own composition.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī of the time to which the document belongs. In respect of **palaeography** we note that the initial short *i* is indicated by two loops placed side by side and subscribed by the *mātrā* of short *u* ending in a graceful curve, as in *iththha-*, l. 2, and the lower extremity of the forelimb of the initial *ē* is joined to its vertical, as in *ēka-*, l. 3. Of the consonants, *ṅ* has not developed its dot, *e.g.*, in *-utsaṅga*, l. 20 ; *ch* has begun developing its own

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[1] *Second edn.*, p. 84, No. 151.

[2] It was prepared by R. C. Ojha, the former Curator of the Museum, in 1931 A.C. It may also be noted here that Chakravarti copied the inscription in 1938, when some letters were lost.

[3] As already noted by Chakravarti, in the *A.R.* on Epigraphy for 1938, the northern wall contains (a) the *Narmadā stuti* in 8 ll. and 9 *vv.*, (b) the *Śiva-Mahimna-stōtra* in 22 ll. and 40 *vv.*, and (c) *Śiva-Pārvatīstōtra* in 3 ll. in 1 *v.*

[4] These letters were, however, restored by Prof. Sastri from manuscripts of the *stōtra* preserved in Government Oriental Library, Madras (No. 11271-11278). In the text given below, I owe these letters to him.

[5] For example, see vv. 24-25 and 58-59.

form as in *pañcha*, l. 2 ; *dh* is in a transitional stage, occasionally showing a horn on its left limb, as in *dadhā-*, l. 1 ; and the slightly differing forms of *ś* are to be noticed in *Śiva-*, and *ślāghya-*, both in l. 1.

The **orthography** points out the usual peculiarities of the inscriptions of the time, for example, the use of *v* to denote *b* as well, as in *vibhrad*, l. 2 ; the occasionally doubling of a consonant following *r*, *e.g.*, in *-arkka* but not in *-archita*, both in l.6 ; the use of a nasal and *anusvāra*, both of which are placed side by side, as in *danta* and *kaṇṭha*, both in l. 1 and in *pañcha*, l. 2. *Anusvāra* is generally employed for *m* at the end of a stich ; and the dipthongs are indicated both by the *mātrā* before and above. There are a number of orthographical and other mistakes, *e.g.*, in *pankaja*, l. 6, *sansāra*, l. 7, *punsāṁ*, l. 42, *sansakta*, l. 45, *kinchit*, l. 39, *trudaśa*, l. 22, *niḥkrāntā,-* l. 26, *kṛipiṇa*, l. 40, *tritīya*, l. 48 and *triḥkāla*, l. 52. *J* is employed for *y* in *saṁjama*, l. 51, and the reverse is the case of *-yushāṁ* for *-jushāṁ* in l. 42.

The epigraph does not refer to any reigning king or the dynasty to which he belonged, but the main interest of it lies in the colophon containing the date. It is given in the last line as the **13th day of the dark half of Kārttika,** and the **year** is mentioned, in numerical figures, as (V.) **1120.** In his reading of the year, Dr. Chakravarti expressed his doubt about that of the second digit and held that it may have been 2 as well, and accordingly, the year may be taken as 1220. But from my personal examination of the stone I am sure about my reading which is also confirmed by the impressions before me and taken about seven years before Chakravarti copied the record.[1] The date cannot be verified, but taking the year as *Chaitrādi* (expired) and the month *pūrṇimānta*, the corresponding date in the Christian era would be Wednesday, the **22nd October 1063 A.C.**

As stated above, the main theme of the *stōtra* is to praise Śiva. It was composed by the poet Halāyudha, whose identity we shall consider after giving the gist of the record. Opening with the auspicious symbol and a short sentence paying obeisance to the deity, it invokes the blessings of Gaṇapati, Viśākha (Kārtikēya), Śiva and Mahākāla, respectively, devoting one verse to each of them. In verses 5-6 the poet, with all due modesty, proposes to describe the majesty of Śiva, stating in v. 7 that His aspects are manifold. Verse 8 again expresses The poet's modesty ; and the next verse enumerates the well-known eight forms of Śiva. The tenth verse is again general, and the following verse identifies Him with Arhat and Sugata. The next five verses state that it is Śiva who directs the works of the Sun, the day and night, and the seasons, and also describes some of His forms, invoking blessings in favour of His devotees. Verses 16-30 again glorifies The god's majesty, and the next eight verses speak highly of His various aspects, His *āyudhas* and His abodes. In verses 39-57 He is said to reside in Vārāṇasī and Śrīgiri, and finally, verses 58-63 invoke the blessings of the deity.

The *stōtra* ends with verse 64, which states that it was composed by a Brāhmaṇa named Halāyudha, who had hailed from Navagrāma in the Southern Rāḍha.

Immediately after the *Stōtra* actually finishes, we have the writer's own composition, which is a sort of another hymn. Giving the twelve principal names of Śiva, in ll. 48-50, it enumerates in a verse the five *jyōtirliṅgas*, *viz.*, Avimukta (at Vārāṇasī) and Kēdāra, besides Oṁkāra, Amara and Mahākāla (at Ujjain). In this verse, as Chakravarti has already noted, though the name of Oṁkāra and Amara have been given separately, the eight other *liṅgas* have been omitted in the list.[2]

Lines 51-53 give the names of a few Śaivite teachers, recording that in the city of Bhōja, living in the Sōmēśvaradēva monastery and hailing from Nandiyaḍa was the Pāśupata teacher, *Bhaṭṭāraka*, the illustrious Bhavavālmīka, whose disciple was *Bhaṭṭāraka*, the illustrious Bhāvasamudra. Line 53 mentions *Paṇḍita* Bhāvaviriñchi ; and apparently, he, with the last-mentioned

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[1] In *A.R.*, on *Ind. Ep.*, 1963-64, *appx.* C-1983, the year is correctly read as 1120, as also mentioned by D. R. Bhandarkar in *I.N.I*, No. 138, which, for the Chaitrādi Vikrama year, expired, would correspond to Wednesday, 22nd October (for the *purṇimānta* month), and, to Friday, 21st November, when the 13th *tithi* was combined with the 14th (for *amānta*), both of 1063 A.C. For the Kārthikādi V. Year, it would be equivalent to Monday, 11th October (for *pūrṇimānta*), and to Tuesday, 9th November (for *amānta*) both of 1064 A.C. But we have no means to verify it.

[2] Taking *Māndhātā* and *Oṁkāra* as two, we have here 13 *jyōtirliṅgas*, and not 12, as we find in the list in the *Śiva Purāṇa*, beginning with *Saurāshṭrē Sōmanāthaṁ cha*.

person, set up the record found on the slabs. From the following two lines we learn that the inscription was written by *Paṇḍita* Gāndhadhvaja of the Chāpala *gōtra*. He was a disciple of Vivēkarāśi, who was again a disciple of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the illustrious Supūjitarāśi.

The last line contains the date, which we have already discussed above.

Only stating that the epigraph is of inestimable value for the study of religion, we advert to Halāyudha, the poet of the *stōtra*, which again is important from the point of view of the study of Sanskrit literature. On certain grounds he has been identified with the poet of the same name, who was a follower of the Śaiva cult and a native of Navagrāma and who is referred to in the *Dvipada Basavapurāṇa* by the Telugu poet Pālkuriki Sōmanātha who lived about 1190 A.C. Pointing out that he is also the same as the author of the *Kavirahasya* and the *Abhidhānaratnamālā*, Prof. Sastri who edited the inscription held that he should have been flourished in the latter half of the tenth century A.C.[1]

As for the **place-names** mentioned in the inscription, **Navagrāma** in Dakshiṇa-Rāḍha (v. 64) has already been identified with the village of the same name in the Bhurshut *paganā* of the Hooghly District in Bengal.[2] **Bhōjanagar,** where a monastery known as Sōmēśvaradēva-maṭha existed (l. 51) appears to be identical with Dhārā, but while suggesting this identification, Chakravarti rightly observed that the Paramāra capital is always referred to by its name Dhārā even at the time of Bhōja and his successors. And in view of this, we may suggest another alternative of its identification with Bhōjapur, which is near Bhopāl and contains an old shrine of Śiva with a huge *liṅga* installed in its sanctum. **Naṁdiyaḍa** the original place of the Śaiva ascetic Bhavavālmīki (l. 51), remains unidentified in the absence of details: however, it may be observed here that the name appears much similar to that of the town of Naḍiyād near Baroda in the Gujarāt State.

TEXT[3]

[Metres: Verse 1-16 *Mandākrāntā*; vv. 62, 64-71 *Anushṭubh*: v. 63 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*].

1 सिद्धम्[4] [।*]ओं नमः शिवाय ॥ विघ्नं निघ्नन्द्विरदवदनः प्रीतये वोस्तु नित्यं वामे कूटः प्रकटितवृ(बृ)हद्दक्षिण-
स्थूलदन्तः । यः श्रीकण्ठं पितरमुमयाश्लिष्टवामार्द्धदेहं दृष्ट्वा नूनं स्वयमपि दधावर्द्धनारीश्वरत्वं-
(त्वम्) ॥१॥ श्लाघ्यः पुत्रः स भवति किल स्वस्य वप्तुः सकाशाद्धत्ते के[श्चित् क्वचिदपि गुणैर्य][5]-
2 : समुत्कर्षलेखाम् । इत्थं वांछ(वाञ्छ)न् पितुरधिकतां पंचवक्त्रस्य नूनं षष्ठं वि(बि)भ्रद्वदनमपरं पातु
विश्वं विशाखः ॥२॥ एको देवः स जयति शिवः केवलज्ञानमूर्त्तिर्देवी सा च त्रिभुवनमिदं यद्विभूतिप्रपंचः ।
यत्कूटस्थं मिथुनमविनाभावसंबंध(बन्ध)योगान्मिश्री[भूतं तदखिलजगज्ज]-
3 न्मबीजं नमामि ॥३॥ एकः स्रष्टा सकलजगतामादिभूतः स्वयंभूस्त्राता तेषां त्रिभुवनगुरुर्व्वासुदेवः प्रसिद्धः ।
यस्तौ द्वावप्यतुलमहिमा संहरत्यन्तकाले कस्तस्यान्यो भवति सदृशः श्रीमहाकालमूर्त्तेः ॥४॥ वक्तुं
वाञ्छां हर निरवधि त्वन्महिम्नः [स्वरूपं चेतश्चैतत्क]-
4 तिपयपदज्ञानमात्रावसन्नं(न्नम्) । ज्ञात्वैवेदं त्रिनयन मया त्वद्गुणस्तोत्रभक्त्या स्वात्मन्येव स्वयमपि कृतो
धृष्टतापट्टव(ब)न्धः ॥५॥ वागीशस्त्वं युगपदखिलज्ञानसंपत्तियुक्तः का ते तुष्टिः स्तुतिरचनया
मादृशस्याल्पशक्तेः । एवं ज्ञात्वा हर विर[मति स्तोत्रहेतौ हठा]-

[1] For details, see *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 173. Sastri has also shown that the poet must have lived prior to the 11th century and therefore he could not be identical with the famous Halāyudha who adorned the Court of Lakshmaṇasēna of Bengal and who was the author of several *sarvasvas*.

[2] *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, p. 503.

[3] From the original stone and an inked impression. Later on, the text was compared by me from another impression supplied by the Chief Epigraphist; it is his No. C-1983 of *A. R., Ind. Ep.*, 1963-64. In *appx.* C, 1983, the date is read as (V.) 1120.

[4] Expressed by symbol. For the *ardha-nārī* form of Gaṇapati, in inscriptions, see *Journal* of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, Vol. XXI, p. 328.

[5] The portion between square brackets in this and the following verses is hidden behind a new creation in the temple and it has been adopted here from Sastri who restored it from manuscripts in the Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Madras.

5 न्मे भक्त्यावेशात्प्रसरति मुखाद्भारती किं करोमि ॥६॥ यत्ते तत्त्वं निरुपधि परं वाङ्मनःपारभूतं व्र(ब्र)
ह्मादीनामपि हर गिरस्तत्र भग्नाः प्रवेष्टुं(ष्टुम्)। अर्व्वाचीनं यदपरमिदं पार्व्वतीवल्लभन्ते रूपं
भक्त्या वरद तदहं वाग्भिरभ्यर्च्चयामि ॥७॥ अन्यैः स्तो[त्रं रचितममृतस्यं]-

6 दिभिर्व्वाग्विलासैः फल्गुप्रायैः किमिदमियता त्यज्यते मद्वचोभिः। किंवा कैश्चित्कनककमलैरर्चितं
पादपीठं भक्त्या शंभो न पुनरपरः पूजयत्यर्क्कपुष्पैः ॥८॥ पथ्याहारी हर जलमुचां यौ च यौ
पन्क(ङ्क)जानां मित्रामित्रौ वरद हवि[षां दाहकग्राहकौ]

7 यौ। यौ गंधस्य प्रजनवहनौ तानहं तुष्टिहेतोरष्टौ वन्दे त्रिभुवनगुरोर्मूर्त्तिभेदांस्तवैतान् ॥९॥
सन्सा(संसा)रेस्मिन्ध्रुवमसुलभं मानुषं जन्म लव्ध्वा(ब्ध्वा) युष्मानेको भजति सुकृती कश्चिदन्यं
च देवं(वम्)। आरूढोपि स्मरहर गिरिं रोहणं भाग्ययो[गादेके रत्नं कलय]-

8 ति महत्काचमन्यश्य फल्गु ॥१०॥ ये त्वामर्हन्सुगत इति वा भक्तियोगाद्भजन्ते तेभ्यः शम्भो
फलमभिमतं त्वं ददासीति युक्तं(क्तम्)। अध्वक्लान्तैः स्वरुचिरुचिरं नाम किञ्चिद्गृहीत्वा शीतं
पीतं[1] जलमिह जनैः किं न तृप्तिं करोति ॥११॥ [आदित्यादिग्रहप]-

9 रिकरो याति चायाति नित्यं कालश्चायं दिवसरजनीपक्षमासर्तुचिह्नः। एतत्सर्व्वं ननु [न घटते] प्रेरकत्वं
विना ते कार्यं चास्मिन्न पुनरपरस्यास्ति सामर्थ्यमेतत् ॥१२॥ तस्यागारे गिरिश रमते धेनुवत्कामधेनुः
क्रीडावाटे विटपि[सदृशः कल्पते क]

10 [ल्पवृक्षः। लाक्षारक्षामणिरिव करे तस्य चिन्ताम]णिः स्याद्यस्मिन्[2] सिद्धः सकृदपि कृपादृष्टिपातप्रसादः
॥१३॥ मौलौ लोलत्रिदशतटिनीतोयशीतेमृतांशुं कण्ठे क्रूरं कवलितविषश्यामले व्यालराजं(जम्)।
ज्योत्स्नागौरे [वपुषि वि]-

11 शदं वि(बि)भ्रतो भस्मरागं ज्ञाता सम्यक्त्रिनयन मया योगभूषा तवैव ॥१४॥ धत्ते शोभां घुसृणतिलकस्पर्धि-
चक्षुर्ललाटे मौलौ लग्ना त्रिदशतटिनी मालतीमालिकेव। क्ष्वेडं क्रीडामृगमदमयी पत्रलेखेव कण्ठे
[श्लाघ्यः शम्भो स्फुरति सहजः को]-

12 पि भूषाविधिस्ते ॥१५॥ दग्धं येन त्रिभुवनमिदं देव दुर्व्वारधाम्ना दग्धः सोपि त्रिनयन भ[व]दृष्टिपातेन
कामः। युक्तं चैतद्भवति पुरुषो यः परस्योपतापी तस्यावश्यं पतति शिरसि क्रोधदण्डः
प्रभूणां(णाम्) ॥१६॥ कस्य क्षेमो भ[वति बलिना स्पर्धमानस्य सार्धं]

1 यस्त्वत्कोपात्त्रिनयन भवच्चक्षु[षा वञ्चि]तोभूत्। प्रेम्णा दष्टेऽधरकिसलये दृष्टवान् यन्न कामो लीलानृत्यच्च-
तुरवनिताभ्रूलताप्रेक्षणानि ॥१७॥ ये दारिद्र्योपहतवपुषो ये च दौर्भाग्यदग्धा ये वा शत्रुव्यसनविकला
ये च मौर्ख्योपतप्ताः। [ये वा कैश्चित् त्रिनय]-

14 न दृढं पीडिता दुःखशोकैस्तेषामेकस्त्वमसि शरणं तर्षितानामिवाम्भः ॥१८॥ श्लाघ्यं जन्म श्रुतिपरिणतिः
सत्क्रियायां प्रवृत्तिः प्रौढिः शास्त्रे ललितमधुरा संस्कृता भारती च। स्फीता लक्ष्मीर्वपुरपि दृढं
चन्द्रलेखाङ्कमौले युष्मत्सेवा[पदविरहितं सर्वमे]

15 तत्पलालं(लम्) ॥१९॥ त्वत्पूजायां कुसुमहरणे धावतः पादयुग्मं यत्पाषाणव्र[ज]परिकरोद्दीर्ण्णरक्ताक्तमासीत्।
यत्तस्यैव त्वदनु चरतो रुद्रलोकं गतस्य व्र(ब्र)ह्मादीनां मकुटकिरणश्रेणयः शोणयन्ति ॥२०॥ येषां
युष्मत्प्रतिकृतिगृहं लि[म्पतां पाणयो ये त्व]-

16 द्भक्तानां सलिललुलितैर्गोमयैः संप्रलिप्ताः। तेषामीश त्रिदशनगरीनायकत्वं गतानां ते लिप्यन्ते
मृगमदरसैः खेचरीणां कुचेषु ॥२१॥ यस्ते कृत्वा स्नपनममृतैः पञ्चभिश्चन्द्रमौले पश्चात्कैश्चित्कु-
सुमनिकरैर्मूर्ध्निव(ब)ध्नाति [मालाम्। तस्यावश्यं]

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[1] As also noted by Sastri, after this letter four *aksharas* appear to have been first engraved and later on erased.

[2] This and the following *akshara* are damaged and I have here adopted the reading of Sastri. Chakravarti suggested यस्या[स्तीद्धः], but his reading of the bracketed letter is doubtful.

17 सकलभुवनैकाधिपत्याभिषिक्तैर्बध्नासि त्वं शिरशि परमैश्वर्यसाम्राज्यपट्टम् ॥२२॥ एतच्चित्रं क्वचिदपि मया नैव दृष्टं श्रुतं वा तद्विस्पष्टं कथय किमिदन्नाथ कौतूहलं मे । यत्ते भक्त्या हर चरणयोरर्प्पितं पुष्पमेकं सद्यः सूते फल[मभिमतं कोटि]-

18 शः कामरूपं(पम्) ॥२३॥ यस्ते भक्त्या वरद चरणद्वंद्वमुद्दिश्य दद्यादेकं नीलोत्पलदलमपि त्वत्प्रसादेन नूनं(नम्) । तत्प्रत्यंतं निपतति पुनर्द्दष्टिरालोलतारैर्दिव्यस्त्रीणां कुवलयदलश्रेणिदीर्घैः कटाक्षैः ॥२४॥ कृत्वा मालां घनपरिमलो[द्गारिधाराकदम्बै]-

19 र्यस्ते कण्ठाभरणपदवीं प्रापयेन्नीलकण्ठ । दिव्यस्त्रीणां विपुलपुलकैर्वा(र्बा)हुभिः कण्ठलग्नैस्तस्यापि त्वं वितरसि चिरं निर्भ(र्भ)राश्लेषसौख्यं(ख्यम्) ॥२५॥ कृत्वा पूजां तव चरणयोरादरादष्टमूर्तं यः साष्टांगं प्रणमति महीपृष्ट(ष्ठ)पीटे(ठे) लुठित्वा । प्रत्यास[न्नं क्षितिपतिपदं]

20 प्रीतिव(ब)द्धानुरागा तस्योत्सङ्गे लुठति धरणी रेणुचक्रच्छलेन ॥२६॥ त्वामुद्दिश्य त्रिनयन जनो यः प्रदीपं ददाति ज्योतिर्ज्वालादलिततिमिरं द्योतितान्तर्निकेतं(तम्) । तस्मै मायारजनिविलसद्गाढमोहान्धकार-च्छेदप्रौढं त्वमपि दि[शसिज्ञानमात्मप्रका]-

21 सं(शम्) ॥२७॥ चित्रैर्म्मालारचितकुसुमैर्द्धूर्ज्जटे पूजयित्वा यः स्तौति त्वां जय जय महादेव देवेति वाचा । सोप्यारोहन्हर तव पुरं मौलिव(ब)द्धाञ्जलीनां शक्रादीनां स्तुतिविषयतां त्वत्प्रसादात्प्रयाति ॥२८॥ भस्मस्नानं वहसि शिरसा स्व[र्धुनीवारिभारं शा]-

22 न्तां मूर्त्तिः(र्त्तिं) कलयसि करे कार्म्मुकं युक्तमेतत् । अप्यन्येषां कतिपयपुरस्वामिनां चित्रभूताश्चेष्टा दृष्टास्त्रि-भुवनपतेः किं महेशस्य न स्युः ॥२९॥ त्वामाराध्य तृ(त्रि)दशपतयो भुञ्जते राजलक्ष्मीं भिक्षायुक्तं तदपि च महादेवशब्दे(ब्दै)कवाच्यः । [नैराशिष्यं वरद]

23 परमैश्वर्यकोटिप्रतिष्ठं तच्चेदस्ति त्वयि किमपरैः फल्गुभिः श्री विलासैः ॥३०॥ अस्थिग्रंथिः पितृवनभवं भस्म भूषाङ्गरागः प्रीतिः प्रेतैस्तव सहचराः फेरवः कोत्र दोषः । यस्यैश्वर्यं परमपदवीं प्राप्य विश्रान्तमुच्चैस्तस्य ग्रावा कनकमथ[वा सर्वमेतत् समा]-

24 नं(नम्) ॥३१॥ आवासस्ते पितृवनमहिः क्रीडनं यानमुक्षा भिक्षापात्रं हर नरशिरःकर्प्परं नैष दोषः । आरातीयस्त्रिनयन भवत्यल्पसंस्थो हि लोको निस्त्रैगुण्ये पथि विचरतां को विधिः को निषेधः ॥३२॥ प्रेतावासः शयनमशनं [भैक्ष्यमाशाश्च वा]-

25 सः खट्वाङ्गं च ध्वजमुपह(हि)तं त्वस्थि नेपथ्यमङ्गे । यद्यप्येवं तदपि भगवन्नीश्वरेत्यस्य नाम्नो निःसामान्य-स्त्वमसि विषयो नापरः कश्चिदस्ति ॥३३॥ दारूद्याने द्विजवरवधूपप्लवो रेतसाग्नौ होमः सन्ध्यानटन-मिति ते चेष्टितं नैन दुष्टं(ष्टम्) । [मिथ्याज्ञानोप]-

26 हतमनसां मार्ग्गमुल्लंङ्घ्य दूरं ये निःक्रा(निष्का)न्तास्त्रिनयन न तां(तान्) लोकवादाः स्पृशन्ति ॥३४॥ देवाः सर्व्वे दधति वपुषा भूषणं हेमरत्नं गुञ्जामात्रं कनकमपि ते नास्ति कर्ण्णे करे वा । मार्ग्गातीतं स्फुरति सहजं यस्य सौन्दर्यमङ्गे तस्याहार्यै[र्व्वितरजनवन्ना]-

27 दरः स्याद्गुणेषु ॥३५॥ त्वं व्र(ब्र)ह्मादित्रिदशगुरुभिः पूजितः स्वार्थहेतोरित्याम्नायो न खलु भवता प्रार्थितः कश्चिनन्यः । इच्छामात्रात्स्वयमुपनमन्त्यग्रतो यस्य भावास्तस्यापेक्षा कथमिह भवेदीश्वरस्येतरेषु ॥३६॥ खण्डश्चन्द्रः शिर[सि परशुः खण्डमे]-

28 वायुधन्ते भिक्षापात्रं द्रुहिणशिरसः खण्डमेकं कपालं(लम्) । खण्डप्रायस्तव परिकरो यद्यपीत्थं तथापि त्वं सर्व्वेषां स्मृतिमुपगतः सर्व्वपूर्णत्वहेतुः ॥३७॥ पृथ्वीपीठे कृतपदमदः स्वच्छमाकास(श)लिङ्गं तारापुष्पैः शिरसि रचिताभ्यर्चनं च[न्द्रचूड । इत्थं भावाद]-

29 वहितधियो ये भवन्तं भजन्ते ते लीयंते त्वयि जलनिधौ निम्नगानामिवौघाः ॥३८॥ वाराणस्यां स्फुरति यदिदं देवदेवाविमुक्तं सै(शै)वं ज्योतिः सकलभुवनालोकनादर्शभूतं(तम्) । कृत्वा तस्मिन्प्रमहसि पदे क्षेत्रसंन्या-सयोगं [त्वय्ये]कत्वं व्र[जति पुरुषस्तेज]-

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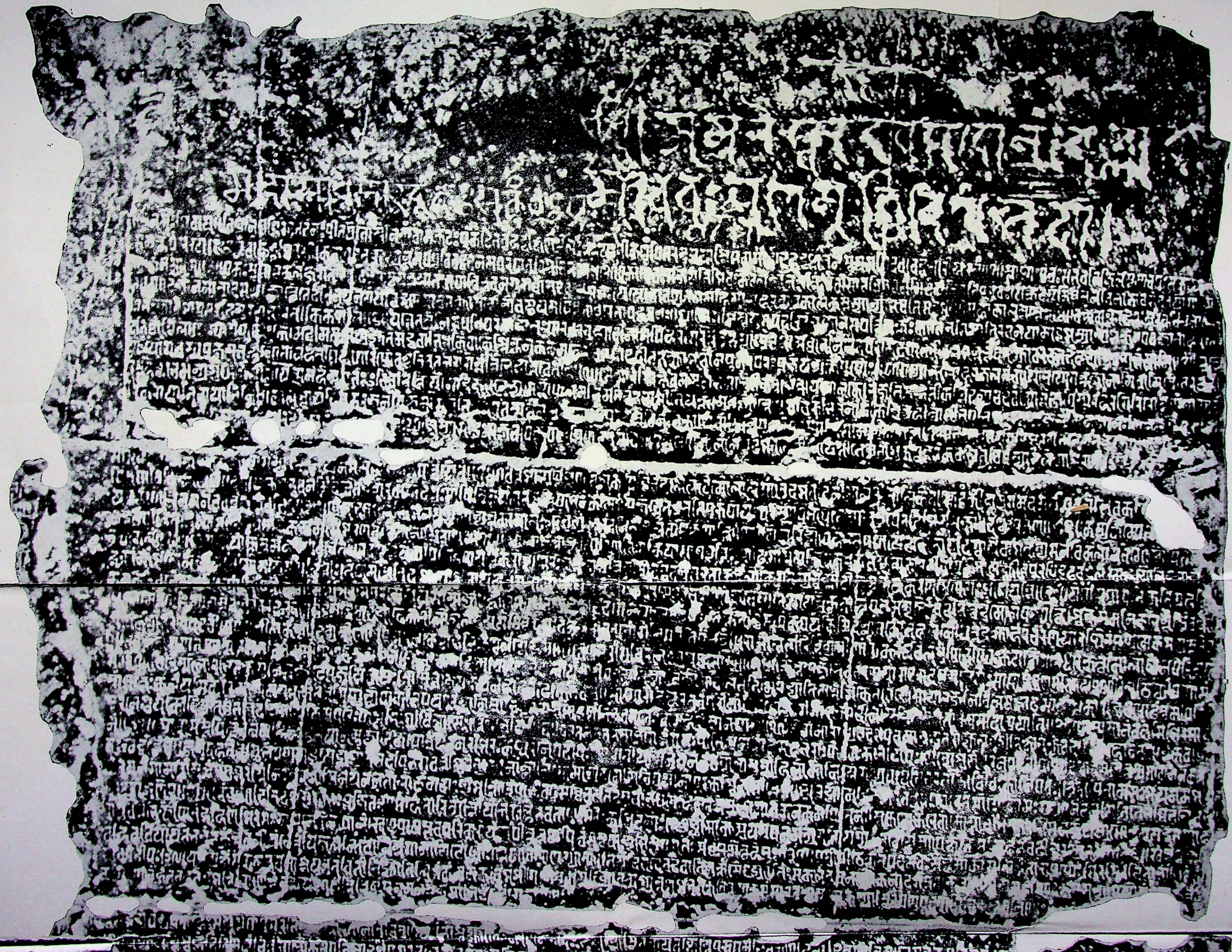
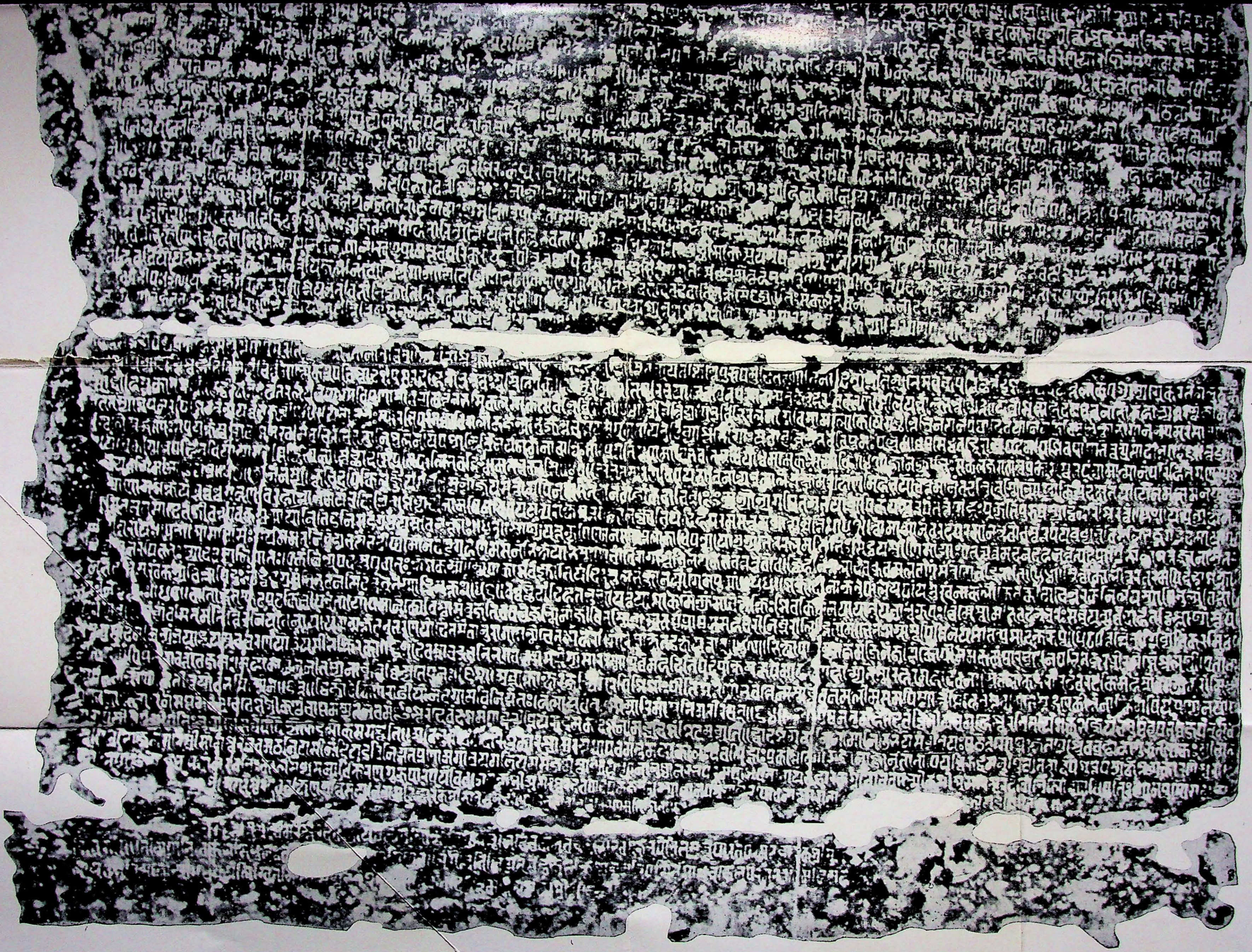
HĀLĀYUDHA-STŌTRA IN THE AMARĒŚVARA TEMPLE AT MĀNDHĀTĀ, VIKRAMA 1120





Scale : Two-fifth

30 सीव प्रदीपः ॥३९॥ यत्प्रत्यक्षं सकलभुवनाश्चर्यभूतं विभाति ज्योतिर्लिङ्गं कनककपिशं श्रीगिरौ व्योम्नि दिव्यं(व्यम्)। तत्पश्यन्तः शिव मुकृतिनस्त्यक्तसंसारव(ब)न्धास्त्वत्कारुण्यात्स्थिरगणपदप्राप्तिभाजो भवन्ति ॥४०॥

31 वाच्यामी(ती)तं हुतवहतनुं शक्तिपाणिं भवन्तं ये ध्यायन्ति त्रिनयन मनस्तेजसा निर्द्दहन्तं(न्तम्)। गङ्गास्रोतःसदृश-

32 विलसद्गद्यपद्यप्रवाहैः सद्यस्तेषां प्रसरति [मुखाद्भा]रती नात्र चित्रं(त्रम्) ॥४१॥ भास्वज्ज्योतिः किरणमरुणं [दक्षि]णेऽक्षिण] स्थितं त्वां ये वीक्षन्ते पुरुषमुदितं ख्यातमादित्यमूर्त्तिं(र्त्तिम्)। ते सर्वत्राप्रतिहतदृशः सूर्यपर्यन्तलोकं पश्यंत्यग्रे करतललुठत्कं[दुकस्पष्टरूपम्]

33 ॥४२॥ ये ध्यायन्ति स्वहृदि विमलं चित्त्वमात्मैकरूपं विश्वादर्शं प्रसरदभितो भूर्भुवःस्वस्त्रिलोकीं(कीम्)। इत्थं गत्यागतिपरिचयात्ते तथैव प्रसादात्सर्वज्ञत्वं हर विकरणीं शीलयन्तो लभन्ते ॥४३॥ ये त्वां शंभो हृदयभवनांभोरुहाभ्यन्तरस्थं ज्ञान[ज्योतिस्तद्रुपधिव]-

34 शाद्व्रीहिशूकाग्रसूक्ष्मं(क्ष्मम्)। उद्वीक्षन्ते दृढतरलयं तेष्वुपाधिप्रणाशात्त्वय्येकत्वं नभसि कलशाकाशवन्निर्व्विशन्ति ॥४४॥ अर्च्चिर्व्विद्युत्प्रभृतिभिरलं मार्गविश्रामलोके(कै)र्ये गच्छन्ति त्रिनयन पथा-देवयानेन किंचित्। भुक्त्वा भोगाननुपमरसान् स्वेच्छ[या ब्रह्मलोके]

35 ते तस्यान्ते पुनरपि शिव त्वन्मयत्वं भजन्ते ॥४५॥ यत्रानन्दः स्फुरति परमज्योतिरालोकजन्मा भुज्यन्ते च स्वयमुपनता यत्र दिव्याश्च भोगाः [।*] यत्रावृत्तिर्न्न भवति पुनः पञ्चमाध्वप्रसिद्धं तद्वैराजं पदमपि शिव प्राप्यते त्वत्प्रसादात् ॥४६॥ त्वय्यात्मा[नं निहितम]-

36 खिलैस्त्वद्गुणैः संप्रयुक्तं स्वच्छादर्शे मुखमिव चिरं चेतसा निश्चलेन। ये पश्यन्ति त्रिनयन मनोवाञ्छितार्थप्रसूतिस्तेषामाविर्भवति सुधियामेव धर्मः[1] समाधिः ॥४७॥ ज्ञानज्योतिः सकलजगतां स्वप्रकाशस्वरूपं त्वामात्मानं परिहृतगुणस्पर्श[मीशानमीले] [।*]

37 यत्रैकस्मिन्नवहितधियां योगदृष्टिस्थितानां स्वच्छादर्शे प्रतिफलितवद्विश्वमेतच्चकास्ति ॥४८॥ भूतं भूतस्मरणविषयं भावि नान्यत्र काले सूक्ष्मं मध्यं क्षणमिह तयोर्वर्त्तमानं वदन्ति। तास्मिन्सौख्यं कियदमतयो येन मत्ता मनुष्या यु[ष्मत्सेवा भव भ]-

38 वभयध्वन्सि(ध्वंसि)नीं नाद्रियन्ते ॥४९॥ ज्ञानं न स्यात्क्वचिदपि किल ज्ञेयसम्व(संब)न्धशून्यं ज्ञेयं सत्तामपि न लभते ज्ञानवा(बा)ह्यं कदाचित्। इत्यन्योन्यग्रथितमुभयोर्व्यापकं यत्स्वरूपं तत्ते प्राहुः प्रकृतिपुरुषस्यार्द्धनारीश्वरत्वं(त्वम्) ॥५०॥ यत्प्रत्यक्षं न भ[वति नृणामि]-

39 न्द्रियाणामशक्तेर्यत्सम्व(त्संब)न्धग्रहणविरहान्नानुमेयं च किन्चि(किंचि)त्। शव्दा(ब्दा)दीनामपि न विषयं यत्परोक्षस्वरूपं ज्ञानज्योतिर्यदिह परमं स त्व(त्त्व)मध्यात्ममूर्तिः ॥५१॥ त्वामात्मानं वरद परमानन्दवो-(बो)धस्वरूपं ये वु(बु)ध्यन्ते विगलितजगद्भेदमायाप्रप[ञ्चम्। रागत्यागात्]

40 स्तिमितमनसो देव जीवन्त एव [भ्रश्य]न्मायानिवि(बि)डनिगडग्रंथयस्ते विमुक्ताः ॥५२॥ श्लाघ्यं यत्तत्कृपि-(प)णमनसां सप्तलोकाधिपत्यं या मृग्यंते तरलमतिभिः सिद्धयश्चाणिमाद्याः। एतत्सर्व्वं मदनदहन त्वत्पद-प्राप्तिभाजां तत्व(त्त्व)ज्ञानामृतर[सजुषां योगि]-

41 नामन्तरायः ॥५३॥ आशा वासः शयनमवनिर्व्र(र्ब्र)ह्मचर्यं च दीर्घं मौनं दण्डग्रहणमशनं भिक्षया भस्म शौचं-(चम्)। वैराग्यञ्च त्रिनयन भवत्तत्ववो(त्त्वबो)धाद्विहीनं मूलादेवं ध्रुवमलवणं सर्व्वमेतद्विभाति ॥५४॥ स्थित्वा कालं चिरतरमपि व्र(ब्र)ह्मशक्रादि[लोके कर्म]-

42 च्छेदात्पुनरपि ततः स्यादवश्यं निपातः। एकं नित्यं पदमुपगतः क्लेशकर्म्मोर्म्मिपाकं शैवं ज्योतिर्यदिह सुलभं ज्ञानयोगेन पुन्सां(पुंसाम्) ॥५५॥ शक्रादीनां क्रतुफलयु(जु)षां यत्सुखं नाकलोके तत्कीटादेर्न्नरकनिलय-स्यापि तुल्यं विभाति [। येनैकान्तं]-

[1] This is as read by Sastri; but Chakravarti's reading of these letters as नुधियान्धर्मं मे(ए)कः appears to be correct. An *anusvāra* was also at first engraved on या and later on erased as unnecessary.

43 न भवति सुखं कस्यचिन्नापि दुःखं द्वंद्वग्रस्तं त्रिभुवनमिदं त्वं तु तस्माद्विमुक्तः ॥५६॥ व(ब)न्धच्छेदादिह तनुभृतां यत्त्वया साकमैक्यं सा चिन्मुक्तिः शिव किमनया यातु यद्वान्धकूपं(पम्) । त्वं मे स्वामी भवदनुचरः शर्व्व यत्सर्व्वदाहं तद्धि श्लाघ्यं स्वपति[पदवीं काम]-

44 यन्ते न भृत्याः ॥५७॥ वातोद्धूतस्फुटपुटकिनीपत्रतोयोपमाने को विश्वासं व्रजति चपले जन्मिनो जीविते-स्मिन् । अन्तस्तृष्णापृ(प्रि)यसहचरीर्निर्भरालिङ्गितं मे चेतः शम्भो स्वपिति न यथा तत्प्रसादं कुरुष्व ॥५८॥ त्वन्नेत्राग्निव्यतिकरमिव प्रा[क्तनं पुष्पचा]-

45 पः ।[1] स्मृत्वा नूनं व्यवसितमतिव्वैरनिर्यातनाय । यत्सन्स(त्संस)क्तं तव चरणयोर्देव सेवानुरागात्तन्मे चेतः प्रहरति शरैस्त्यक्ष तद्रक्ष यत्नात् ॥५९॥ भिक्षापात्रं मृगजमजिनं जोर्णकौपीनमेकं कंथा रथ्यानिपतित-जरच्चीरलेशैश्च लघ्वी । एतावा[न्मे हर परिक]-

46 रस्त्वत्प्रसादेन नित्यं भूयाद्भूयस्तव चरणयोर्भूयसी भक्तिरेका ॥६०॥ देवस्तावद्भवति भगवन्भर्ग्गस्सर्ग्गस्य सारस्तस्मात्पूर्व्वं महदिति पदं प्रोक्तमुत्कर्षमाह । माहात्म्य ते स्मरहर महादेव नाम्नैव लोके दूरारूढं वरद किमहं स्तोत्रमन्यत्करोमि ॥[६१॥ कालेन]

47 नीतः सर्व्वोपि पुनरावर्त्तते जनः महाकालेन नीतस्य नावृत्तिर्विद्यते पुनः ॥६२॥ अव्यक्ताक्षरजाल्पितैरपि शिशोः प्रीतिर्ग्गुरूणां भवेत्तेनास्मद्वचनं मलीमसमपि स्यात्तुष्टिहेतुस्तव । श्रान्तस्त्वद्गुणकीर्त्तनात्किमपि यत्पुण्यं मयोपा[र्जितं तेन]

48 स्याज्जननान्तरेपि महती त्वय्येव भक्तिर्म्मम ॥६३॥ द्विजो दक्षिणराढीयो नवग्रामविनिर्ग्गतः । हलायुधवु(बु)धशम्भोरिमां स्तुतिमरीरचत् ॥६४॥ ॥[2]प्रथमं तु महादेवं द्वितीयं च महेश्वरं(रम्) [।*] त्रि(तृ)नीयं शंकरं ज्ञेयं चतुर्थं वृषभध्वजं(जम्) ॥६५॥*] पंचमं कृ[त्तिवासं च ष]-

49 ष्ठं कामाङ्गनाशनं(नम्)[।*] सप्तमं देवदेवेशं श्रीकण्ठं चाष्टमं स्मृतं(तम्) [॥६६॥*] नवमं ईम्वरं[3] देवं दशमं पार्व्वतीप्रियं(यम्) [।*] रुद्रमेकादशं नाम द्वादशं शिवमुच्यते[॥६७॥*] द्वादशैतानि नामानि उभये संध्यत् यः पठेत्[4][।*] गोघ्नः कृतघ्नश्चैव[5] व्र(ब्र)ह्महा गुरुतल्पकः [॥६८॥*] स्त्रीवा(बा)ल-[घातकश्चैव]

50 सुरापयी[6] वृषलीपतिः [।*] मुच्यते सर्व्वपापेभ्यो रुद्रलोकं स गच्छति [॥६८॥*] अविमुक्तश्च केदार ओंकारश्चामरस्तथा [।*] पंचमं(मस्)तु महाकालः पंचलिङ्गाः प्रकीर्त्तये(र्त्तिताः) ॥[७०॥*] अज्ञाना[द्*] ज्ञानतो वापि यद्विरुद्धमनुष्ठितं(तम्) । तत्सर्व्वं पशुभूतस्य क्षन्तव्यं कारणेश्वर ॥[७१॥*]

51 स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीभोजनगरे श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवमठनिवासि-नंदियडविनिर्ग्गतं(तः) प्रणामगोत्रयमनियमसंज(य)-मस्वाध्यायध्यानानुष्ठानरतपरमपाशुपताचार्यभट्टारकश्रीभववाल्मीक[ः*] श्रीअमरेश्वरदेवो (वस्य) त्रैलोक्या-धिपतिः(तेः) ध्यानपुण्यस . .[7]

52 एतत्(च्)सि(च्छि)ष्य इ[ष्टाधि]कप्रदानरतत्रिः(त्रि)कालसंध्य(ध्या)समाधिकरणगुरुपारंपर्यविधानयुक्त [ः*] श्री अमरेश्वरदेवपादपंकजभ्रमराध्वीन(?) पथस्रा(श्रा)न्ततपोधनाभ्यागत[लय ... संतापः ॥][8]

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[1] The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

[2] A flowery design is carved between the double *daṇḍas*, as intended to separate the second part of the inscription.

[3] Read नवममीश्वरं, but it would be metrically defective. Better नवमञ्चेश्वरं.

[4] Read उभयोः सन्ध्ययोः पठेत्, or better, त्रिसन्ध्यं यः पठेन्नरः.

[5] The *pāda* contains seven (and not eight) syllables.

[6] Read सुरापो, for the sake of metre.

[7] These two letters are illegible. They may be conjecturally restored as –मेन:.

[8] The portion in the brackets is now lost and has been restored here from Chakravarti's reading. He also observed that some portion after त was probably left owing to its damaged condition.

53 श्रीअमरेश्वरदेववोक्षणमूर्त्तिसदानिवासी भट्टारकश्रीभावसमुद्रः॥ पंडितभात्रविरिंचि[:] प्रणमति शिवः(वम्)॥
54 ओं[1] स्वस्ति [।] श्रीअमरेश्वरदेवस्यायतने त्रैलोक्यविश्रुत[े] स्थाने देवदानवदु[र्ज्जय]देवगुरुन(त)पोधात-
(ध्यान)सु(शु)श्रुषारतपरमभट्टारकश्रीसुपू-
55 जितरासि(शिः) [।] एतात्सि(च्छि)ष्यविवेकरासि(शिः) [।] पुनः तस्य सिष्य(शिष्येण) चपलगोत्रविनिर्गान-
(तेन) सहजभक्तिशान्तमूर्त्तिपण्डितगान्धध्वजेन परमभक्त्या महिम्नह-
56 लायुधस्तुतिं(तिम्) आत्मस्यार्थे स्वयं लिखितमिनि[2] ॥ सम्व(संव)त् ११२० कार्त्तिक वदि १३ [॥]
मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥ ॥ ॥[3]

No. 181 : Plate CXLVI

UDAIPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF UDAYĀITYA

(Undated)

THIS inscription is incised on a pillar standing on the left side just above the stairs leading to the eastern entrance of the celebrated Śiva temple, (and on the right side of the same slab which bears inscription No. 19, edited above) at **Udaipur** in the Bāsōdā *tehsīl* of the Vidishā District of Madhya Pradesh. It was noticed in the *Annual Administration Report* of the Department of Archaeology of the former Gwālior State, for V.S. 1974, No. 111; but the report is now not available.[4] The inscription is edited here from the original stone which I examined *in situ*, in my visit to the place on 10-3-1973.

The inscription consists of seven lines which are in a fair state of preservation, except two *aksharas* which are lost at the end of l. 6. The writing covers a space 32.5 cms. broad by 24.5 cms. high and the height of the individual letters is about 4 cms. The **script** is Nāgari. The **language** is Sanskrit.

The inscription does not bear a **date**; but the palaeography and the peculiarities of writing and engraving the letters suggest it to have been almost of the same time as No. 19, above, which is inscribed by its side, just to its left. The **purpose** of the record is to state that **Udayāditya** named the place as Udayapura and also excavated a tank there. The record was engraved by a mason whose name is lost and who was a brother of the mason Madhusūdana.

The inscription consists of two verses in the *Anushṭubha* metre in the beginning, and following them, a portion in prose. Nothing special is worth noticing by way of **orthography.** The first of the verses state that the king Udayāditya, whose family is not named but who can be no other than the well-known Paramāra king, excavated a tank in the best of the towns which he also named after himself; and the second verse is devoted only to eulogise him. In the prose portion that follows, we learn that the stanzas were engraved by a mason whose name is lost[5] but who was a brother of Madhusūdana, as already seen above. The record ends with the customary words meaning auspicious, great fortune.

On a separate slab of stone of the same type and just below the inscription No. 19, mentioned above, is engraved another stanza in two lines, which appear to be in continuation of the

[1] This symbol is mutilated.
[2] Read ग्रात्मनोऽर्थे स्वयं लिखितेति.
[3] There is a flowery design between each of the double *daṇḍas*.
[4] The Report was not printed. Our reference here is to Harihar Nivasa Dvivedi's *Gwālior-Rājya-kē-Abhilēkha*, No. 649.
[5] The details of this are discussed below, in the corresponding portion of the text.

present record. The verse has lost three *aksharas* at the end of l. 1 and six at the end of l. 2. It states that the stanzas were composed by Mahīpāla and were engraved by the illustrious Sthiradēva, who appears also to have been the engraver of the present record and whose name, as we have seen above, is lost at the end of l. 6.

Calling both these documents mentioned here as A and B, respectively, and connecting them with our No. 19, above, as our study of them enables us to do, we are inclined to suggest that they are all mutually connected and very probably are the parts of the same record engraved on separate slabs of stone and placed together. Thus the records were all composed by Mahīpāla, who is called a *Paṇḍita* in B and a son of Śṛiṅgavāsa in No. 19; and also that it was engraved by Sthiradēva, whose name is missing in No. 19, lost in A here, but can clearly be read in B.

Thus all the three records taken together go to show that Udayāditya gave his name to the place where he also excavated a tank and built the celebrated temple of Śiva.

TEXT[1]

A

[Metre : Verses 1-2 *Anushṭubh*]

1 स्वयंभूरपरः श्रीमानुदयादित्यभूपतिः [।*]
2 पुरेस्व(श्व)रसमुद्रादीनुदयोपपदान्व्यधात्[2]॥[१॥*]
3 किमन्यैर्व्व(र्ब्ब)हुभिर्वेदैः किमन्यैर्व(र्ब)हुभिः स्त-
4 वैः। एकच्छेदादिकं वेदं शंस सर्व्वा-
5 र्थसिद्धिदः[3] ॥[२॥*]। उत्कीर्ण्णाः श्लोकाः
6 सूत्रधारश्रीमधुसूदनभ्रातृश्री · ·[4]
7 देवेन। मंगलम्महाश्रीः ॥

B

1 एते श्लोकाः[5] समुत्कीर्णाः [स्थि]रदेवेन शिल्पिना[।][6]
2 पंडितश्रीमहीपालकृताः सर्व्वा[र्थ]साधकाः ॥

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[1] From the original stone.

[2] The slanting stroke marking this consonant is incised as a *mātrā* of long *ū*.

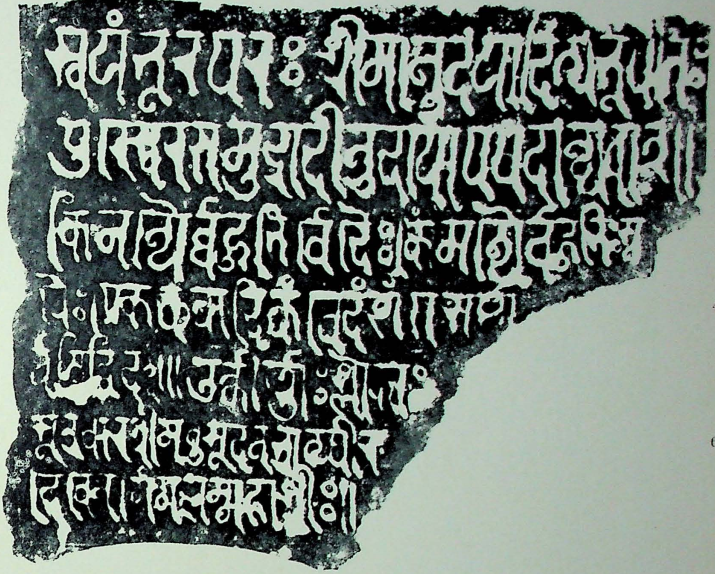
[3] Read दम् Possibly, also to read एकछत्ता in the first foot of this verse.

[4] Two letters which are lost here can be restored as स्थिर with the help of B, I. I.

[5] The use of the plural shows that all the verses of No. 181 and of A and B, were engraved by the same person.

[6] The *daṇḍa* is engraved as a *mātrā*. The three *aksharas*, along with the six at the end of the next line, are now lost and are restored with the help of the illustrations.

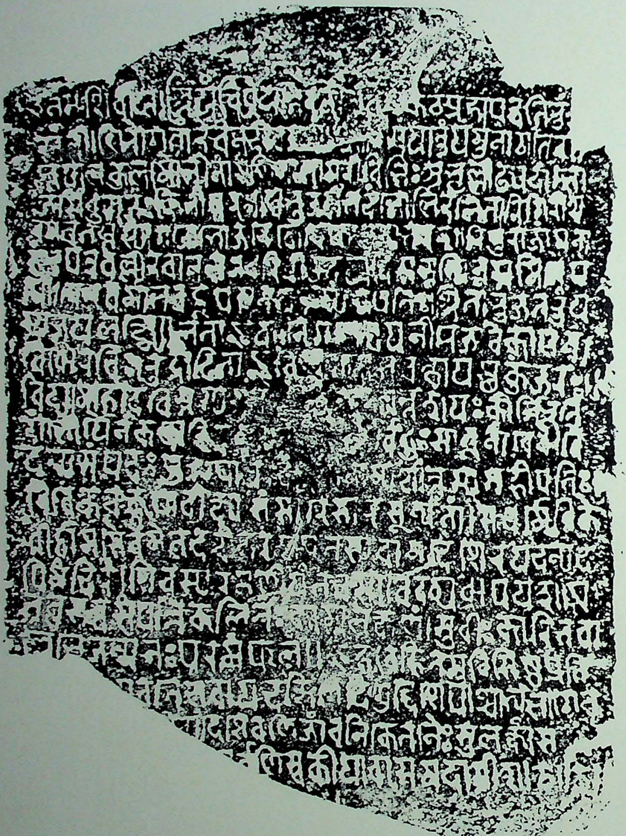
UDAIPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF UDAYĀDITYA (UNDATED)



Scale : One-half

Scale : One-half

DABHŌKA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF NARAVARMAN (UNDATED)



Scale : Four-seventh

No. 182 ; Plate CXLVII

DABHOKA STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF NARAVARMAN

(Undated)

THIS inscription was discovered by the Superintendent of Archaeology, Mēwāḍ, at **Dabhōka** a village situated about 18 kms. to the east of Udaipur, formerly the capital of a State of the same name and now the headquarters of a district, in Rājasthān. The inscribed stone was subsequently removed to the Archaeological Museum at Udaipur, where it is now exhibited.

The record was noticed by N. P. Chakravarti, in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India, under Epigraphy, for 1936-37, on p. 124. In his notice, he observed that the stone was found fixed in a small platform built round the worship stone known as Rāḍājī.

The inscription consists of 20 lines of writing, and measures 24 cms. broad by 31 cms. high. It is in a very bad state of preservation. Besides a few letters which have completely disappeared in the middle of ll. 9-12, the stone has lost a portion at the top of the right side, and also at the lower left corner, measuring about 11 cms. long. Moreover, very few of the letters that now remain are completely decipherable, and most of the syllables are partly or wholly worn away. However, from a set of impressions prepared by the technical Assistant of the Western Circle of the Survey and with my gratitude to the authorities of the Museum for kindly according permission for the same, a general idea of the contents of the inscription is given below.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī and the **language** is Sanskrit. The **object** of the inscription appears to mention the building of two Śaiva temples, probably by Mahīpati (l. 12), who belonged to the Kāyastha family and was probably a son of one Rudrāditya, who is mentioned as a pre-eminent Kāyastha (*Kāyastha-kuñjara*), in l. 9. The inscription appears to belong to the reign of the (Paramāra) king **Naravarman,** whose name is mentioned in l. 7. By way of the genealogy of the house, the record gives the names of **Sindhurāja Bhōjadēva,** and **Udayāditya** respectively in ll. 4, 5 and 6. The portion containing the description of each of these rulers cannot be fully made out, and equally so the relationship of each of them with his predecessor, which, of course, is otherwise well known. The names of Jayasiṁha and Lakshmīvarman are, however, omitted.

The extant portion of the inscription does not bear any date, nor any geographical name is mentioned therein. The information supplied by the record is very meagre, but it undoubtedly indicates that the Paramāra kingdom continued to extend up to Udaipur during the days of Naravarman.[1]

As the inscription cannot be completely made out, the text is not given here.

No. 183 ; Plate CXLVIII

HOSHANGĀBĀD HERO STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF THE MAHAKUMĀRA HARIŚCHANDRA

[Vikrama] Year 1243

THIS inscription was found by Shri Jagadish Dube, a lecturer in the Government Intermediate College at Hardā in the Hoshangābād District, who intimated this discovery to me in 1972, also providing me with an eye-copy of it. Almost at the same time, a note on the record was contributed to the Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Ujjain in December 1972, by Dr. Haladhar Pathak, Professor in the Home Science College at Hoshangā-

[1] Vide our observations in the general history portion where we have shown that the region around Āghāṭa (Chitor) was annexed by Vākpati-muñja to his kingdom. Also see *P.B.P.*, p. 86 and *note*.

bād. Being interested in its date, I visited the place with the kind permission of the Director-General of Archaeology in India, and studied the inscription *in situ*, on 8-3-1973. The record was edited by me, for the first time, from the original and a photo-copy kindly supplied to me by Prof. Pathak, in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 231-32. From the same photograph, it is edited here.

The inscription is incised on one of the facets of a dwarf rectangular pillar of hard sandstone, about 95 cms. high, now set on a platform of mud and stone, in front of the General Post Office in Kōṭhī Bazār Mohallā at **Hoshangābād,** the chief town of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. I found the pillar obliquely resting against the lower part of a tree, with a part of it imbedded in the earth below so as to hide its lower portion. The writing, which consists of seven lines of crude engraving, covers a space 28 cms. high by 22 cms. broad. The **script** is Nāgarī, and the **language** is Sanskrit, all written in prose. In respect of **orthography** nothing is worth noting except that *sha* is spelt as *kha* in *paukha*, in l. 1.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the illustrious *Mahākumāra* **Hariśchandra** and its purpose is to record the death of a hero, as also can be known from some figures carved in relief on all the sides of the pillar[1]. The name of the hero, which was engraved before *suta* in l. 5, cannot be made out; but that he certainly lost his life in an encounter is suggested by the word *yudhītya* (for *yuddhvā*) in the last line. The letters giving his father's name are also equally indistinct. The **date** of the record, as given only in figures in the beginning, is the 5th **day of the bright fortnight of Pausha of the (Vikrama) year 1243,** and the day is mentioned as Thursday. The date regularly corresponds to **18th December, 1186** A.C., taking the year as *expired* and the month beginning with the full moon.

The royal family to which Hariśchandra belonged is not mentioned in the inscription: but his designation *Mahākumāra* shows him to have been the homonymous Paramāra ruler whose two inscriptions, one of which was found at Bhōpāl and the other at Pipliānagar, are dated respectively, in V. 1214 (1157 A.C.) and V. 1235 (1178 A.C.).[2] From both these years we know that the Paramāra *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandra was on the throne at least for 21 years, which is the average period generally calculated for the reign of a king: and accordingly, this king appears to have closed his reign soon after he issued the second grant. The historical value of the present inscription, however, lies in indicating that Hariśchandra continued to rule for at least about eight years thereafter, thus making the interrugnum between himself and his son Udayavarman still shorter, as the latter of these rulers is known only from his grant of V. 1256 (1200 A.C.).[3]

There is no evidence to know anything about the struggle in which the hero mentioned in our inscription lost his life. But the political situation of the time reveals that the Yādava Bhillama V, who ascended the throne in 1185 A.C. and thus only a year before the present record was issued, was carrying on military expeditions in the north, and it is not impossible that in the course of his invasions he had also to face the Paramāra Vindhyavarma, who had only shortly before this date relieved Mālava from the Gujrat[4] sovereignty and who may have endeavoured to check the Yādava forces. The Mutgi stone inscription of the reign of Bhillama, dated 1189 A.C., describes the Yādava ruler as "a severe pain in the head of the Mālavas;[5] and this appears to have been the encounter mentioned in the present inscription.[6]

No **geographical** name occurs in the inscription.

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1 For example, a hero on horse, with weapons, the same worshipping Śiva-*liṅga*, and finally, lying on a coach, with a lady (his wife) sitting by his side.

2 Above, Nos. 44-45.

3 No. 46, above.

4 Cf. गुर्जरोच्छेदनिर्बन्धी विन्ध्यवर्म्मा in No. 47, v. 12.

5 *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. i, p. 518.

6 Also see O. P. Verma : *The Yādavas and their times*, p. 56.

HOSHANGĀBĀD STONE INSCRIPTION OF MAHĀKUMĀRA HARIŚCHANDRA, VIKRAMA 1243

From Photograph

TEXT[1]

1 संवत् १२[४]३[2] पौख(ष) शु-
2 दि ५ गुरौ महाकु-
3 मारश्रीहरिश्चंद्र-
4 देवराज्ये विजयसीं(सिं)ह-[3]
5 देवसुतवीम्ब सीं(मिं)ह-
6 ह——————तालादेवैः[4]
7 यु[धी]त्य(युध्वा) देवै............[5]

No. 184 ; PLATE CXLIX

A FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION FROM UJJAIN

(Date lost ?)

THE stone bearing this inscription was found some forty years ago by Pt. Sūrya Nārāyaṇa Vyās, in the ruins near the temple of Mahākāla at Ujjain the well-known ancient place which is now the headquarters of a district of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. The contents of the record were briefly noticed by the late M.B. Garde in the *Annual Report of the Archaeology Department* of the former Gwālior State for V.S. 1992 (1935-36 A.C.), p. 15, and it was also published in the *Nāgarī-prachāriṇī-Patrikā* (a Hindi Monthly), Vol. XIX, pp. 87-89, with a lithograph. The stone is now kept in the University Museum at Ujjain. The inscription is edited here from the original stone which I inspected in my visit to the place, and from an impression kindly supplied to me by Shri V. S. Wakankar, the Curator of the Museum.

The inscription is only a loose fragment of apparently a very large inscription incised on a smooth black stone. The piece is almost triangular in shape, with one of its sides, on the left, showing its maximum height to be 18.5 cms. and another side, that at the top, showing the total length of 29.5 cms. The third of the sides, which begins at the right corner at the top and gradually decreases the number of letters as it comes down to the bottom on the left, measures 30 cms. The inscription contains fourteen imperfect lines, the first of which shows only four complete letters with the lower parts of the others. The number of the *aksharas* gradually decreases from 25 in the second to 4 in the penultimate line, and the last line shows only the upper parts of two letters. We have no means to ascertain the actual size of the original inscription. The existing portion is in a perfect state of preservation, and the average size of the *aksharas* is about 1 cm.

[1] From the original stone.

[2] The unit figure is mutilated but its reading is certain. As for the decimal figure, the curve at its lowest extremity is damaged and partly disappeared, making it appear also as 5. But my close and minute examination shows it to be 4, as taken here, which is also consistent with the period assigned to Hariśchandra, mentioned in the inscription.

[3] The reading of both the names is uncertain.

[4] Some three *aksharas* are lost at the beginning of this line, and in the next one, the letters are partly imbedded below.

[5] The inscription appears to be incomplete and it is not known as to how many lines are below the surface.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī, closely resembling that of the Mōḍī and Māndhātā inscriptions of Jayavarman. The mechanical execution also is as careful as of those. The vovel *i* is indicated by two loops placed horizontally and subscribed by the sign of the medial *u*; the *aksharas ch* and *dh* are distinguished from *v*; the former by its beginning with a stroke on its loop, as in *-chakrē*, l. 5, and the latter by a curved horn on its left limb, as in *vaidhavya-*, l. 8; and lastly, the palatal *ś* has a horizontal *stroke* in the middle as the *e.g.*, in *śithilī*, l. 5,

The **language** is Sanskrit and the available portion is all metrical. The verses were all originally numbered, as we notice the numbers 18, 19, 22 and 26, respectively in ll. 5, 6, 8 and 10. None of the verses in the existing fragment is complete. The only point worth noting from the point of view of **orthography** is that whereas the *mātrās* of *ē* and *ō* are marked above the line, those for *ai* and *au* one of the *mātrās* is a *pṛiṣṭha-mātrā*.

The inscription seems to be a *praśasti*, as suggested by its ornate style and the conventional manner of the description. Its immediate **object,** however, cannot be ascertained, though it appears to record the construction of a temple,as we usually find. That the temple was constructed by a scion of the royal house of the **Paramāras** of Mālava is known from the expression *Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa* occurring in its line 9, and we know it to be one of the titles of Naravarman,[1] the son of Udayāditya. This is also suggested from the name Muñ[ja] at the end of l. 7,[2] used to denote another illustrious member of the royal house and well known to us from the inscriptions. The preserved portion does not contain any **date,** but on palaeographical grounds it may be assignd to about the **13th century** or a little earlier.

The first five lines of the existing fragment describe a king or kings leading his (their) victorious army to the north .up to Ayōdhyā on the Sarayū and up to the Himālayas, in the west up to Dvārakā, and to the south up to the Malaya mountain and father up to Laṁkā.[3] This description is all conventional and it does not yield any historical information.

All the **geographical names** occurring in the preserved portion of the inscription are well known.

TEXT[4]

[Metres[5]: Lines 2, 5, 7, 8 and 10 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*: l. 3 *Śikhariṇī*; ll. 4 and 6 *Sragdharā*; l.9 *Indravajrā*. *Upēndravajrā* or *Upajāti*: and 11, 11-12 *Mālinī*. *Mandākrāntā* or *Sragrharā*].

1 ——————[रा]देको[6]——————तत्रा.

2 —वगाहृय सरयूं जित्वाश्रमं सैनिकैः साकेतोपवनावलोषु करणा-

3 —ह्क्लिमं नीते कांतैः सह मलयशैले युवतिभिः । यदातंकाल्लंका[वि !]-

4 —: श्रुत्वा वृत्तमेतद्व(द्ब)लिदमनकृतं कीर्त्तितं पूर्व्वविद्भिः पर्यन्ते द्वारकाया—

5 —विदा नूनं येन हिमाद्रिमूद्ध्नि शिथिलीचक्रैल्कावग्रहः ॥१८॥—

6 —१९॥ तस्मिन्विश्लेषशुष्यत्त्रिदिवपुरपुनः[7] प्रीतिसत्रोत्सवा—

7 —ाजश्रियः[8] संयति प्रोत्खायोत्किरतोडुविभ्रमभृतो मुं[ज][9]—

8 —ादरातयः ॥२२॥ वैधव्यं विजयश्रियो रणभु[वि]—

9 —पचर्यमाणः । निर्वाणनारायण इत्यु[भा]—

10 —लकेनागा[त्त्रि]शंकोर्द्दिशं(शम्) ॥२६॥—

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[1] See above, No. 36, ll. 12-13.

[2] See *n.* 9 in the text below.

[3] For a similar *extravagant assertion*, see above, No. 24, v. 17.

[4] From the original and an inked impression.

[5] None of the verses is complete and the metres here are as indicated by the cadence of the *aksharas* as preserved in each of the lines.

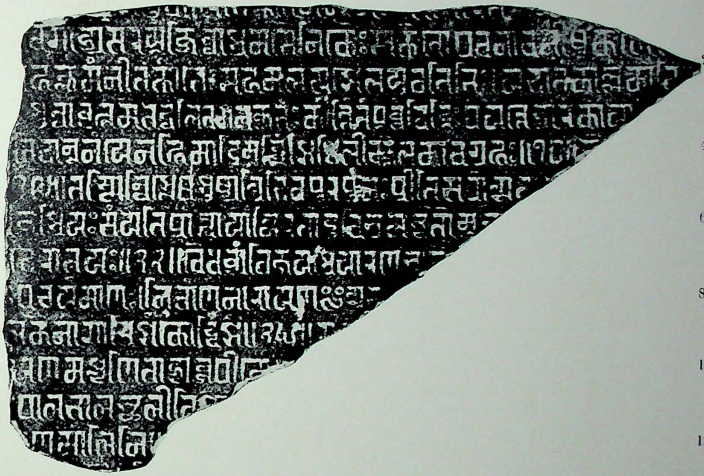
[6] Of both these *aksharas* the *mātrās* above are broken.

[7] The reading here is certain but it cannot be grammatically defended.

[8] Apparantly, the letter *ra* is lost before the *mātrā*.

[9] The bracketed letter is broken in its latter part but the restoration appears to be certain.

A FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION FROM UJJAIN
(DATE LOST)



Scale : One-half

11 —[र?]णमश्पृ(सृ)णिता ह्यञ्ज(ञ्ज)पी[तो?]—
12 —पालभालस्थलीति(?)—
13 —णमालिनि ॥—
14 —. .[1]—

No. 185 ; Plate CLX

A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM MĀṆḌU

B

(Date probably lost)

TWO small fragments of a long inscription were found built up in a modern wall at **Māṇḍū**, the well-known archaeological place in the Dhār District of Madhya Pradesh, by R. B. Deshpande, supervisor of the repairs of ancient monuments at that place, in 1923. Fitting both the pieces together, the text was deciphered and published, with a small introductory note, translation and a small-size photograph, by K. K. Lele, in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, Vol. VIII (1927), pp. 142 ff. The inscription is edited here from the original fragments, which are now preserved in the archaeological museum at Dhār, and from the photograph accompanying Lele's article.

The record is incised on a well polished black stone, and, as stated above, it is **fragmentary**. The initial portion which pays homage to Sarasvatī is fortunately preserved. The extent portion shows fifteen lines of writing, of which a number of *aksharas* are lost on either of the sides ; and we have no means to ascertain the portion which is lost below also. The dimensions of the existing portion are not noted. All the lines being incomplete, no coherent sense of the record can be made out, except the general idea that it contained a hymn to Sarasvatī, the Goddess of Learning.

The **Language** of the inscription is Sanskrit ; and except for the customary *Oṁ namaḥ Sarasvatyai* in the beginning, the preserved portion thereof is all metrical. The verses seem to be all in the *anushṭubh* metre. They are not numbered, but it appears that they were separated from each other by a double *daṇḍa*, and a single *daṇḍa* was also put at the end of each of the halves. As to **palaeography** and **orthography**, we find that the letter *k* is its ligature form, *e.g.*, in *kalpa-*, l. 1 ; that *ṅ* has not developed the dot, as in the first letter. That is preserved in l. 7 : that *ch* and *v* are alike in form, cf. *chēd=bhavatī*, l. 5, but *dh* has its distinct shape in showing a curved horn above its fore-limb, as in *dharmma-*, l. 3. The signs of the medial dipthongs are put above and also before the letter to which they belong ; and the sign of *avagraha* occurs in l. 11. All these peculiarities tend to indicate that the inscription was engraved in the 11-12th century.

Beginning with paying homage to Sarasvati, as already seen, the inscription eulogises the deity as fulfilling all desires, like the wish-giving tree, and therefore highly victorious. In ll. 3-6 we read that all *dharmas* (undertakings ?) are supported by her and her alone, that she is embodied in sounds and words, and for these reasons her charm attracts in every dispassionate ascetic. Lines 7-10 state that her charm is in the form of the various metres used in the hymns of the Vēdas : her devotee becomes a good poet and also that the entire universe is held by the wise persons. And lastly, ll. 11-15 appear to mean that Vālmīki, Vyāsa and the other poets were sent in this world by her, for doing favour to it (the region) and that Dilīpa and Vasishṭha, by serving her (in the form of) a cow became a model king and a model sage, respectively.

[1] Only the upper parts of two *aksharas* are visible, but they cannot be made out.

Connecting the present inscription with the one found at Dhār and now in the British Museum,[1] we note that Māṇḍū, where it was discovered, must also have been a place of learning in the 11-12th centuries A.C.

TEXT[2]

1 [ओं नमः] सरस्वत्यै ॥ त्वयि कल्पलता ......
2 ......भिन्नभावा[3]जयति परं भारती......
3 ......[स]कला धर्म्माः सरस्वत्येकसंश्रयाः ॥ अ......
4 ......वामिति [ध्व]नि[4]मय्यपि ॥ भारती भा[ति]....
5 द्भवो भवतु चेद्भवती मया निया......
6 रतिर्भवति कस्य न योगिनो[5]......
7 .....[अ]ङ्कच्छन्दसां भेदा मूर्त्तिं [द ?]त्ते सरस्व[त्याः].....
8 .....सत्कविः स किमुच्यताम् । नि......
9 .....[अ]न्योन्यो[6](?). .र्नस्यान्महाकविः......
10 .....तैर्धरित्री निभृता भृता......
11 .....सोऽनुग्रहः खलु गिरः[7]......
12 .....चतुर्व्वर्ग्गाय वाल्मीकिव्या[सादयः].....
13 .....[8]घोटयन्नंदिनीं वीरेश[ः].....
14 .....[नि]वर्त्त्य च रणे[9]धेनुः.....
15 .....[दभू]द्भूपतिदर्शन[म्]

No. 185 ; Plate CLXI

A FRAGMENTARY STONE INSCRIPTION FROM MĀṆḌU

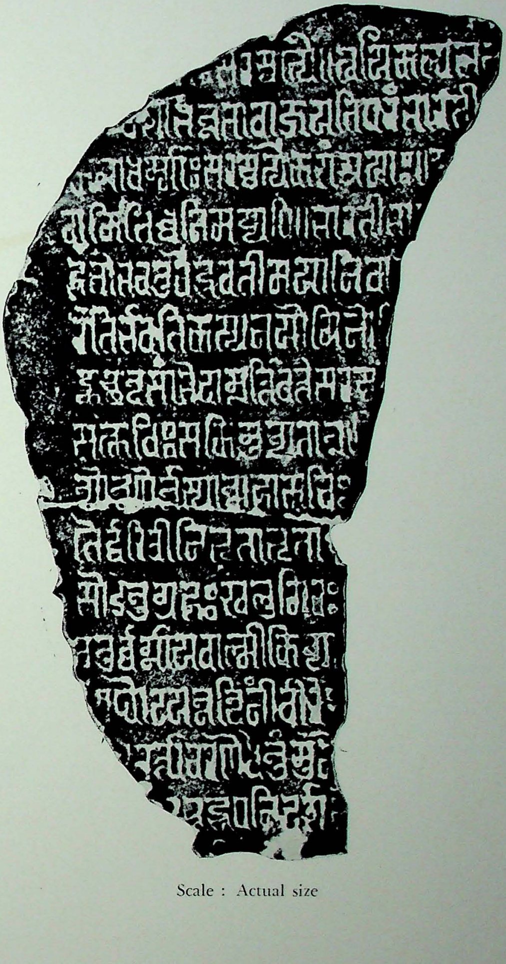
A

(Date lost ?)

THE stone bearing this inscription was discovered 'in the debris of fallen houses, in Māṇḍū' and brought over to Dhār by Pt. Vaman Shastri Islampurkar towards the close of the last century. It is said to have been found broken in more than half of the earlier portion which was lost. The extant fragment is stated to have measured about 9″ (*i.e.*, 22·86 cms.) in height and about 26″ (*i.e.*, 66 cms.) in length. The inscription was first deciphered and pub-

[1] Above, No. 14.
[2] From the original and also from the facsimile accompanying Lele's article.
[3] Two indistinct letters, probably to be read as वशी, are partly visible before this word.
[4] The letter in brackets is partly rubbed out and the reading is therefore uncertain.
[5] The *mātrā* of short *i* is visible after this *akshara*.
[6] The first three *aksharas* are indistinct and the reading is not certain. It is adopted here from Lele's reading.
[7] The *aksharas* in this line read like a foot of *Vasantatilakā*.
[8] One letter in the beginning of this line is indistinct. It may have been स.
[9] To be split up as done here and not to be taken as one word as taken by Lele, as *charaṇē*.

A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM MĀṆḌU (B)
(DATE LOST)



Scale : Actual size

lished by the late K. K. Lele, in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, Vol. XI (1929), pp. 49-53, without a lithograph. The present whereabouts of the stone could not now be traced; and as even an impression of the record is also not now forthcoming, there is no alternative before me except to reproduce the text given by Lele in his article and add to it my own notes.

The record is said to have been incised on an oblong plain slab which is broken at the top and also on portions of both the vertical sides. The correct estimate of the broken portion cannot be made, and the record has also suffered considerably. As stated by Lele, "some of the letters in the middle portion are much worn, precluding the possibility of deciphering the inscription completely". The existing portion contained seventeen lines of writing, which are all fragmentary. The letters are well formed and carefully incised. The height of the individual letters is not recorded.

The **script** is Nāgarī of the 12-13th century A.C. The **language** is Sanskrit. The extant portion of the inscription is all metrical; and except for the last three verses, the first of which is in *Mālinī* and the other two in the *Rathōddhatā* metre, all the rest of the verses are in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, composed in the artistic *kāvya* style. They are not numbered but each of them has a double *daṇḍa* at the end, and the halves are separated by a single *daṇḍa*. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities of the occasional reduplication of a consonant after *r*, the substitution or *b* for *v* and of *s* for *ś*, and finally, the use of the sign of *anusvāra* to denote the final *m*, except in a few instances like *arṇavām-vana-*, l. 6. The word *ujjvala* in l. 7 is wrongly spelt as *ujvala* and *nishphala* has the sign of *visarga* instead of *sh* in the same line. *Sandhi* is not performed in *mē-api-* in l. 14.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the son of the king **Vindhyavarman.** He is not named here but can be inferred to be undoubtedly the Paramāra king Subhaṭavarman. The **object** of the inscription is to record the donation of two gardens by the same king, *i.e.* Subhaṭavarman, to Bilhaṇa who was his *sāndhivigrahika*, *i.e.*, Minister for Peace and War. The record was composed by Bilhaṇa himself, with whose acquiescence were composed the three inscriptions of Arjunavarman, as already seen. The date is perhaps lost in the last line.

The earlier portion of the inscription that was available (vv. 1-8) gives a poetic description of God Vishṇu in his different incarnations and thus it is of no historical interest. Verses 10 ff. eulogise the same deity in his Kṛishṇa incarnation, and is equally devoid of historical value. The concluding part of the record (ll. 16-17, vv. 18-19) informs us that "observing that his material body was frail and mortal, Bilhaṇa composed this poem of (describing) the eternal glory of the god, and Subhaṭavarman's son, Vindhyavarman, highly respected the poet and donated two gardens (*vāṭikās*)," presumably for the maintenance of the deity installed by the latter in a temple, about which our inscription has nothing to say. It is not known if the construction of the temple and the installation of the deity therein were mentioned in the portion that is now lost.

From the three preceding inscriptions we know that Bilhaṇa held the post of the Minister of Peace and War under Arjunavarman and Dēvapāla;[1] and the present inscription adds to our knowledge that he was on this post during the reign of Arjunavarman's father, Vindhyavarman, also. It also tells us that this officer was highly devoted to Vishṇu; and, as Lele has rightly pointed out in his article referred to above, Maṇḍapa-*durga*, where the inscription was discovered, also appears to have been a great seat of learning at that time.

No **geographical** name figures in the extant portion of the inscription.

[1] See above, Nos. 47-48 and 51.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1-2 broken ; vv. 3-19 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 20 *Mālinī* ; vv. 21-22 *Rathōddhatā*].[2]

1 पुंसाकारमैक्यंगतंक ———————पतनमाम्यर्क्कबिम्बे———[3]

2 सूक्तिः प्रथयति न चतुर्व्वर्ग्यमर्क्कप्रसादात्[4]लक्ष्मीं वक्षसि———[4]तामत्रैव समानयेति विमुखी नाभिस्वथंभूस्पृशा येनैकहृदा-

3 यं ममेति विहिता पुष्टा स मां रक्षतु ॥ [३॥*][5]उत्फुल्लांबुज———ननु वेत्सि किं न विदितं मालेति ते जल्पतस्तद्दामेति सहासया कम-

4 लया श्लिष्टो हरिः पातु वः ॥[४॥*][6] धर्मध्वंसकराम — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏓; — मत्स्येंद्रतलादशेषजलधिव्यापिव्युदस्ताम्भसि । जायंते श्रज नाम वारिधिपदव्योमैन्दुतां भास्करः वब्दज्योतिरगाच्चतुर्मुखमदः पा-

5 यादपायात्स मां(माम्) ॥[५॥*] मज्जत्साद्रिमहीतरोहृदिक्रुतः[7] श्रीमद्वराहाकृतेर्वारं कुक्षिनिलीनसर्वभुवनस्याधः पदान्यस्यतः । ससाम्भोधितलावरोधिककठाकारेति पृष्ठे वहन् जज्ञे यो ननु यादसां भ्रमवशात् सोर्त्तिं हृता-

6 न्मेच्युतः [॥६॥*] क्रीडामात्रकमेव मज्जति महीचक्रे वराहाकृते[8] सद्भावं कृतकेतुविभ्रमकृता यस्यो ⏑ ते दंष्ट्रया[9]अप्यैक्यं गतमर्णवाम्वनसहं (?) यद्रोमकूपा भवेत् (?); — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — स वा (वो ?)र्त्तिं द्यतात् ॥[७॥*] कल्पान्ताभ्र-

7 नखः शिखाभिनयनः प्रक्षिप्ततारोत्सवः प्रह्लादावनयः ⏑ — द्भुतमयः श्रीमद्वराहाकृतिः [।*] प्रह्वींद्रोद्वुत-कंधरस्य विलसद्विद्युत्सजिह्वोज्व(ज्ज्व)लद्देवः क्रुध(?)नख ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ जिद्रक्षा हत्ता(ता)न्मे भयः[10] [॥८॥*]भर्त्तेर्निः(निष्)फलतानतावटु(?)-

8 चिता स्वर्भूमिराज्यः श्रियः; — — — ⏑ करालनीलजलदप्रोद्दामसंघौ घ[11]-

9 नः सर्वाशागगनावरोधनस — — — ⏑ — ; — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — [॥९॥*] — — — ⏑ मनोरम[12]वन ⏑ — — — ⏑ — स्या(श्या)मले गुंजागुच्छककर्णपूररु-

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[1] From Lele's transcript in *A.B.O.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 49 ff. It may be noted here that his transcript does not represent the original accurately and he has made several changes, *e.g.*, that of *v* to *b*, as is obvious.

[2] For the sake of convenience the verse existing on the extant portion has been taken here as 1. Its metre is not certain ; and the portion commencing the second line appears to be a part of either *Mandākrantā* or *Sragdharā*.

[3] I am not certain about the metre in this line which is fragmentary.

[4] Insert a *daṇḍa* here.

[5] Here the number marking the stanza is put, of course presuming that two stanzas are fragmentary on the preceding portion which is now not available.

[6] This verse has lost 14 letters of the first quarter, the whole of the second quarter, and three letters of the third.

[7] Read -हृद्दिक्कृतश्री-.

[8] Read a *visarga* after this *akshara*.

[9] Here this *akshara* has to be taken separately in the *pada-chchhēda*.

[10] Read भयम्.

[11] Lele has taken this line separate but it appears to be connected with the preceding one and in continuation of it.

[12] This *akshara* should be prosodically long. Should we read *mō* with the case-ending ?

10 चिरे गोपीदृशां दोहृदे [।*] बर्हापीडितशेखरे ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ; कालिंदी-
वनगोचरे विहरति श्यामाभ्रको — — ⏓ [॥१०॥*] — द्य:[1] प्रीणन — — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑
⏑ — सत्यानृमग्नात्मनि[2] — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑
— — ⏑ — [।*] — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑

11 दुत्सुकमिलग्गोपीजनप्रावृते श्रीकृष्णे ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ वह्निमे — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏓
[॥११॥*] — — — ⏑ ⏑ पेत्य दुर्व्वहगिरिप्रायस्तनीभिर्मिषा ; — —

12 हस्य वृतोत्पराभिरुरसा श्रीगोप — — ⏑ ⏓ [।*][3] — — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑
⏑ — — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏓ ; — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ —
सादृशक्तोसि न: [॥१२॥*] एकान्ते परिरभ्य कापि मुदिता गोपीभिरित्थं(त्थ) स्फुरद्रौमांचेन निरस्त-
शंशवमिषं — — ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏓ [।*] — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑
— — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — ; — — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — —
— ⏑ —

13 पातु व: ॥[१३॥*] आपादान्तविलम्बिनीम⏑ ⏑ — — — ⏑ना[भि]हृदं[4] — — — ⏑ ⏑
कालियं सयमुनं सख्य: क्व यास्या मया[।*] अत्युग्रेपि मुखीकृ[त[5]] कमपि यो — दधत्या हसन्
गोप्या गोपजनार्दन: स हरतां मेहृयं[6] मु(सु)खं यच्छतु ॥[१४॥*] क्षीराब्धे ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑

14 वृतभृतात्सैवर्णकुम्भानिमान्विन्यासा: पुरत: पयोधरमिवो(?) बृन्दावने किं स्थिता: ॥(।) सख्यो
थर्मतम ⏑ हृदयं गोपालचौरेण मे[7] अप्येवं परितर्जितोपि विहसन् कृष्ण: शिवायास्तु व: ॥[१५॥*]
यो रक्षेकरसे मुखेषु विषयसाप्येष्वना – ⏑ ⏓ – – – – ⏑

15 रिमाहृना(?) परिचिते कृष्णे कथं रम्यते [।*] सख्योऽयं म्रियते हठात्तदधिनो सोद्यानिकं सोमुना
गोपीनामुपकर्णयन्निति समुद्वाणी श्रिये मेस्तु स: ॥[१६॥*] श्रीश: श्रीर्भवदेकहृन्निलयिनी तस्या:
प्रभां शंस्तते स्पृष्टाये विहरन्ति कर्म ⏑ ⏑ – – – – ⏑[8]

16 पेक्ष्यात्मन:(?)[।*] – – – ⏑ ⏑ – त्वदेकचरणध्यानै: पुरात्मा कृत: पात्रं पुण्यमुखश्रियां[9]
निरयतोष्येषां भयं कीदृशं(शम्)[॥१७॥*] विरचितमिह विष्णोर्दाम वाक्यप्रसूनैश्चरणसततपूजा-
वाक्कृताबिल्हणेन । निरवधि कविसार्थै: कोटिशै:

17 – ⏑ – – ; ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ – ⏓ ।[॥१८॥*]
विन्ध्यवर्मनृपते: प्रसादभू: सांधिविग्रहिकबिल्हण: कवि ॥(।) मौतिकं वपुप्रेक्ष्य भंगुरं निर्ममेऽमरभयं भुवा-
ङ्मयं(यम्) ॥[१९॥*] विन्ध्यवर्मतनयेन राजता मानित: स भूभुजा ⏑ – ⏑ ⏓ [।*] – ⏑
– ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – वाटिकाद्वयमकारि [सुन्दरम्] [॥२०॥*][10]

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1 We should read here either *sadyaḥ*, or *adya*, dropping the *visarga*.

2 It is incorrect as it should be *-nṛita-*, but it cannot be known whether it is a mistake in the original or in the transcript.

3 This verse is separate from the preceding one is only conjectural from Lele's transcript. It is not possible to know if some more *aksharas* are lost here.

4 One long letter is missing after *da*.

5 Prosodically, the bracketed letter should be long.

6 Read मेऽस्यं.

7 *Sandhi* is violated here.

8 As the stone is broken on both the vertical sides, it is not possible to ascertain as to how many of these letters are lost at the end of this line and how many at the beginning of the next line. This is to be noted in cases of the other breaks also.

9 Read सखश्रियां.

10 Probably the date was given in the end. The break in this verse may perhaps indicate that the gift was made by the king Subhaṭavarman, whose name was possibly shown, for metrical exigencies, by the letters *Suvarmaṇā* just fitting at the end of the first hemistich of the stanza. This is also justified by taking विन्ध्यवर्मतनयेन as one compound word, taken as two by Lele, which cannot be construed properly.

No. 186 ; Plate CLXII

UDAIPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA IV

[Vikrama] Year 1366

THIS inscription was brought to light by Kielhorn, by publishing transcript of its first four lines, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XX, p. 84. It is edited here from the original stone which I examined *in situ*, in my visit to Udaipur on 9-3-1973.[1]

The record is incised on the lower part of a sand-stone pillar on the right side just above the flight of steps leading to the eastern porch of the celebrated Śiva temple at Udaipur in the Bāsōdā *tehsīl* of the Vidishā District of Madhya Pradesh. It consists of nine lines of writing, measuring 31 cms. broad by 32 cms. high. The average height of the letters, which were cursively drawn, is about 2 cms. The engraving was done most carelessly, even without making the surface of the stone none too smooth. The letters have also suffered from weather ; and as a result of it, the last two lines have become almost illegible. A few letters are also at the end of ll. 6-9, as this part of the stone has peeled off.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī and the **language** is Sanskrit. The record is all in prose. The **orthography** does not call for any remark except that in l. 4 *gha* is employed for *ha* in the name of Jayasiṁha.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Jayasiṁhadēva** who was endowed with all regnal titles ; and the **object** of it is to record the donation of one-eighth of the revenue from the village Hathivāhā by The *Ṭhakura* (?) Vidyādhara, to a Brāhmaṇa whose name is indistinct. The last line contains the name of Chandraprabha, who is mentioned as witness.

The **date**, which is given in numerical figures only, in l. 1, was the **twelfth of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa, on Friday, of the (Vikrama) Year 1366,** which regularly corresponds to **Friday 24th July, 1310 A.C.**[2], for the Southern Vikrama, *expired*, and the month ending with the full moon.

The inscription says nothing about the lineage of the king mentioned in it ; but from its find-spot he appears to have been no other than a Paramāra ruler. He cannot be the same as Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman, one of whose inscriptions was found at Udaipur itself and another at Paṭhārī, about 15 kms. distant from it, and dated, respectively, in V.S. 1311 (1255 A.C.) and V.S. 1326 (1269 A.C.), since the latter of these records bears a date which is about 40 years earlier than that of the present inscription. We also know that Jayasiṁha-Jayavarman was succeeded by Arjunavarman II, and he by Bhōja II ; and that the last known ruler of the house, Malhāka-dēva, was killed in a battle with the Sultān Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī, in 1305 A.C.[3] The present inscription, which was dated about six years later, tends to indicate that Jayasiṁha, during whose reign it was engraved, was a successor of Malhākadēva, if a Paramāra king at all,[4] and that he was reigning as an independent king in the region around Udaipur ; or it may be that he was allowed to rule there after he had accepted subordination to the Muslim throne. And unless any corroborative evidence is available, this view should remain to be hypothetical.

The only **geographical name** mentioned in the inscription is the village **Hativāhā** (ll. 4-5), which is obviously the modern Hatavāhā, about 24 kms. east-south-east of Udaipur.

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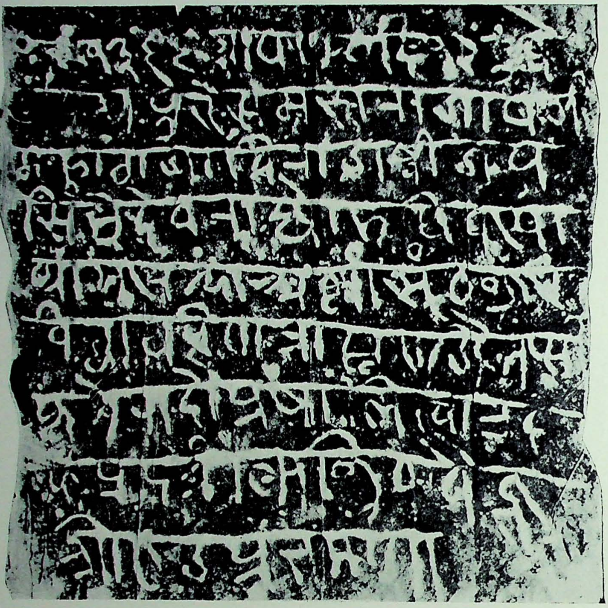
[1] Since this article was written, the inscription been edited, with transcript and a facsimile, by Dr. Ramsharma, of the office of the Chief Epigraphist, in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVIII. pp. 34. ff., from impressions, *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62, No. C1637. The facsimile which was prepared about 10-11 years ago, was helpful to me in reading some letters which are now wholly or partially lost on the original.

[2] See *I.N.I.*, No. 661.

[3] *C.H.I.*, Vol. III, p. 93. Also see *Elliot*, Vol. III, p. 76.

[4] This view too is doubtful, as neither the family to which this ruler belonged nor any of his predecessors is mentioned in the inscription. He is tentatively taken to have been a Paramāra ruler on the similarity of names and also as we do not find in this region any other ruler bearing this name during this period.

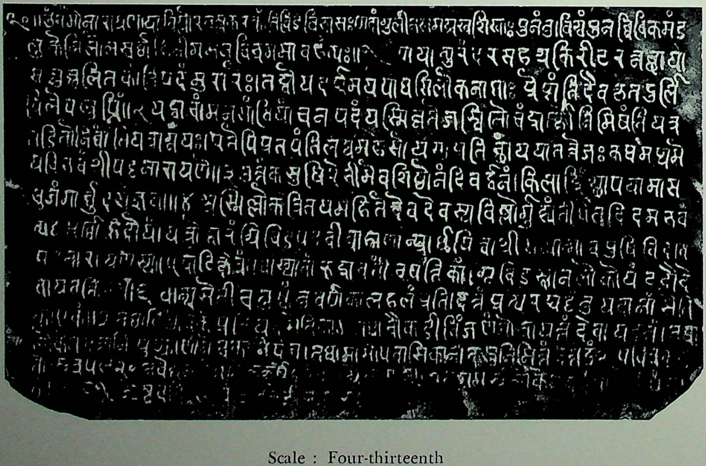
UDAIPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA IV
VIKRAMA 1366



Scale : Two-fifth

PLATE CLXIII

GIRVAḌ STONE INSCRIPTION, VIKRAMA 1181



Scale : Four-thirteenth

TEXT[1]

1 -संवत्] १३६६ श्रावण वदि १२ [शु]क्रे
2 उदयपुरे समस्तराजावली[2]-
3 [समलंकृत] [र]ाजाधिराजश्रीजय-
4 सिंघे(ह)देवराज्ये हथि[वाहा][3]-
5 ग्राम- -अष्टांसं(शं)[4]जप(जात ?)-
6 विद्याधरेण ब्रा[5]ह्मणजे[6]—
7 कृते पादौ प्रक्षालित्त्वा[7]त्रद[8]-
8 केः प्रदत्तं ——[9]
9 श्री————[10]

No. 187 ; Plate CLXIII

GIRVAD STONE INSCRIPTION

[Vikrama] Year 1181

THE stone slab bearing this inscription is built into a side-wall of the *maṇḍapa* of the Pāṭanārāyaṇa temple at **Girvad**[11], a tiny hamlet about 16 kms. west of Ābū Road, the principal town of a *tehsīl* in the Sirōhī District, Rājasthān. The record was briefly noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Report of the Western Circle*, 1906-07, p. 27 ;[12] and it is edited here, for the first time, from personal examination and from an impression prepared under my guidance, by N. M. Ganam, the Technical Assistant of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India.

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[1] From the original stone. Subsequently, I have also compared my reading from facsimile facing p. 35 of *Ep. Ind., Vol.* XXXVIII. The inscription begins with a symbol which is partly mutilated.

[2] Here supply विराजमान, or मालालंकृत, or, as suggested by Ramsharma. महित; but on the original it appears, as taken here, at the beginning of the third line.

[3] The reading of the bracketed *aksharas* is based on those ending the name of a village which exists in the neighbourhood even to-day. The *mātrā* of the first of them appears to be mixed with the slanting stroke of the second. On the original the last two syllables appear as कपा.

[4] This *akshara* is followed by two hollow circles and a horizontal stroke, and the reading of them, as adopted here, is doubtful. Ramsharma read the fourth and the fifth letters in this line as मतक.

[5] This *akshara* is de-formed, and the *mātrā* on the preceding रे resembles a curve.

[6] Two or three *aksharas* are lost at the end of the line and the reading तसी is adopted here from that of Ramsharma ; but the reading is not certain, as the last of the *aksharas* appears as a conjunct.

[7] Read प्रक्षाल्यात्त. Possibly, what is intended is उदकैः, for (उदकं?).

[8] Two or three *aksharas* are lost here also.

[9] Some letters are indistinct here, and some lost at the end. Ramsharma read them as [श्र:][ज्ञा*](न्ति) ठ वैज्ज(?). He also took वैज्ज engraved for वैद्य; but I do not find the reading certain.

[10] Eight *aksharas* are lost here and they were read by Ramsharma as श्रीचंद्रप्रभ[प्र*]प(मा)ण, with some doubt from an impression prepared in 1961-62.

[11] The temple is about 3 kms. south of the village known as Chandēla which is connected with Ābū Road by a metalled road. The present inscription just faces the one edited above under No. 82.

[12] Also see *A.S.I., P.R.W.-C.*, 1916-17, recording some more antiquities at that place.

The inscription is on the lower part of the slab bearing another above, with which we are not concerned. The writing measures 48.5 cms. in breadth by 28.5 cms. in height, and consists of 14 lines, the last of which is about half of the length of the others. It is well preserved, excepting three *aksharas* in l. 13, as to be seen below. The technical execution is, on the whole, fair; and the signs of the *mātrās* above show a graceful curve. The letters are all distinct and vary in size from 1 to 2.5 cms., including the flourishes.

The **script** is Nāgarī of the 12th century A.C. The *akshara ṇ* as a subscript resembles *l*, as in *Vishṇō-*, l. 1: *chh* and *th* in their subscript form have the same sign, for which see *-chchhāya-*, l. 5, and *sthāna*, l. 9; and the slightly varying forms of *bh* are to be noticed in *bhāsa-*, l. 1, and *bhakti-* in l. 10, and those of *r* in *purandara* and *ratna*, both in l. 2.

The **language** is Sanskrit, which is generally correct; and with the exception of the customary obeisance to Nārāyaṇa in the beginning and the formal part in ll. 11-14, the record is all in verse, consisting of seven verses, which are all numbered. The **orthographical** peculiarities are as usual, *viz.*, (1) the use of the sign of *anusvāra* to denote the class-nasal even at the end of a verse or its stich, (2) of *v* to denote *b* as well; (3) of the *prishṭha-mātrā*, occasionally, *e.g.*, in *tējasvinau*, l. 4, and *vidadhē*, l. 8; and (4) the reduplication of a class-consonant following *r*. The name of the village is spelt as *Grivida* in l. 8 but as *Grivịḍa* in l. 9.

The **object** of the inscription is to record that the temple in which the stone is set up was repaired by one *Śrī* Satyātmā, after taking permission from the Grivịḍa (Girvaḍ) Brāhmaṇas who too made some donations to the deity, in **Samvat 1181, Jyēshṭha vadi 12 v(b)udha-dinē.** The date is given only in numbers; and, for the Chaitrādi expired; it regularly corresponds to **11th June, 1124,** when it was a **Wednesday** and the month, *amānta*. The names of the writer and the engraver of the inscription are not mentioned.

Beginning with a sentence in prose paying customary obeisance to Nārāyaṇa, as seen above, the epigraph has three stanzas to record homage, respectively to Vishṇu, Murāri and Paṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, who are all the same. The last of these deities (now enshrined in the temple) is here described as "possessing boundless greatness (*amēya-vibhava*), and excelling all the other forms of lustre." From the next two stanzas we learn that the great sage Vasishṭha had established the god near a *kuṇḍa* called *Paṭṭa-hrada*, and that this temple was repaired by Satyātmā, after taking permission of the Brāhmaṇas residing there, as already stated above. The portion that follows records the donation of the villages of Pāṭīkshētra and Rudrāvantī to the god by the people of Girvaḍ. The other donations mentioned in the inscription consist of a *dramma* for clothing those who observed fast for a month (*māsōpavāsika*), twenty *palas* of thread for *pavitraka, naivēdya* (details not mentioned), two *karshas* of oil for smearing the body (of the deity), and some others, all mentioned in the local language which I cannot make out.

Nothing about Satyātmā who repaired the temple is known either from the present record or from any other source. Nor is the name of the king mentioned here. However, the find-spot of the record goes to suggest that the repairs of the temple referred to above were made during the reign of the Ābū Paramāra ruler Vikramasiṁha or his elder brother Rāmadēva, respectively the uncle and father of Yaśōdhavala, whose earliest known date is V. 1202.[1] The absence of material to throw light on the history of this period prevents us from saying anything definitely on this point. It is, however, interesting to see that the Brāhmaṇas could jointly make a donation, as stated above.

Of the two localities mentioned in the inscription, *viz.*, Pāṭī-kshetra and Rudrāvantī, neither can be satisfactorily identified for want of names of places fully corresponding with them, around Girvaḍ. To make some suggestions in this respect, however, I am tempted to identify the first of these names either with Paṇḍoorī, lying about 14 kms. north-east of Girvaḍ, or with Padrūkhēḍā, situated about 25 kms. in the same direction. Both these places are now included in the adjoining *tehsīl* of Rēodhar. The other place, *viz.*, Rudrāvantī, may possibly have been the modern village of Reḍvā, situated about 6 kms. south-east of Girvaḍ.

The name of the reigning king is not mentioned in the inscription and the reason of it is not far to seek. In the history of this house we have seen that Dantivarman was succeeded by his son Kṛishṇarāja, by ousting his nephew Yōgarāja who was the legitimate heir to the throne; and it is possible that Yōgarāja and his son Rāmadēva may have been striving hard to oust

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[1] See the Ajaharī stone inscription, above, No. 64.

Krishṇarāja and his successors, *viz.*,his son Kākala and grandson Vikramasiṁha. Thus a struggle for the throne appears to have been going on for two or three generations from the time of Krishṇarāja to that of his grandson Vikramasiṁha, roughly from about 1060 to 1115 A.C.; and during this period Rāmadēva, who is described as fierce in battle *(raṇ-ōtkaṭa)* in our No. 76 (v. 7), may have occupied the throne at least for some time. If this suggestion is accepted, we may conclude that it is perhaps owing to the confusion caused by this struggle that the mention of the name of the reigning king may have been avoided by the composer of the inscription.

TEXT[1]

[Metres : Verses 1-2 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 3 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 4 and 6-7 *Anushṭubh* ; v. 5 *Mandākrāntā*].

1 सिद्धम्[2] ॥ ओं नमो नारायणाय ॥[3] विष्णोरनुष्णकरकांतिविडंवि(बि)भासः पादांगुलीनखमयूखशिखाः पुनंतु । विश्वं पुन[विधि]कमंड-[4]

2 लुकेलिलोलस्वर्व्वाहिनीगमनविभ्रममावहंत्यः ॥१ पायात्पुरंदरसहायकिरीटरत्नच्छाया-

3 समुच्छलितकांतिपदं मुरारेः । तद्वो यदर्घमयपाथसि लोकनाथाः प्रे[ष्यं]ति[5] देवकृतदुर्लि-

4 पिलेखलुप्तिं(प्तिम्) ॥२ यद्वाचां मनसां धियां च न पदं यस्मिन्न तेजस्विनौ चंद्रार्कौ निमिषंति यत्र

5 तडितो निर्व्वांति यत्राग्नयः । एतेपि प्रतपंति लव्ध(ब्ध)महसो यस्य प्रतिच्छाययया तत्तेजः कथमप्यमे-

6 यविभवं श्रीपट्टनारायणे ॥३ उत्तंकसुषिरे भीमे वशिष्ठो नदिवर्द्धनं(नम्) । किलाद्रिं स्थापयामास

7 भुजंगार्व्वु(र्ब्बु)दसंज्ञया ॥४ अस्मिल्लोकत्रितयमहिते देवदेवस्य विष्णोर्गुह्यं तीर्थं तदिदमभव-

8 त्पट्टपूर्व्वो हृदोयं(यम्) । यत्रोद्धारं ग्रिविडपदवीव्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान्प्रार्थयित्वा श्रीसत्यात्मा वपुषि विदधे

9 पट्टनारायणस्य ॥५ पाटीक्षेत्रं तथा ख्यातां रुद्रावंतीं[6]च पत्तिका(काम्) । गृ(ग्रि)विडस्यानलोकोयं ददौ दे-

10 वाय भक्तितः ॥६ धान्यसेतीचतुष्कं तु वर्षाकालहलं प्रति । दत्तं प्रत्यरघट्टं तु यवानां सेति-

11 काष्टकं(कम्)[7] ॥७ तथाटिं कुवकं प्रति यवसेतिका ४ तथा चौकडीविनपांगोत्रायत्तं (?) देवाय दत्तं द्रंम । तथा

12 लोकेन दत्तानि पुष्फा(ष्पा)णां[8] नेचकानि पंच । तथा मासोपवासिकानां[9] वस्त्रनिमित्तं दत्तं द्रंम । पवित्रकहे-

13 तोः सूत्रपल[10]२० [।*] नैवेद्यमभ्यंगतैलकर्षद्वयं(यम्)[11] [च प्रत्ये]।कादशी । एतत्समस्तं लोकेन दत्तं पालनीयं इति [।]

14 संवत् ११८१ ज्येठ वदि १२ वु(बु)धदिने जीर्णोद्धारः कृतः ॥

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[1] From the original and an impression.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] The first of the *daṇḍas* is so close to the preceding *akshara* as to look like a *mātrā*, and the second appears to have been inserted subsequently.

[4] The sign of *rēpha* on the first of the bracketed *aksharas* is faint even on the original. The idea of the water of the Ganges flowing out of the *kamaṇḍalu* recalls that in *N.S.C.*, Canto I, v. 48.

[5] The slanting stroke of the subscript of the bracketed *akshara* is faintly visible even on the original.

[6] The sign of *anusvāra* on the penultimate letter is blurred. The meaning of the word *paṭṭikā* is not known to me. Though not known to lexicons, from context it appears to denote a territorial division.

[7] The construction in this verse is not proper, but it shows that in that region *araghaṭṭas* (water-wheels) were used for irrigating fields. The word *sētī* (*khētī* ?) is local, meaning cultivation, from *kshētra* (?). According to M. Willams, *sētakī* is *nady-ādi*.

[8] The subscript letter of the second *akshara* is cut as *y*, ending in a stroke as of *ph*. The preceding sentence is in the local language and I am unable to understand it. The sense shows that *nēchaka* is a local word meaning a garden.

[9] The reading is certain. It probably means those who observe fast for a month.

[10] *Pala* is a weight equal to four *karshas*.

[11] The word *karsha* appears also in No. 84, v. 76. The expression that follows has to be corrected to –प्रत्येकादशि.

No. 188 ; Plate CLXIV

A PARAMĀRA STONE INSCRIPTION FROM CHITRI

[Vikrama] Year 1314

THE discovery of this inscription was intimated to me by Shri V. Mishra, Superintending Archaeologist of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, who also favoured me with a set of impressions which were prepared by his technical assistant Shri K. P. Gupta, who found the stone in 1971. The inscription does not appear to have been noticed before, and it is edited here, for the first time, from the above mentioned impressions.

As I was informed, the record is incised on the upper part of a pillar on the right side of the entrance to the *maṇḍapa* of a temple dedicated to Śiva, popularly know as Sātalēśvara, in the village **Chītrī**, on the bank of the Māhī and about 10 kms. south-southwest of Sagwāḍā, the principal town of a tehsīl in the Ḍūṅgarpur District in the southern part of Rājasthān. The inscription consists of six lines, and, to judge from the impressions, it covers a space 37.5 cms. broad by 25 cms. high. It is in a fair state of preservation, except that parts of some letters in the first line are obliterated. The height of the individual letters ranges between 2.5 and 3 cms.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī of the thirteenth century, to which the record belongs. What is worth noting from the palaeographical point of view is only that the letters *ch*, *dh* and *v* have developed their distinct forms, *e.g.*, in *uddhṛita-* in l. 2 and *v(b)ūḍā-* and *Chītalīya-*, both in the last line. The record is **bilingual** ; in the first three lines the language is Sanskrit, and what is stated here is repeated in its latter part, in a lo cal dialect. The **orthograhy** calls only for the general remarks, such as the use of *v* for *b*, as in *vudha-*, l. 1, of the dental for the palatal sibilant, as in *-vaṁsa-*, l. 3, of the *pṛishṭha-māt rās*, and of the Prakrit word *satka* in l. 2.

The **aim** of the inscription is to record th e restoration of the temple where it was found, *viz.*, that of Sātalēśvara, as called in l. 2 there of It is stated to have been originally constructed by Sanatkumāra who belonged to the **Paramāra** clan, and it was restored by the *Rāüta* Jāla. The **date**, which is recorded in the first line only in figures is the **amāvāsyā of the month Phālguna, on Wednesday** in the (Vikrama) year **1314**, which corresponds to 6th March, **1258** A.C. The year was Kārtikādi and the month *amānta*. But as the circle of the unit figure shows a point at the bottom, it is also possible to take the figure as 7, with its curve lost. If it was so intended, the date would correspond to **Wednesday, 7th February, 1257 A.C.**, for the Chaitrādi *expired* year and for the month beginning with the full moon.

With respect to Sanatkumāra who originally constructed the temple, the inscription says nothing except that he was in the Paramāra clan ; but we have no evidence to show that he belonged to any of the royal houses of the Paramāras. However, the inscription is included here in view of its being bilingual and also in that of its provenance, which is in the southern region of the Ḍūṅgarpur District which adjoins to that of Bānswāḍā in Rājasthān. The region as a whole was at one time known as Vāgaḍa where one of the junior branches of the Paramāras held sway, as already seen above.

In respect of the **geographical names** occuring in the inscription, **Chītalī is** the modern village of Chītrī, as already seen above, and **Būḍāpaṭa**, occurring in the last line, appears to be the village Bēdoowā, situated about 12 kms. south of Chītrī.

TEXT[1]

1 सिद्धम्[2] [।*] सं. १३१४ वर्षे[3] फाल्गुण वदि ० बु(बु)ध-

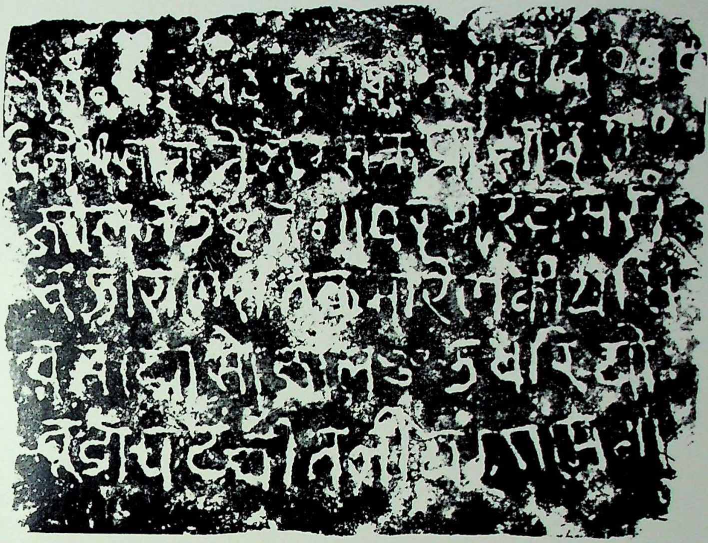
[1] From impressions.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] After the first two figures of the year, there appears to be a scratch resembling the symbol for 4. There is also a scratch appearing as the sign of *mātrā* on the following *ṇa*, or the sign of *mātrā* on this letter, which was first engraved and later on erased (?).

PLATE CLXIV

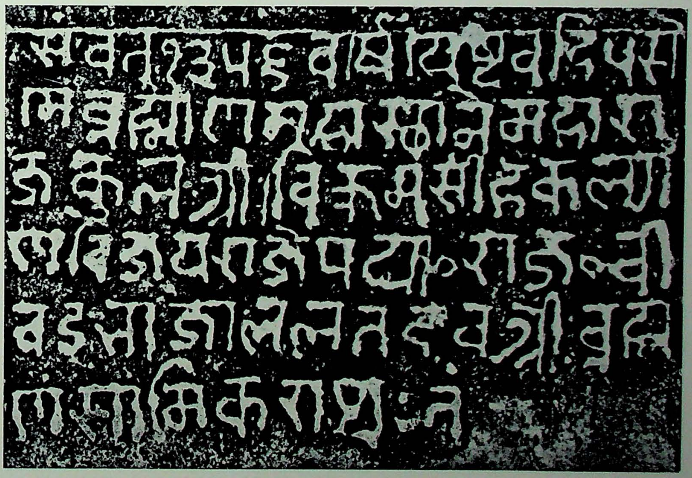
A PARAMĀRA INSCRIPTION FROM CHĪTRĪ, VIKRAMA 1314



Scale : Three-seventh

PLATE CLXV

VARMĀN STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIKRAMASIMHA, VIKRAMA 1356



Scale : Three-eighteenth

2 दिने श्रीसातलेस्व(श्व)रसत्कप्रासाद[:][1] रा-.[2]
3 जालेन उद्धृतः ॥ परमारवं[स(श)]सं-
4 घ--[3]राण(?) संतकुमारेण की[य ?] सि(शि)-
5 वसघोसो(सौ ?)[4] जाल इ[5] उधरियो [।•]
6 वृ(बृ)डापटचीतलीयग्रामः ॥

No. 189 ; Plate CLXV

VARMĀN STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIKRAMASIMHA

[Vikrama] Year 1356

THIS inscription is incised on a pillar in the vestibule of the marble-temple dedicated to the Sun-god in the village of **Varmān** in the Sirōhī District of Rājasthān.[6] The place lies along the main road from Dēvakhētar to Mandār, about five kms. south-west of Rēodhar, the principal town of a *tehsīl* in the district. The inscription was first referred to by V. S. Sukathankar in the *Progress Report* of the Western Circle of the Survey, ending 1917, p. 72. It is edited here, for the first time, from the original stone and inked impressions prepared in my presence by Shri N. M. Ganam, Technical Assistant of the Western Circle, who accompanied me in the tour.

The inscription, which is in a good state of preservation, contains six lines, the last of which is about three-fourth in length of the others. The writing covers a space measuring 25 cms. broad by 16 cms. high. The average size of the letters is about 2 cms. The **characters** are Nāgarī and the **language** is Sanskrit. As regards **orthography,** medial *ē* is indicated by both, the *śirō-mātrā* and the *pṛishṭha-mātrā e.g.,* in *Sōmē,* ll. 1-2 : *Jyēshṭha* is spelt as *yēshṭha,* in l. 1, *-siṁha* as *sīṁha* in l. 3, and the influence of local element is visible in the last three lines.

The inscription refers itself to the auspicious and victorious reign of the illustrious **Vikramasiṁha** who is called here as belonging to the family of *Mahārāja* (*Mahārāja-kula*). The **object** is not clearly mentioned, though it appears to record some donation made to the temple, or, what is more likely, some repairs made to it, by Lalatadēva, which name has probably to be restored to Lalitādēvī, the wife of Chīchaï, or Chāchiga, about whom nothing is known from this or from any other record. This portion, which contains two abbreviations in l. 4, cannot be satisfactorily made out. The inscription also appears to be incomplete in the end.

The inscription begins with the date, which is the **fifth of the dark half of Jyēshṭha** of the (Vikrama) year **1356,** given in figures only, on a **Monday**. The date regularly corresponds to **9th May, 1300 A.C.,** taking the year as Southern Vikrama, *expired,* and the month beginning with the full-moon.

The record is silent about the name of the family to which Vikramasiṁha belonged, nor

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[1] The sign of *visarga* has disappeared, leaving traces. The letter that preceds this sign is deformed, also appearing as *va* or *dha.*

[2] That is, *Rāüta.*

[3] The reading of the first *akshara* in this line is not certain, the second is indistinct, and the third one has a vertical stroke on either side, appearing as the sign of either a *pṛishṭha-mātrā,* or of *ā.* Thus the reading of the first four letters in this line is uncertain.

[4] This *akshara,* which may have been intended to be *Ōṁ,* as it appears also, is redundant.

[5] This *akshara* also appears to have *attached* to it a *mātrā,* which was probably subsequently erased, but the sign is still there.

[6] For the other inscription from the same place, see No. 61.

does it say anything about his pedigree. But from the provenance of the record it is not unlikely that he may have been a successor (and probably a son) of the Paramāra king Pratāpasiṁha mentioned in the preceding inscription which was dated in V.S. 1344 or 1285-86 A.C. and which comes from a place (Girvaḍ) which is only 20 kms. to its south.

The preceding inscription which we have just referred to, mentions Pratāpasiṁha, a brave king who relieved his kingdom from Jaitrakarṇa who was, as we have already seen, the Guhila king whose known dates range between 1213 and 1253 A.C. And in view of this, it would appear rather curious that Vikramasiṁha, who was his successor, as we have presumed here, is mentioned in the present record not with any reigning title but only as belonging to the family of a *Mahārāja* or *Mahārājakula, i.e., Mahā-rāüla,* which is a lower title[1]: and this may go to indicate that his kingdom, too, may have been circumscribed about this time. The Sūndhā stone inscription of 1263 A.C. states that Chāchigadēva of Jālōr (*c.* 1255-1285 A.C.) "enjoyed the fall of the tremulous Pāṭuka"[2] who has been correctly identified with Pratāpasiṁha, the Paramāra ruler of Ābū.[3] From his inscriptions found in the areas of Jālōr, Sirōhī and Mēwāḍ, Chāchiga also appears to have made further conquests in these regions[4] adding to the dominions left to him by his father Udayasiṁha, even in the turbulant days when Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd and Balban were invading parts of Rājasthān, and his zest of conquest is also well known from his inscription of V.S. 1330 or 1274 A.C. found at Barloot,[5] which is only about 16 kms. from Sirōhī, to its north-west, and situated about 50 kms. north of Girvaḍ, where the preceding inscription was found. In view of this, Vikramasiṁha, who may have been the last ruler of the house, appears to have lost some of his territories to the Chāhamānas, who were gradually extending their conquests in this direction in consequence of the pressure caused on them by the armies of Alauddīn Khalji from 1310 to 1314 A.C.[6]

The only **geographical** name appearing in the inscription is **V(B)rahmāṇa** in l. 2, which may undoubtedly be identified with Varmān where the inscription was found and which is the corrupt form of Brahmāṇḍa, as already seen above.[7]

TEXT[8]

1 स्वस्ति[9] [।*] संवत् १३५६ वर्षे येष्ट(ज्येष्ठ) वदि ५ सो-
2 मे व्र(ब्र)ह्माणमहास्थाने महारा-
3 जकुलश्रीविक्रमसी(सिं)हकल्या-
4 णविजयराजे(ज्ये) पद्या-[10] राज. ची-
5 चइभाजा[11]ललतद[े]वश्रीव्र(ब्र)ह्मा-
6 णस्वामिकरा[य ?][12] तं[13]........

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[1] This title was also borne by some other kings, *e.g.*, Sōmasiṁha, son of Dhārāvarsha of this house, Udayasiṁha and his son Chāchigadēva of the Chāhamāna house and some of the kings of the Guhila dynasty, and it is taken to have been probably a religious rather than a political title somehow connected with the *Rāwals*. See *A. S. I. R., W. C.*, 1907-08, pp. 38 f.

[2] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 74 ff; text, v. 50.

[3] *E. C. D.*, p. 156.

[4] The Sōnpur and Sūndhā inscriptions come from Sirōhī and the Karhēḍ inscription from Mēwāḍ.

[5] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 58 ff.

[6] From Nainsi's account it is rightly concluded that the Chauhans conquered Ābū from the Paramāras. See *E. C. D.*, p. 176.

[7] See No. 61, above.

[8] From the original and inked estampages.

[9] Expressed by a symbol which is partly visible.

[10] This and the following abbreviations I am unable to make out. The reading of this letter too is doubtful and the horizontal stroke of the *mātrā* is joined to the letter, as in the case of *dhā*.

[11] It is impossible to say whether Chīchaï was a royal personage or a private individual. It is equally impossible to say whether the word भाजा has to be restored to *bhāryā*; in that case, however, the name that follows has also to be restored to Lalatadēvī, *i.e.*, Lalitādēvī.

[12] The upper part of the loop of the subscript of *svā* is faintly visible.

[13] This portion is corrupt. Before the last *akshara*, appears a sign resembling a crescent with that of *anusvāra* above; and the inscription is incomplete.

No. 190 : Plate CLXVI

DHUBĒLĀ MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MADANAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1203

THIS inscription was very briefly noticed by N.P. Chakravarti in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1935-36, p. 94. As he stated therein, he found it "lying in the compound of the Dewan's house at **Chhatarpur**, the principal town of a State of the same name and now the headquarters of a district in Madhya Pradesh. Some time subsequently, it was removed to the Museum at **Dhubēlā**, an adjoining village, where it is now exhibited.[1] The record was edited by B.C. Jain, Deputy Director of Archaeology and Museums in Madhya Pradesh, in the *Journal* of the M.P. Historical Association, No. VI (1968), p. 44. The same scholar also favoured me with a rubbing, from which, and also from a photograph which I owe to the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, the inscription is edited here.

The record is incised on the pedestal of a black stone status representing Śāntinātha, the sixteenth Jaina Tīrthaṅkara. The figure, which is in the *kāyōtsarga* posture, measures 150 cms. by 56 cms. The inscription consists of four lines of writing, measuring 28.5 cms. wide by 8 cms. high. It is in a perfect state of preservation. The writing shows slovenliness. The average size of the letters ranges between .8 and 1 cm.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī. The letter *dh* has developed a horn on its left limb, as in *sādhu-*, l. 1 ; the *mātrā* of long *ū* is marked so as to appear a subscript *t*, as in *pūrvva-* in the same line ; and the form of *ch* is distinct from that of *v*, as in *cha* in l. 1, and *-varma* in line 4.

The **language** is Sanskrit, but the names in the last line are all without any case-ending. The record has two verses in the *Anushṭubh* metre, followed by a portion in prose, giving the date along with some other details. The **orthographical** peculiarities are that the consonant following *r* is reduplicated, as in *dharmma*, l. 1 : the dental sibilant is put for the palatal except in one clear instance, *śrēshṭha* in l. 2 ; and the *pṛishṭha-mātrās* are occasionally used.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the illustrious **Madanavarman,** whose dynasty and the royal titles are not mentioned in it, but he appears to be doubtless the homonymous king belonging to the **Chandēlla house of Jējākabhukti.** The **object** of the record is to show the installation of the statue of Jinōttama (Śāntinātha), by Lakshmīdhara, the son of Hariśchandra,[2] whose predecessors are mentioned in it. The names are all without any historical interest. We are further told that the image was regularly worshipped by his successors.

The **date** is given in the last line, as **Saṁvat 1293, Phā** (Phālguna) **sudi**[3] **9th Monday,** which corresponds to the **10th February, 1147** A.C.[4] It is an intermediate date for the reign of Madanavarman who is known to have occupied the Chandēlla throne from 1125 to 1163 A.C.

The inscription is sectarian and devoid of any historical interest. It does not mention any geographical name. It appears to have originally belonged to **Ajaygaḍh**, one of the strongholds of the Chandēllas.

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[1] Museum Register, No. 24.

[2] This conclusion is probable and not certain. The language of the inscription is faulty and it cannot clearly be made out as to who really installed the image.

[3] Chakravarti read *vadi*, but the first of these letters is clearly *su* in the photograph and also in the rubbing.

[4] On Monday, the ninth *tithi* commenced at .04 moment of the day, after mean sunrise. The year was Kārttikādi Vikrama, expired.

TEXT[1]

[Metre : *Anushṭubh*].

1 सिद्धम्[2][।*]गोलापूर्व्वान्वये साधुः स्वयंभूर्धर्म्मवत्सलः। तत्सुतौ(तः) स्वामिनामा च देवस्वामिगुणान्वितः ॥[१॥*] देव[स्वा]मि[3]-

2 सुतौ श्रेष्ठौ सु(शु)भचंद्रोदयचंद्रकः[4]। कारितं च जगन्नाथं[5] शान्तिनाथो जिनोत्तमः ॥[२॥*] धम्मसिवि - -[6]

3 ण तथा दु[वा]न्वये[7] साधु जिनचंद्र तत्पुत्रहरिश्चन्द्र तत्सुतलक्ष्मीधर[8] श्रीसा(शा)न्तिनाथं प्रणमति(न्ति) सदा।

4 लक्ष्मीधरस्य धर्म्मसंधिजे[9] श्रीमन्मदनवर्म्मदेवराज्ये सम्व(संव)त् १२०३ फा[10] सुदि ९ सोमे ॥

No. 191 ; Plate CLXVII

AJAYGAḌH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF TRAILŌKYAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1269

THIS inscription was found by Alexander Cunningham at **Ajaygaḍh,** in the working season of 1883-84, and he transcribed its portion containing the date and published the same with his comments in the *Archaeological Survey of India Reports,* Vol. XXI, for the same year, on p. 50, with Plate xii-D. From the same Plate it is edited here.

The record consists of six complete lines. It has extremely suffered from weather, and consequently nothing except the portion containing the date and the name of the king in the beginning, is legible, besides a few letters here and there. The dimentions of the writing are not recorded.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī of the 13th century A.C., to which the record belongs. The **language** is Sanskrit, and the inscription is all in prose. By way of **orthography,** nothing is noteworthy except that the letters *ra* and *va* are almost similar in form, for which, see *vijaya-rājyē,* in l. 2.

The inscription refers itself to the victorious reign of the illustrious king **Trailōkyavarman,** who, from its provenance, can be no other than the Chandēlla ruler, the son of Paramardin and three of whose inscriptions have been edited above.[11] The **object** of the record cannot be made out from its mutilated nature. As to its **date** the day is obliterated, but the month is given as **Phālguna-vadi of the(Vikrama) year 1269.** The **week-day** is mentioned as **Saturday.** From the data available, I agree with Cunningham in concluding that the date must be either

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1 From a photograph supplied by the Chief Epigraphist.

2 Expressed by a symbol.

3 It seems that Dēvasvāmi- was a name and he was a younger brother of Svāmi-. If so, the change of *sutau* to *sutaḥ* is not necessary. The construction here is faulty and nothing can be definitely said.

4 This foot is metrically defective as it has one *akshara* more than necessary. Singular is also wrongly used instead of dual.

5 This word is wrongly put in the accusative instead of the nominative, as required by the construction.

6 Two *aksharas* are indistinct here.

7 The reading of the *akshara* in the brackets is not certain and the name of the family cannot be known definitely.

8 All the names in this line are without any case-ending, which is nominative.

9 I am unable to explain the meaning of this expression.

10 This is, *Phālguna.*

11 Nos. 141-143.

2nd or 9th of the month, dark half, Saturday, the latter being equivalent to the 16th of February, 1213 A.C. However, it may be remarked here that according to the scheme of the current and expired year and also that of the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* month, the number of alternatives, with Saturday, may be multiplied, and in view of this, we cannot be definite on this point.

The latest known year of Trailōkyavarman's reign is supplied by the Dhurēti copper-plate, dated in the Kalachuri year 967, equivalent to 1212 A.C. The month given in it corresponds to May;[1] and the importance of the present record is in that it furnishes for the ruler a date which is above 8-9 months later.[2] It is also the only record of this king's reign available so far at Ajaygaḍh itself.

TEXT[3]

1 सिद्धम्[4] [।*] संवत् १२६९[5] फाल्गुन वदि —[6] शनौ राजश्रीत्रैलोक्यव-
2 र्म्मदेवविजयराज्ये[7]···· ···· ····

No. 192 : Plate CLXVIII

AJAYGAḌH STONE IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VĪRAVARMAN

Vikrama Year 1335

THIS inscription was brought to light by N. P. Chakravarti by mentioning its purpose and date, in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India,* under Epigraphy, for 1935-36, p. 92. It is edited here for the first time from a photograph kindly supplied to me, at my request, by Shri B. C. Jain, Deputy Director of Archaeology in the State of Madhya Pradesh.

The record is incised, as we learn from Chakravarti's report, on the pedestal of a colossal image of Śāntinātha in a ruined Jaina temple, to the west of the Ajaypāl tank, on the fort of **Ajaygaḍh** in the Pannā District of the Vindhya Division of Madhya Pradesh. The inscribed portion measures about fifty cms. broad by nine cms. high. The size of the letters gradually decreases in each of the lines, which are four in all, till in the latter half of the last line it is almost half of those employed in the first line. The preservation of the record is satisfactory, except that four letters at the end of l. 2 and three at the end of l. 3 are totally lost.

The **script** is Nāgarī of the thirteenth century to which the record belongs. Worth noting from the **palaeographical** point of view are the somewhat similar forms of *ch* and *v*, as in *cha* and *vāṇī*, both in l. 3, and the slightly varying bend of the horn of *dh*, as in *sādhu* and *madhurā*, in ll. 2 and 3 respectively. The consonant *s* is occasionally written so as to resemble *m*, *e.g.*, in *Māsala* and *sādhu*, both in l. 2.

The **language** is Sanskrit; the inscription is all in prose, excepting two verses in the concluding portion.

The **orthography** calles for no remark, except that the class consonant preceded by *r* is

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[1] See No. 143, above.
[2] For a still later date for the king, see No. 202, below, of v. 1283.
[3] From plate in Cunningham's *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI.
[4] Expressed by a symbol.
[5] The first of these figures is broken, but the reading is absolutely certain.
[6] The figure for the day is obliterated.
[7] The rest of the inscription is obliterated.

doubled, as in *-varmma* and *-durggē,* both in l. 1 ; *Yaśō-* in l. 2 is written as *Jasō-*, and *yasya* in l. 4, as *jasya,* and that the proper names used in l. 2 are without the case-endings and are separated by a *daṇḍa.*

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king **Vīravarmadēva,** who, from the provenance of the record, can safely be identified with the Chandēlla king of that name, the son and successor of Trailōkyavarman, and whose earliest and latest records bear the years V. 1311 and 1337 respectively.[1] The purpose of the record is to register the installation of an image of Śāntinātha (evidently the one on the pedestal of which it was found), the sixteenth of the Jaina pontiffs, by the *sādhu Sōḍhala,* the son of *sādhu* Sīḍhala (also called Sīḍha below in the verse) and Dēvakī, residing at the Jayapura-*durgga* and belonging to the *Grahapati* family. The inscription was dated on **Monday, the thirteenth of the bright half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama) year 1335.** The corresponding Christian date, as calculated by Chakravarti, is **27th March, 1279 A.C.** It is regular. The year was *Kārttikādi* (Southern Vikrama) *expired.*

The record is of secterian interest and gives only an intermediate date of the Chandēlla king Vīravarman, who is known to have occupied the throne from *c.* 1247 to 1286 A.C. Beginning with the auspicious symbol for *Siddham,* which is followed by the customary adoration to *Vītarāga,* it mentions the setting up of the image in the temple on the fort, by Sōḍhala, in the year which we have seen above. Sōḍhala is described in it as devoted to pleasing others by doing good to them. His speech was sweet and his body was ever pure in consequence of paying homage to the feet of Jina. He had three brothers of the names of Dāmōdara, Gaṅgādhara and Jasōdhara, that is, Yaśōdhara, and a son called Nānadēva.

The only point of interest that the inscription contains is to show the prosperity of the *Grahapati* family in the Chandēlla kingdom, since we know that one of its members installed a Jaina image at Khajurāhō in V. 1215 or 1157-58 and another at Ahār in V. 1237 or 1180 A.C.,[2] which also speak of the continuity of the family.

The only **geographical name** mentioned in the record is **Jayapura,** which is Ajayagaḍh, as we have often seen.

TEXT[3]

[Metres : Verse 1 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 2 *Anushṭubh*].

1 सिद्धम्[4] । ओं नमो वीतरागाय ॥ श्रीमद्वीरवर्म्मदेवविजयराज्ये संवत(त्) १३३५ चैत्र सु(शु)दि १३ सोमे जयपुर[दु]र्ग्गे[5]ग(ग्र)हपतिश्री-

2 साधुश्रीमासल[6]तस्य सुत साधु सोढल । दामोदर । गंगाधर । जसो(यशो)धर नित्यं [प्रणमन्ति][7][।*]

3 चेतः परोपकृतिकर्म्मठमन्य[तो]षव्याहारसारचिकुरा[8]मधुरा च वाणी । गात्रं सदा जिनपदप्रणतिप्रणीतपावित्र्य-पात्रममलं[9]च वि-⁀

4 तस्य ॥१॥ सीटसाधु पिता ज(य)स्य देवकी जननी तथा । साधुना सोटलेनायं शान्तिनाथ[:*] प्रतिष्ठितः[10]॥ तस्य सुत नानदेव नित्यं प्रणमन्ति(ति) ॥[11]

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[1] Nos. 144 and 147, respectively.

[2] See Nos. 124 and 133, respectively.

[3] From a photograph.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] The *akshara* in brackets shows an unnecessary curve above.

[6] This and the other proper names below are all without case-ending but separated by a *daṇḍa.*

[7] The bracketed letters are all lost. Rather read एते नित्यं.....

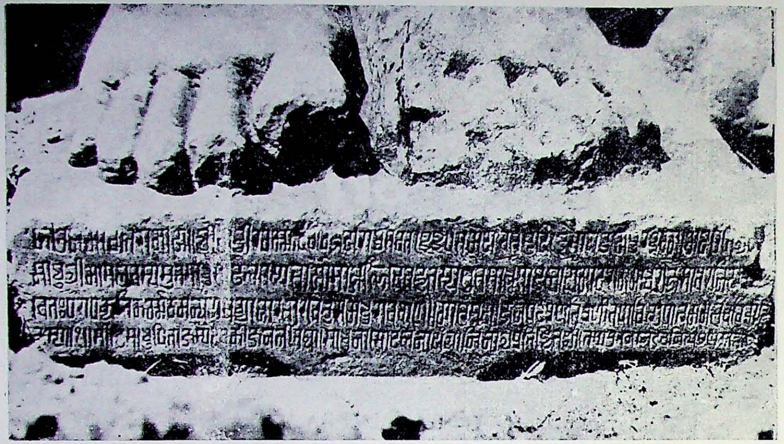
[8] The *akshara* in brackets is formed as *va* by a wrong stroke of the chisel, as some others also, which are not noted separately.

[9] The same as above, in the forms of *trya* and *tra.*

[10] The correct word required here is प्रतिष्ठापित:, which would not suit the metre.

[11] I am not certain about the closing sign in the end.

AJAYGAḌH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VĪRAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1335



From Photograph

AJAYGAḌH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHOJAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 1344

Scale : Nine-fourteenth

No. 193 ; Plate CLXIX

AJAYGAḌH ROCK INSCRIPTION (OF THE TIME OF BHŌJAVARMAN)

[Vikrama] Year 1344

THIS inscription was discovered by N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist. A brief notice of it appeared in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1930-34, p. 92. It is edited here, for the first time, from an inked estampage kindly supplied by the Chief Epigraphist.

The record is incised on a rock to the right side of the pedestal of a group of sculptures carved on the rock of the so-called Ashṭa Shakti images near the Tarhāon gate in the fort at **Ajaygaḍh** in the Pannā District of the Vindhya region of Madhya Pradesh. It consists of only one line which is very long, measuring 165 cms. It is carefully engraved and is in a fair state of preservation. The average size of the letters ranges between 2.5 and 3 cms.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet resembling those of the stone inscriptions of the time of Bhōjavarman[1]. The top-strokes of letters occasionally show either a crescent or a slanting stroke at the beginning, as in the Dēogaḍh stone inscription of Kīrtivarman.[2] The vowels *ī* and *ē* show the same peculiarities as in them ; cf. *Īśvara* and *ētāḥ* ; the subscript *r* is written in its complete form with the preceding letter half drawn, *e.g.*, in *pratimā* ; and lastly, the conjunct *gg* is engraved as *gn*, as in *durgga*, as we find in several inscriptions from the region. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is in prose throughout. The **orthography** does not call for any special remark.

The inscription opens with an obeisance to Kēdāra, *i.e.*, Śiva. Following this, it records that one Suhaḍadēva caused to be made (carved) the images of Kēdāra and Pārvatī, Vṛishabha, Kṛishṇā, Ambikā, Tārā, Tripurā, Kāmākshyā, Durgā, Harasiddhi, Aindrī, Chāmuṇḍā, Kālikā, and again Īśvara and Pārvatī. The images, as already noted by Chakravarti, are all found in the neighbourhood on the rock and most of them also bear separate lables.

The inscription mentions the pedigree of Suhaḍadēva. It tells us that he was the son of *Ṭhakkura* Ashau, the grandson of the *Ṭhakkura* Vāśē and the great-grandson of the *Ṭhakkura* Vīdana, who was in charge of the Jayapura-*durga*, along with its gate-house (*pratōlī*). The same genealogy of Suhaḍadēva is also found in the undated Ajaygaḍh stone inscription of the time of Bhōjavarman ;[3] and thus he is undoubtedly the same person as Subhaṭa called therein, and the Superintendent of the Treasury and the Chief Minister of the king.

The **date** of the inscription, which is recorded in the end, is **(V.) S. 1344, in the month of Vaiśākha, in its dark half.** The figure for the week-day is not clear but we are also told that it was a **Saturday.** And presuming the figure for the date to be nine, as it resembles the unit figure of the year in line 32 of No. 114, above, the date would regularly correspond to Saturday, 27th March, 1288 A.C., for the Kārttikādi Vikrama expired and the *pūrṇimānta* month.

The name of the king is not mentioned in the present record, but it definitely belongs to the time of the same Chandēlla king whose latest known date is V.S. 1346,[4] which is also the earliest known date of his successor Hammīravarman, as we know from the latter's Charkhārī grant.[5]

The inscription closes with the expression *Śubham = astu.*

On the basis of the dates of both these rulers, Chakravarti guesses that Bhōjavarman was not a usurper, as conjectured by Hiralal, but that he had only a short reign of 3 or 4 years, and possibly he was a younger brother of Vīravarman and reigned only during the minority of Hammīravarman. And this is probably the reason why his name has been omitted in the

[1] Nos. 149-150, above.
[2] No. 111, above.
[3] No. 150, vv. 28-30.
[4] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 135.
[5] No. 151.

Charkhārī grant of the latter. Or it may be, as we have already suggested while editing this grant, that Bhōjavarman's name may have been omitted in it, as he may have been a collateral of Hammīravarman and possibly another son of Vīravarman.[1] Neither of these views can be finalised unless we get some fresh material to enlighten us on the point.

There is only one **geographical name** mentioned in the inscription. It is **Jayapura-durga,** which is, as we have seen above, the fort of Ajaygaḍh where the inscription was found.

TEXT[2]

1 ॥ औम् नमः श्री केदाराय[3] ॥· कायस्थवास्तव्यवंशे प्रतोलीभिः सह जयपुरदुर्ग्गस्य ठक्कुरश्रीवीदन[4]तत्पुत्र श्रीवाशे तस्यात्मजठक्कुरश्री अषौ सुतसुहडदेवेनेस्य[5]मूर्त्ति-श्रीकेदार-[6]पार्व्वतीवृषभ-कृष्णा[7]-अम्वि(म्बि)काः तारा-त्रिपुरा-कामाक्षा-दुर्ग्गादेवी-हरसिद्धि-ऐन्द्री-चामुण्डा·कालिका-ईश्वर[8]-पार्व्वतीवृषभ एताः प्रतिमा-कारिताः ॥ संवत् १३४४ समये ॥ शुभम[स्तु] [॥*]

No. 194 ; Plate CLXX

PANNĀ STONE PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION

[Vikrama] Year 1366

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist, who published a short abstract of its contents in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1930-34, p. 94. It is edited here for the first time from an inked impression kindly supplied by the Chief Epigraphist.

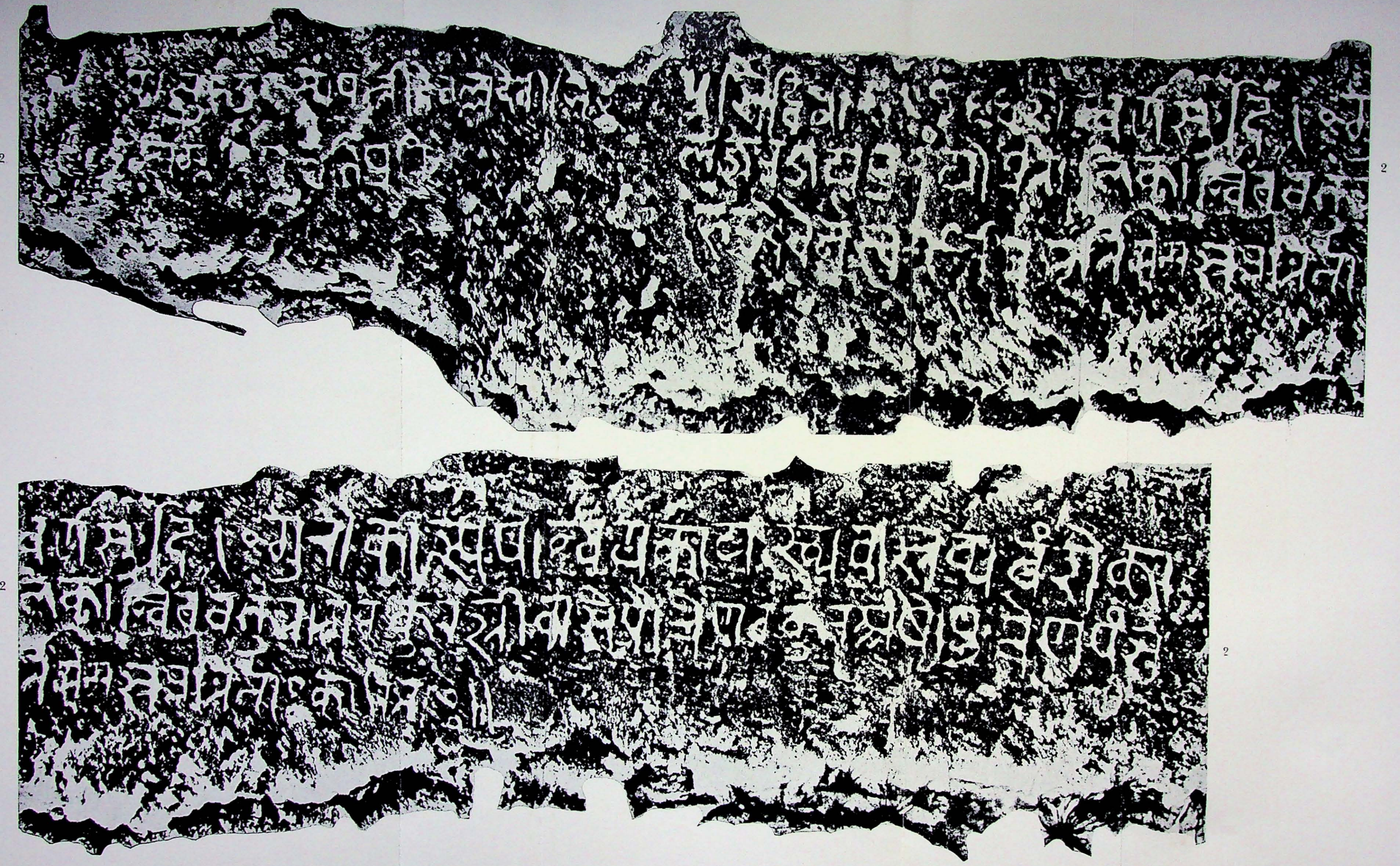
The inscription is incised below a group of images, carved on a block of stone, which Chakravarti found lying near the waterfall in the old part of the town of **Pannā,** the headquarters of a district of that name in Madhya Pradesh. The record falls into two parts, called here **A** and **B.** Part **A,** which is on the left-hand side, covers a space measuring 33 cms. broad by 6.5 cms. high ; and part **B,** which is on the right-hand side, measures 92 cms. broad by 12 cms. high. The former contains 2 lines of writing, with nine or ten **aksharas** in the end of the third line, and the latter 3 lines, the last of which is about half in length of the other two. The average size of the letters is about 2.5 and 3 cms., respectively.

The inscription is very carelessly written, and it has also suffered considerably on both the sides ; but much of it can be read with confidence, except a few letters which have altogether disappeared or have left only a few traces. The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the beginning of the fourteenth century A.C. The **language** is Sanskrit and the record is throughout in prose. The **orthography** does not call for any special notice.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the installation of a group of images by Suhaḍadēva, the son of Ashau and the grandson of Vāśē, born in the Vāstavya Kāyastha family,

[1] See above, No. 151.
[2] From an impression, which is No. B-192/69-70 of *A.R. of Ind. Ep.*
[3] The sign of *mātrā* of the first *akshara* of the name is detached from it.
[4] This and the names that follow are all without case-endings, which can easily be supplied.
[5] The consonants of this and the preceding letter are conjunct ; but I am unable to make them out from the impression. The reading of both these letters is uncertain.
[6] In the transcript the names are separated by me with horizontal strokes for facility of reading.
[7] The *mātrā* is denoted by a curve above.
[8] A flourish above the first of these letters denoting the *mātrā* is to be seen.

PANNĀ STONE PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION, VIKRAMA 1366



Scale : One-half

sprung from Kāśyapa and belonging to (in charge of) the gateways of Jayapura and Kālañjara. The names of Suhaḍadēva and his wife Dēvalladēvī are also written in the part on the left-hand side. The inscription is **dated** in the (Vikrama) **year 1366, on Thursday, the 10th of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa,** which, as calculated by Chakravarti, is equivalent to **17th July, 1309 A.D.** Thus we know that these images were carved nearly 22 years later than those mentioned in the preceding and the following inscriptions which are dated in 1344 and 134x A.C., respectively, by the same Suhaḍadēva and his wife Dēvalladēvī, about whom we have said in our editions of them.

The block on which the present inscription was found must have originally belonged to **Ajaygaḍh,** as is indicated by its contents, and seems to have been brought to Pannā, some time in the past. The record does not give the name of any reigning king; but from the year mentioned in it, we may well conclude that it undoubtedly belonged to the time of the Chandēlla king **Hammīravarman** who was on the throne from 1289-90 to about 1309 A.C. when the Muslim armies were overrunning Bundelkhaṇḍ. Thus it is clear from the present record that though a great part of the Chandēlla territories was then occupied by Alā-ud-dīn, at least the fort of Ajaygaḍh was in possession of the Chandēlla Hammīravarman in whose reign the images were engraved.

The **geographical places** mentioned in the inscription, namely, **Kālañjara** and **Jayapura,** have already been identified. The latter of these is Ajaygaḍh itself.

TEXT[1]

Part A

1 श्रीः[।*] पं.[2] । सुहडदेवस्य पत्नी देवल्लदेवीभिरे[–]-[3]
2 ......[4]प्रतिमाः...[5]
3 ....रुद्रदेवेन स्व....

Part B

1 सिद्धम्[6] [।*] सिद्धिः ॥ सं. १३६६ श्रावण सु(शु)दि १० गुरौ कास्य(श्य)पान्वयकायस्थवास्तव्यवंशे का-
2 लंजरजयपुरयो [:] प्रतोलिकान्वित....[7] ठकुरश्रीवासे(शे)पौत्रेण ठकुरअषौपुत्रेण पं[च]-
3 रुद्रदेवे[स(श)?]स्य........[8] समस्तप्रतिमाः[9] कारिताः ॥

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[1] From an impression which is No. C-1996-97 of *A.R., Ind. Ep.*, 1963-64.
[2] The reading of this *akshara* is absolutely certain. Whether the vertical after it is a part of a letter is not known.
[3] The letter lost here is to be restored as ता: Read द्रेव्या and preceding word as पत्न्या.
[4] Six syllables are lost here. They should be taken as showing the names of some deities.
[5] The lost letters may have been कारिता: followed by a punctuation mark.
[6] Denoted by a symbol.
[7] Four *aksharas* are indistinct here.
[8] Five *aksharas* are lost here, leaving only traces.
Better read the first of these words separately, both in the nominative plural.

No. 195 ; PLATE CLXXI

AJAYGAḌH ROCK INSCRIPTION (OF THE TIME OF BHOJAVARMAN)

[Vikrama] Year 134X

THIS inscription, like the previous one, was discovered by N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, and was briefly noticed by him in the *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1930-34, p. 92. It is still unpublished. It is edited here from an impression which I owe to the kindness of the Chief Epigraphist.

The inscription is engraved on the rock to the left side of the pedestal of a group of sculptures carved on another, incised with the so-called Ashṭa Śakti images near the Tarhaoni gate in the fort of **Ajaygaḍh,** in the Pannā District of Madhya Pradesh. The record consists of one line, which is unusually long and measures 200 cms. It is all in prose. The letters are crudely engraved, unlike those of the preceding one, and have also suffered from exposure to weather ; but with the exception of 2 or 3, they can be restored, of course, with the help of the other epigraphs near it. The average size of the letters is 3 cms., excluding the flourishes of the *mātrās* above.

The **characters** are Nāgarī. Some of the letters, like those of the previous one, show either a knot or a curve at the beginning of the top-stroke, and the letter *ē* in *ētāḥ* appears as a triangle ending in a vertical strike. The subscript *r* is written so as to appear as *t*, *e.g.*, in *pratimā*.

The **language** is Sanskrit, which is incorrect ; and the whole inscription is in prose. The *pṛishṭha-mātrās* are generally used, and sometimes they appear side by side with *ūrdhva-mātrās* as in Dēvalla dēvī.

The inscription does not mention the name of any king. Its **object** is to record that the images of Surabhi, Śiva, Gaurī and some other deities were caused to be made (carved) by Dēvalladēvī, the daughter of the *Ṭhakkura* Dēvadhara and the wife of one Suhaḍadēva of the Vāstavya Kāyastha family. Suhaḍadēva was the son of the *Ṭhakkura* Ashau, grandson of the *Ṭhakkura* Vāśē and the great-grandson of the *Ṭhakkura* Vīdana, who was in charge of the Jayapura-*durga* along with its gate-way (*pratōlikā*).

The **year** of the record is mentioned in the end as the (Vikrama) **Year 134x,** without the other details. The unit figure of the year is not clear, though from the long vertical stroke it appears to have been either 1 or 5 ; and taking the year as 1345, the Christian equivalent would be **1286,** when Bhōjavarman was on the Chandēllā throne.

Suhaḍa of the present inscription is the same as mentioned in the previous record as Subhaṭa, who was the Treasury officer and Chief Minister of the king, as we have already seen.[1] The genealogy recorded in this inscription is also the same as known to us.

The additional information that the present record supplies is that Suhaḍa's wife was Dēvalladēvī, the daughter of the *Ṭhakkura* Dēvadhara.

Suhaḍa and his wife Dēvalladēvī also caused to be made some other images, as we understand from still another inscription engraved below a group of them, on a block of stone, discovered by Chakravarti in his tour, lying near the water-fall at Pannā.[2] The record, as he informs us, gives the same genealogy of Suhaḍa, along with the name of his wife, and was dated on **Thursday, the bright half of Śrāvaṇa of the (Vikrama) year 1366,** which is equivalent to **17th July, 1309 A.C.**

The block appears to have originally belonged to Ajaygaḍh ; and the inscription shows that the images on it were carved nearly 22 years later than those mentioned in the present inscription and in the days when a great part of Bundelkhaṇḍ was under the Muslim ruler Alā-ud-dīn.

Jayapura-durga mentioned in the inscription is, as we have already seen, is the fort of Ajaygaḍh.

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[1] Above, No. 150, vv. 28-30.

[2] *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1930-34, p. 94.

TEXT[1]

1 ॥[2] कायस्थवास्तव्यवंशे पृ(प्र)तोलिकान्वितजयपुरदुर्गाधिपठक्कुरश्रोवीदनः[3] पुत्रठक्कुरश्रीवाशे तत्पुत्रै(त्रः) ठक्कुरश्री अषौ सुतसुहडदेवस्य [गेहिनी][4] श्रीदेवधरस्य पुत्री देवल्लदेवीनामास्य प्रतिमा[थि(स्थ)]त[5] सप्तमी सुरभी-शिवा जीवन्तपुत्रिका-गौरी एताः प्रतिमाः कारिताः ॥ सं. १३४—[6]समये ।

No. 196 ; Plate CLXXII

RĀSIN STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIN

[Vikrama] Year 1466

RASIN, or **Rāsin,** is an old town situated on the high road leading from Bāndā to Kālañjar, 47 kms. distant from the former and about 30 kms. from the latter. The antiquities found at this place go to show that it must have been a place of considerable importance in former times.[7] The present inscription was noticed here by Alexander Cunningham, in his visit to the town in 1884, on a temple of goddess, locally known as Chandā Māhēśvarī and situated in a dense jungle on the top of a hill, about a mile to the east of the town. The record was published by the same scholar, in his *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XXI (1883-1885), p. 18, with a translation and a photo-lithograph, Plate No. XIV. From the same plate it is edited here.

The inscription consists of six short lines of equal length. The dimensions of the writing are not recorded, but it can be stated here that each of the lines has eight *aksharas* in it. The photo-lithograph shows that it was well preserved when seen by Cunningham. The **alphabet** in which it is written is Nāgarī of the fifteenth century. The **language** is Sanskrit, which is almost correct ; and except a verse in the *Anushṭubh* metre in the end, it is all in prose.

The epigraph is a pilgrim's record, and its aim is to register the name of one Jaipāla, the son of Surapāla, who visited the place, apparently for paying homage to the deity enshrined in the temple where it is engraved. The **date** is given in figure only ; it is the **seventh day of the bright half of Chaitra of the (Vikrama) year 1466,** falling on a **Saturday** which, as calculated by Kielhorn, corresponds to Saturday, **23rd March, 1409 A.C.**[8]

The record begin with the date, as seen above, and then it proceeds to mention a person, without giving his name, who was the king's slave in **Rājavāsinī,** the royal residence of **Paramardin,** the lord of the earth, whose slave was Jaipāla. The name of Paramardin is mentioned here without that of his family and also without any of his ancestors ; and even his royal titles are missing. And for the reason that the record was found not very far from Kālañjar, he is likely to be identified with the homonymous Chandēlla king, the grandson of

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[1] From an impression which is Chief Epigraphist's *A. R.*, No. B-194/69-70.

[2] The *daṇḍas* may have been preceded by a symbol which is now lost.

[3] Read either *Vīdanasya* or supply *tasya* alter it. The names are all given without case-endings and there are some more grammatical errors throughout the record. They are not shown here and can easily be known.

[4] The letters in the brackets are all mostly lost leaving only parts of them. The reading is probable in view of the sign of *mātrā* visible on the first of the letters. The word has been restored from Chakravarti's writing.

[5] The reading is probable but not certain. I am unable to explain the use of the following word also.

[6] The unit figure which appears to have been later on corrected, may possibly have been 1 or 5, the vertical stroke of which is clear.

[7] See Cunningham's *A. S. I. R.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 15 ff.

[8] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 355, No. 156. The year was the Northern Vikrama, expired.

Madanavarman. But since the last year of this ruler is well known to be 1202 A.C., and we also know that after the reign of Hammīravarman the region was conquered by the Mohammedans in *circa* 1308 and in view of the date of the present record, we have to presume that there was a second king of the name Paramardin, whose existence we do not know from any other source. This view, however, appears to be less possible, in view of the fact that the region was then annexed by Alā-ud-dīn. Thus this point remains uncertain till we get fresh material to solve it.

Rājavāsinī, the place mentioned as the king's residence, is Rāsin itself, where the record was found.

TEXT[1]

1 ओं[2]सिद्धिः ॥ संवत(त्)
2 १४६६ वर्षे चैत्र-
3 सुदि ७ स(श)नौ । राजा[3]
4 दासः स्त्री(श्रो)राजवासिन्या[ः][4]
5 परमर्द्दिमहीपतेः ।
6 तस्य भृत्योस्ति जेपालः
7 समोघ[5]सुरपालजः ॥

No. 197 ; Plate CLXXIII

MAKĀVAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHĀRĀVARSHA

[Vikrama] Year 1276

THIS inscription was discovered by V. S. Sukthankar, then an Assistant Superintendent in the Archaeological Survey of India, in 1916-17, and its date was noticed by him in the *Progress Report of the Western Circle* for that year, on page 69. It is edited here for the first time from an inked impression supplied by the Superintending Archaeologist of the Western Circle.

The epigraph is incised on the base of a column of stone pertaining to a temple on the western bank of a small tank, about 1 km. north-east of the village of **Makāval,** in the Rēodhar *tehsīl* of the Sirōhī District in Rājasthān. The place is about 8 kms. straight south of Rēodhar and about 25 kms. west-northwest of Ābū Road.

The writing is in a sunken panel and covers a space about 19 cms. broad by 18.5 cms. high, and consists of ten lines. It has suffered a good deal owing to exposure. The portion on the left-hand side is almost completely obliterated and only an *akshara* here and another there is now visible ; whereas that on the right-hand side, which has suffered less, cannot be completely read. But the record is of interest, as we shall see presently.

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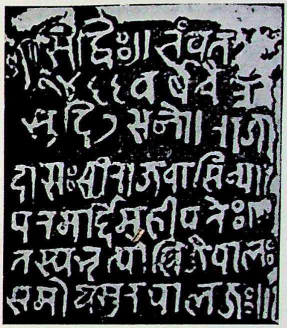
[1] From facsimile in *A.I.R.*, Vol. XXI, Pl. XIV.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] This word remains unconnected.
[4] The sign of *anusvāra* appears as a vertical stroke.
[5] I am unable to make out the meaning of this

AJAYGADH ROCK INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF BHŌJAVARMAN, VIKRAMA 134

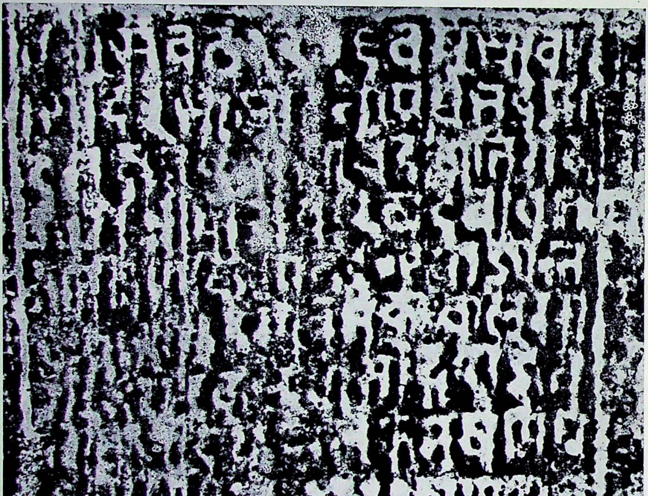
Scale : Four-seventh

RĀSIN STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF PARAMARDIN (II?), VIKRAMA 1466



From Facsimile

MAKĀVAL INSCRIPTION OF DHĀRĀVARSHA, VIKRAMA 1276



Size : Three-fourth

The **script** is Nāgarī and the record appears to have been in a local dialect. The **purport** cannot be made out. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the illustrious **Dhārāvarsha,** whose name is fortunately preserved in l. 4 in it. It is **dated,** as we read in the beginning of it, **on the 3rd day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa** in the (Vikrama) year 1276. The probable equivalents for V. 1276 the surrounding years are:

Northern V. 1276 *current* :	=	Friday, 27th July, 1218 A.C.
Northern V. 1277 *current* :	=	Tuesday, 16th July, 1219 A.C.
Northern V. 1277 *expired* :	=	Saturday, 4th July, 1220 A.C.
Northern V. 1275 *expired* :	=	Friday, 27th July, 1218 A.C.

None of these equivalents shows the week-day to be a Monday, as mentioned in the inscription; and, in view of the second of these alternatives, which is of course the nearest from the point of view of the week-day, I am inclined to think that the true equivalent seems to be the **15th of July, 1219 A.C.,** when the third *tithi* commenced on it at .35 of the day and ended at .41 moment of the next day, on the 16th. But since the object of the inscription cannot be made out, I can give no reason why the day should have been joined with the *tithi* which commenced on it.

The importance of the epigraph under study is that it shows the western most limit of the dominions of Dhārāvarsha, evidently the Ābū Paramāra ruler, since it is the only record found so far of his time in the adjoining *tehsīl* Rēodhar. The record is also important from the point of view of its date. Before its discovery the last known date of Dhārāvarsha was supplied by the Kāṇṭal inscription dated V.S. 1274 (1216 A.C.)[1] and the epigraph under study extends his reigning period by about three years. The next certain date that we know is V.S. 1277 (1221 A.C.) when his queen Sṛiṅgāradēvī was looking after the administration of his son Sōmasiṁha[2] whose earliest known date is furnished by the Ābū inscriptions of V.S. 1287 (1230 A.C.).[3] Thus we may presume, of course hypothetically, that Dhārāvarsha died some time after July, 1222 A.C. and was succeeded by his son Sōmasiṁha who was a minor at that time and the administration of whose kingdom was conducted by the dowager queen Śṛiṅgāradēvī for about 7-8 years, particularly during the time when the kingdom was threatened by the Sōngirā Chauhāns from the north, as we know from the Bārlūṭ inscription of V.S. 1283 (1226 A.C.).[4]

The only **geographical name** appearing in the record is **Makāvāla** (l. 6), which is evidently the place where the inscribed stone was found.

TEXT[5]

1 ।।सिद्धम्[6]।। संवतु(त्) १२७६ वर्षे स्रा(श्रा)वण
2 शुदि ३ सौ[म्ये?][7]

[1] No. 75, above.
[2] No. 77, above.
[3] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 208 and 219.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 33 ff.
[5] From an impression.
[6] Expressed by a symbol.
[7] The letter in the brackets appears as a conjunct. The rest of the inscription is obliterated, as stated above.

No. 198 ; Plate CLXXIV

RĀJPUR COPPER-PLATE CHARTER OF THE PARAMĀRA RAṆADHAVALA

[Vikrama] Years 1148 and 1127

THE present charter is the earliest record of the time of the Paramāra king Naravarman, yet found and issued by his subordinate chief Raṇadhavala whose name is revealed from it for the first time. It is engraved on three **copper-plates** which were received as a treasure-trove find, in 1958, in the Collectorate at Khargōne in the West Nēmāḍ District of Madhya Pradesh. As far as information is available, the plates were found by a peasant, in course of ploughing his field at **Rājpur,** the principal town of a *tehsīl* in the district ; and very recently they were acquired by the Central Museum at Indore. When received, they were considerably corroded, with most of the letters choaked with verdigris. With great care they were cleaned by Shri R. S. Garg, the Curator of the Museum, who also deciphered a major part of the record ; and finding it important, placed the plates at my disposal for critically editing the inscription, which is done here from the originals, owing my thankfulness to the Curator.

Each of the plates measures 28 cms. broad by 19.5 cms. high, but the height of the third one exceeds that of the other two by .3 cm. Their rims are slightly thickened (.3 cm.), to protect the writing. A small circular hole (dia. 1 cm.) in the middle of the lower border of the first plate and in the upper border of the second and the third, so as to disturb the continuity of the writing, shows that they were held together by a ring, which is not now forthcoming. The total weigh of the plates is 2800 grams. The lower right corner of the third plate is occupied by a roughly-engraved figure of **Garuḍa** in human form, kneeling and facing left, with folded hands, with letters *Garuḍa,* engraved in Nāgarī, near its face. The figure occupies a space 5 cms. high by 4 cms. broad. The average height of the letters engraved on the plates is 1 cm., except on the third plate which shows letters slightly bigger in size, and sparsely written. The last of the lines consists of the **sign manual** of the king Naravarman, and the one just before it is in bigger letters which I am unable to make out.

The inscription comprises 56 lines of writing, fourteen of which are inscribed on the inner side of the first plate, fifteen on either side of the second, and twelve on the inner side of the third plate. The engraving is shallow, and thus the letters do not show through on the other side of the plates, which are rather thick. They are slovenly formed, and besides that, a number of them are uncouth in shape ; some of them were also distorted by the engraver, who committed mistakes of omission and commission in cutting them. For example, *grāma,* the first two syllables in l. 28, are cut as *mnāṁ* ; the consonant of the second *akshara* in *Kauṇḍinya,* l. 26, as *ga* ; the second letter in *vaṁśa,* l. 49, as *ra,* by omitting the middle horizontal stroke, and in the same line *pa* is engraved as *sha,* and *ma* as *na.* In this respect, the record shares the peculiarities of the Kadambapadraka grant of Naravarman.[1] Similar expressions appearing in some other charters are no doubt helpful in deciphering a great part of the inscription, but this device fails to vouchsafe the correct reading of names occurring in the record, for example, in l. 27. Besides this, owing to mutilation, the reading of some of the letters remains uncertain, and hence there are a few lacunae in the transcript given below.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī, which is regular for the period and locality to which the record belongs. For example, the initial short *i* is formed by placing two loops side by side and subscribed by the sign of short *u,* as in *iti,* l. 24 ; the letter *k* loses its loop when subscribed by the *mātrā* of short *u,* or *ṛi,* or by a conjunct ; the signs of *ch, dha* and *v* are distinct from each other ; and the conjunct ; *ṇṇ* is found as *ll.*

The **language** is Sanskrit ; and except two stanzas in the beginning, two in the middle, and eight in the end, which are all almost the same as generally to be found in the Paramāra charters, the record is in prose throughout. As regards **orthography,** we may note the identity of the signs of *b* and *v,* the use of the *pṛishṭha-mātrā* with a very few exceptions, the interchange

[1] Above, No. 34.

of the palatal and the dental sibilants, occasionally ; sometimes doubling the consonant following *r* ; and lastly, a confusion between the formation of a *daṇḍa* with that of a *pṛishṭha-mātrā* or one of the components of the signs of the secondary *i*, almost all the same as to be found in the contemporary inscriptions. The *anusvāra* is throughout employed for the consonant *m* ; and it is often carved so lightly as to be seen only on the original. Examples of superfluous marks of punctuation are to be found in ll. 25-26 where the names of the donee and his forefathers are engraved. And finally, *mahārāyāḥ* in l. 4, *satahattari* in l. 32, and *Vishaïka* and *yāyatē*, in ll. 14 and 47, respectively, betray the influence of the local element.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the illustrious king **Naravarmadēva,** who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Udayāditya** who meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Bhōjadēva,** who, in his turn, had meditated on the feet of the illustrious **Sindhurāja.** All these kings are mentioned in the record as endowed with the sovereign titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. The **purpose** of the inscription is to record the perpetual donation of the village Mahudahā, by the subordinate prince, the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Raṇadhavala, from his own *bhukti, viz.*, Madhumatī-700, which was also a pratijāgaraṇaka in the Dakshiṇa-*pathaka* and was bounded on the west by Pāṇōṇī(lī?)-350, lying in the Pūrṇa-*pathaka.* The donee was the *Nāyaka*, Tripāṭhī Mādhala(va?)śarman, son of Tripāṭhī Vāvana (Vāmana)? and a grandson of Tripāṭhī Pavaṇāha (Pavanāha), and belonging to the Lāḍa community and migratated from the *mahāsthāna* Pañchaüra. His *gōtra* was Kauṇḍinya, with the three *pravaras* Kauṇḍinya, Vasishṭha and Maitrāvaruṇi, and he was a student of the Saṇī (?) *śākhā*.

The grant was issued by **Raṇadhavala** from the Amarēśvara *tīrtha*, after bathing in the confluence of the Rēvā and the Kapilā, for the spiritual benefit of his parents and of himself. It is dated in ll. 16-18, both in words and numerical symbols, **on the fifteenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Pausha in the (Vikrama) year 1148** on a **solar eclipse.** Below, in ll. 35-36, there is another date, when the grant was confirmed (or re-issued ?) by Naravarman. It is **Thursday, the seventh day of Chaitra of 1177,** expressed both in words and numerical figures.

In view of the general practice of dating in the expired year, the European equivalent for the first of these dates would be **Sunday, 25th December, 1091 A.C.** ; but there was no eclipse on this day, and we have no other means to verify our calculation. The solar eclipse that occurred just before, however, fell on the 15th of the preceding Jyēshṭha, corresponding to Wednesday, 21st May of the year ; and this would seem to point out that the grant was originally made at the time of the eclipse, but was actually registered seven months later, in December.

According to the same scheme, the English equivalent for the second date would be **10th March, 1120, A.C.,** but the week-day on this date was **Wednesday.** not Thursday, as mentioned in the inscription. I am unable to explain this difference.

The *Dūtakas* of the grant were the *Purōhita*, the illustrious Vāmanasvāmin and the *Rāja-putra* Kumarapāla (Kumārapāla ?). The inscription was composed by the *Akshapaṭalika* (keeper of records) whose name cannot be made out, in the *bhaṇḍāgāra* (royal treasury), the name of which appears to have been *Śrījaya* (or the illustrious *Jaya*). The announcement of Raṇadhavala was made in the presence of officers, *viz., daṇḍanāyaka, karaṇa-purusha, śayyāpāla daṇḍavarishṭha* (or *daṅgavarishṭha* ?), *niyuktipurusha, vishayika*, and the people of the village.

The inscription is composed on the model of the royal charters of the Paramāra kings of Mālava, and it ends with the **sign-manual** of the king Naravarman, as stated above. The genealogy mentioned in it is all well known ; but the record presents a number of problems, the first of which concerns the accession of Naravarman. On the evidence of the Amērā inscription and the Dēwās grant, we have seen above that Naravarman ascended the throne in 1093-94 A.C.,[1] but the present charter tends to show that he was actually reigning in 1090 A.C., with the paramount title of *Mahārājādhirāja*. From the Dēwās grant, we also know that his father Udayāditya died in 1093 A.C., and the conclusion that can apparently be drawn from the date given in the present record is that Udayāditya may have abdicated some time about 1090 A.C., of course in favour of his youngest son Jagaddēva, whom he liked most, and the latter offered it to Naravarman, some time before or about 1090 A.C. Whatever may have been the case, the record

[1] Above, Nos. 30-31.

under study seems to push back the accession of Naravarman by about a couple of years than known at present.

The view expressed above, however, appears to be one-sided when we take into account what is stated in ll. 33-36 of the present record, namely, that Raṇadhavala, who had originally made the grant as a subordinate prince, again got it verified in the office of the *Mahākshapaṭala*, in order that the next king (obviously Naravarman) may know all about it, for restoring the same. From this statement it is evident that the grant may have been issued by Raṇadhavala, during the reign of Udayāditya ; and thus we can neither place Naravarman's accession earlier than the generally accepted date, nor Udayāditya's abdication in favour of any of his sons.

Another historical information furnished by the present record is that Naravarman had under him a feudatory of the name of Raṇadhavala, who governed the southern region of the Paramāra kingdom. This name, which is otherwise unknown, may perhaps be recognised in its Prakrit form Rindhuvula, mentioned in the *Rāsamālā*, as a son of Udayāditya[1] and thus a brother of Naravarman, by whom he was appointed as the governor of the region around Rājpur, the find-spot of the inscription. This place lies to the south of the Narmadā, and thus it is rightly said to have been included in the *Dakshiṇa-pathaka*, in l. 12 of the inscription.

The reason why the grant was renewed is not stated but can be conjectured in view of the political events of the time. In this respect, the present charter of course shares the peculiarities of the Kadambapadraka grant which is referred to above and which was originally issued in V. 1167, and also records the confirmation of it along with two other grants made previously, by the king. One of these was made by the *Mahāmaṇḍalīka* Rājadēva in V.S. 1154, and the other by his daughter-in-law (*vadhū*) Mahādēvī, probably on the same date. A reference to all these grants in the Kadambapadraka charter, is, as observed by R. D. Banerji and N. P. Chakravarti, may have been made with a view to bringing together all the grants of land made to the donee up to the time when that charter was issued ;[2] but the case of the present grant is altogether different. It is possible that the grant made by the feudatory Raṇadhavala would probably not be valid unless it is confirmed by his sovereign, and that appears to have been done in the present case, under his sign-manual engraved in the end.

The confirmation or re-issuing of the original grant after the long time of twenty-nine years leads us also to presume that it may have fallen into abeyance due to reasons which are not stated, or which cannot be made out due to the uncertainty of the reading, and thus we are reduced to making a conjecture in this respect. We know that Naravarman was pre-occupied with his enemies on all sides, *viz.*, the Chaulukyas on the west, the Chāhamānas in the north, and the Chandēllas in the north-east of his kingdom ; but particularly in the south of his territory, beyond which lay the kingdom of the Western Chālukyas, who were the most inveterate enemies of his house. As is evident from the present epigraph, the region to the south of the Narmadā and around Rājpur, the find-spot of the plates, was under the Paramāras in V.S. 1148 (1091 A.C.), but the recently published Aśvī plates, dated Śaka 1020 (1098 A.C.)[3] show that the Yādava king Āïrammadēva was at Narmadāpura, which we have identified with Nemāwar (now in Dēwās District), just opposite to it, on the north bank of the Narmadā.[4] Āïrammadēva was a zealous feudatory of the Chālukya king *Tribhuvanamalla* Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.C.), whose principality lay in the south ; and unless it be presumed that he made an encroachment on some territory lying to the north of the river, his feudatory could not have issued the grant from that region. This part of land appears to have been subsequently re-conquered by the Paramāras, some time before the date when the grant was confirmed or re-issued.

Most of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription can fortunately be identified. **Rēvā** is doubtless the Narmadā ; and **Kapila,** which is mentioned as its tributary, as in the Sehōre grant of Arjunavarman and the Māndhātā grant of Jayavarman II, edited above, dated

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[1] Vol. I, p. 117.

[2] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, p. 105.

[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 254 ; text ll. 36-37. This grant mentions *Siddhēśvara-kshētra* at Narmadāpura ; and our identification of the town with Nēmāwar is supported by the fact that a temple known as of Siddhanātha, or Siddhēśvara, exists there, on the banks of the Narmadā. See *P. R., A. S. W. I.*, 1920-21, p. 98.

[4] For details, see above, No. 46.

respectively in V. 1272 and 1317, is evidently the small stream known as Kōlār, and figuring as Kuvilārā in one of our inscriptions.[1] **Pūrṇapathaka** has already been identified by us with the territory around the modern town of Punāsā, situated about 30 kms. south-east of **Amarēśvara**[2], which is at Māndhātā. **Mahudahā,** the gift-village, is obviously the modern Mōhadiyā, lying about 40 kms. north by east of Rājpur, the find-spot of the plates, which itself is about 50 kms. due west-northwest of Khargōne. The village is about 20 kms. south-west of the adjoining *tehsīl* of Kasrāvad and about 6 kms. south of the Narmadā. As for **Tawā,** the other gift-village, it is impossible to speak with confidence, in the absence of any place with that name existing in the neighbourhood. It may however appear to have been a village, now no more extant, lying on a stream known as Tēv, also spelt as Tēva and Tēo, one of the southern tributaries of the Narmadā and flowing about 12 kms. east of Mahudahā. Or, from the use of the word *antaḥ* before it, it seems to have been, rather more probably, a part of Mahudahā itself, though separately mentioned in the inscription. **Madhumati,** the *bhukti* of the donor which was also a ***prati-jāgaraṇaka,*** may probably be identified with Mahāpurā, also known as Mōhīpurā, situated about 20 kms. north by west of Rājpur, on the southern bank of the Narmadā. The place is mentioned by this name (Madhumatī-*nagara*) in an inscription of the thirteenth century, found there and recording the construction of a Śiva temple, and has a mound in its vicinity, vouchsafing its antiquity.[3] **Pāṇōṇi**(li) may perhaps have been either the same as Pānwā, about 10 kms. south of Rājpur, or, more probably, Pānyā, lying about 16 kms. north by east of it. Dakshiṇa-***pathaka*** appears to be the same as Dakshiṇāpathaka or, *-patha*, which denotes that portion of the Indian Peninsula which lies to the south of the Narmadā. And finally, **Pañchaüra,** the original place of the donee and mentioned as a *mahāsthāna* in the inscription, suggests its identification with the modern town of Pachōr in the Rājgaḍh District of Madhya Pradesh, on philological grounds; but the word *vinirgata* (migrated from) after the name indicates its existence outside Mālava, unlike Pachōr, and another similar name, *viz.*, that of Pañchamahāla in Gujarāt (just to the west of Bāṅswāḍā and south of Ḍūṅgarpur, in Rājasthān) and adjoining to Mālwā on its south-west, may be suggested here, though nothing can definitely be said in this respect.

TEXT[4]

[Metres : Verses 1-2, 4-5, 9-10 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 3, 7, 11 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 6 *Indravajrā* ; v. 8 *Śālinī* ; v. 12 *Pushpitāgrā*].

First Plate

1 सिद्धम्[5] ॥ स्वस्ति जयोभ्युदयश्च । जयति व्योमकेशोसो(सौ) यः स[र्गा]य वि(बि)भ-

2 र्त्ति तां(ताम्) । ऐंदवीं सि(शि)रसा लेखा(खां) जगद्वी(द्वी)जांकुराकृतिं(तिम्)।[।१॥*] तन्वं[तु] व[ः*] सासने:[6] कल्याणम-

3 निसं(शं) जटाः । कल्पांतसमयोद्दामतडिद्वलयपिंगलाः ।[।२॥*] श्रीमहा[रा]याः[7] सग(म)-

4 स्तराजावलीमालालंकृतपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)र-

5 श्रीसिंधुराजदेवपादानू(नु)ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)-

6 रश्रीभोजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)र-

7 श्रीउदयादित्यदेवपादानू(नु)ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)[8]-

[1] Nos. 49 ; 57 ; ll. 29-30 and 31, respectively.

[2] See above, No. 18.

[3] Information due to Dr. V. S. Wakankar of the Vikram University, Ujjain, to whom my thanks are due.

[4] From the original plates.

[5] Expressed by a symbol.

[6] Read स्मराराते:, as the other charters of the house. The first of these *aksharas* is omitted ; the forms of the second and the third are changed by a redundant horizontal stroke in each ; and the consonant of the fourth is engraved as *n*.

[7] Read महाराज–.

[8] *Sandhi* between the first two *aksharas* in this line, as also in some instances below, is not observed.

8 रश्रीमन्नरवर्म्मदेवः कुशली । तत्पादपद्मप्रसादावाप्तपूर्ण्णपथकस्य च-
9 त्वारिंशसहस्राधिपत्यं[1]-समस्तप्ररा(श)स्तोपेतसमाधिम(ग)तपंचमहाशव्दा(ब्दा)लं-
10 कारविराजमानमहामंडलेस्व(श्व)रश्रीरणधवलदेवः पूर्ण्णपथकान्तःपाति-
11 पाणोणीसार्द्धस(श)तत्रयप्रतिव(ब)द्धपश्चिमायां मघुमतीसप्तस(श)तभोगी अस्मि-
12 न्नेव प्रतिजागरणके दक्षिणपथके स्वभुक्तौ महुदहाग्राम आंत[2]स्तवा [ग्रा]-
13 मयोः समस्तदंडनायकाधि[ष्ठासि]ककरणपुरु[ष]स(श)य्यापाल[द्रं]गवरिष्ट(ष्ठ)कप्र[3]-
14 भृतिसमस्तनिर्युक्तपुरुष[व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणो]त्तरान्[4] प्रतिनिवासि विषइ(यि)कपट्टकिल-

Second Plate : First Side

15 [जनपदा]दीन् समादिस(श)त्यस्तु वः[5] संविदितं । यथा अस्माभिः श्रीअमरेस्व(श्व)रती-
16 र्थस्थितैः श्रीविक्रमकाला[द*]ष्टचत्वारिंसति(शत्य)धिकैकादशस(श)तसंवत्सस(रा)न्त[र्गत]-
17 पौषवदिपंचदस्यां(श्यां) संवतू(त्) ११४८ पौष वदि १५ संजातसूर्यग्रहणपर्व्वणि पर्व्व-
18 कालमाश्रित्य श्री[म]द्रेवाकपिलानद्योः[6] संगममासद्य स्ना[त्वा] धौतवाससी परि-
19 धाय जगतः पतिं उमापतिं[7] संपूज्य तिलाहुतीर्ज्जातवेदसि हुत्वा पंचश्रोतिरभि[8]-
20 धाय पूर्ण्णाहुतिं हुत्वा कपिलं (लां)गां त्रिःप्रदक्षिणीकृत्य संपूज्य च संसारस्यासारतां प-
21 रि]ज्ञाय] तथाहि । वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यमायानु[पात]मात्रमधुरो विषयो-
22 पभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाय(ग्र)जलविं(बिं)दुसमा नराणां धर्म्मः सखा परमहो परलोक-
23 माने(याने) ।[।३॥*] अपि च । भ्रमत्संसारचक्राग्रधाराधारामिमां श्रियं(यम्) । प्राप्य ये न ददु । तेषां[9] प-
24 श्चाता(त्ता)पः [प*]रं फलं(लम्) ।[।४॥*] इति जगतो विकस्व(नश्व)रस्वरूपमाकलय्यदृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य चं-
25 दा(द्रा)र्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसमकालं[10] । यावत्परया भक्त्या लाडान्वये पंचउरमहास्थान-
26 विनिर्ग्गतकौंनिन्यगौत्राय[11] । कौंनिन्यवसिष्ठमैत्रावरुणु(ण)त्रिप्रवराय सणीश-[12]
27 स्वाध्याय(यि)ने त्रिपाटि(ठि) । पवणाहपौत्राय त्रिपाटि(ठि) । वावणपुत्राय[13] नायकमाधल(व?)-
28 देवस(श)र्म्मणे व्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय उपरिलिखितमहुदहा[ग्रा]म आंतरस्तवाम्नामयो[14]स-
29 वृक्षमालाकुलश्चतुः(तुष्)कंकटविशुद्धः खन्याकरनिधिनिक्षेपसहित आराम[वा]-

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[1] The *anusvāra* is redundant. The hyphen is used by me, to denote the end of one title. The preceding स्य is not necessary in the *samāsa*.

[2] The reading is uncertain. Probably to be restord as *antē* (near its end), or, *antar-*, (inside it).

[3] The same as *Drāṅgika, i.e.*, the officer in charge of a town, for which cf. the *Ūnā* inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 4 f. Also see *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 169, *n.* 6. Or, with the supply of *u* at the beginning, *Udraṅga-varishṭha, i.e.*, an officer who collected levy. Cf. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 97, and *n.*

[4] The letters in the brackets have left only traces. The use of the initial *i* in *vishaïka* that follows is noteworthy, instead of *yi*.

[5] The sign of *visarga*, which can be seen only on the original, was inserted later on. The *daṇḍa* that follows is redundant.

[6] The bracketed *akshara* is formed as *yaṁ*.

[7] Read पतिमुमा–. A redundant *daṇḍa* is engraved after पू that follows.

[8] Probably what is intended is *śāntis*. The five *śāntis*, to propitiate the *grahas, pitṛis, bhūtas, dēvas,* and *Brahman*.

[9] Read ददुस्तेषां.

[10] The *daṇḍa* in this and the following lines are redundant.

[11] Read कौण्डिन्य.

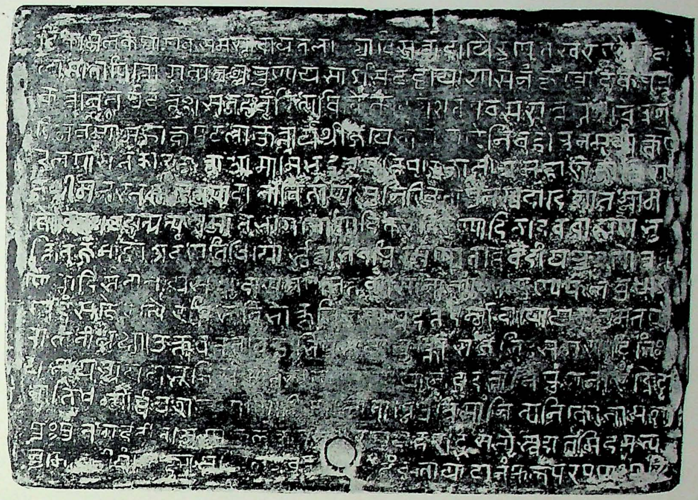
[12] The *daṇḍa* is engraved as a *prishṭa-mātrā* of the following latter. This *śākhā* is not known to me. Probably Vājasanēyī is intended (?)

[13] The correct form of the first of the names is Pavanāha ; and of the second, Vāmana. The consonant of the first *akshara* of the latter name can also be read as *ch*.

[14] Read –मांतरतवाग्रामयोः, but the meaning of *āntara* is not clear in this reading. Probably what is intended is "in the neighbourhood", or "another".

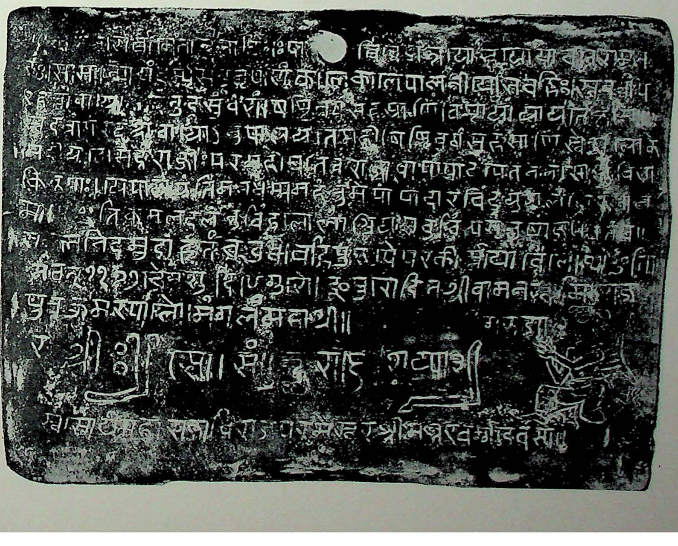
RĀJPŪR (NOW INDORE MUSEUM) COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN

ii b



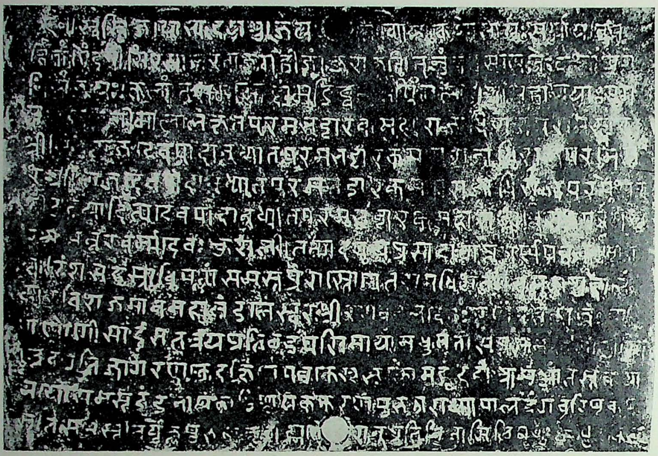
Scale : Four-seventh

iii



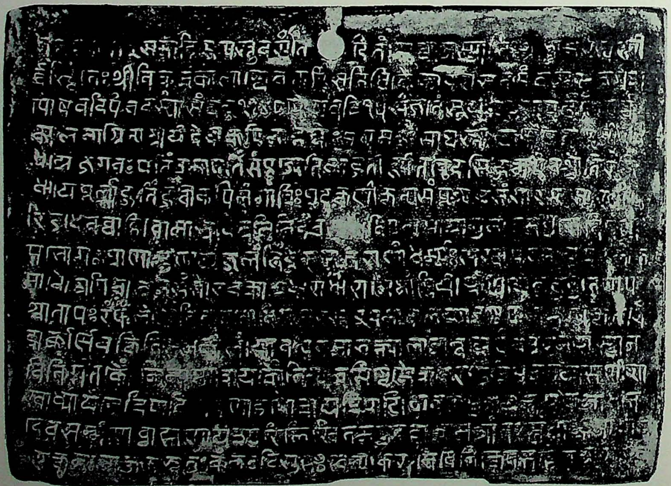
RĀJPŪR (NOW INDORE MUSEUM) COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF NARAVARMAN VIKRAMA YEARS 1148 and 1127

i



Scale: Four-seventh

ii a



Second Plate ; Second Side

30 टिकामलके[त्यादि][1]कसमस्तादायतलाद्यादिसर्व्वादायैरुपेत[श्च]रणौप्रक्षा-
31 ल्य मातापित्रो[रात्म]नश्च पुण्ययसो(शो)ऽ[भिवृद्ध]ये[2] सा(शा)सनं कृत्वोदकपूर्व्व-
32 कत्वनेन(कत्वेन) प्रदत्तः । सतहवं(त्त)रि[3]त्यधिकैकादशशतसंवत्सरांतर्ग्गतचैत्रशु-
33 दि नवम्यां महाक्षपटला[कुत्ला]र्यश्रीजये भांडागारे(रे) निव(ब)द्धा(द्धः)[4][।*] पुनम(र्म)याक्ष-
34 टल[सा(शा)]सनं कारयित्वा आमा(गा?)मिसु(शु)द्धः [नृ]पतिपरिजानीय[5] श्रीमहाराजाधिरा-
35 जश्रीमन्नखर्म्मदेवपादान् । विज्ञाप्य सुनिश्चित्य पुनस्तदादेशात् [ग्रा]म-
36 द्वौ दत्तः[6] । [तत्त्रोत्पद्य]मानभागभोगादिकरहिरण्यादि[कं] देवन्ना(ब्रा)ह्मणभु-
37 क्तिवर्ज्जमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयौ(यै)र्भूत्वा भवद्भिरमुष्मै तथैतदीयपुत्रपौत्रप्र-
38 पौत्रादिसंतानाय सर्व्वा(र्व्वं) समुपनेतव्यं(व्यम्) । साना(मा) न्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं वु(बु)ध्वाऽ
39 स्मद्वंस(श)जेरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मा(र्म्म)दायोय[म]नुम(मं)तव्यो(व्यः)
40 पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं चैतत् । व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
41 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ।[।५॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेंद्रैर्दा-
42 नानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्यवान्तिप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम शा (सा)-
43 धुः पुनराददीत ॥[६॥*]अस्मत्कुलक्रममु[दा][7]रमुदाहरद्भि[रन्यै]श्च दानमिदमम्य-
44 नुमोदनीयं(यम्) । लक्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलवुद्बु(बुद्बु)दचंचलाया दानं फलं परयशःपरि-

Third Plate

45 पालनं च । [।७॥*] सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रां[8]भूयो भूयो याचते रामभ-
46 द्रः । सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालतीयो भवद्भिः ।[।८॥*] स्वदत्तां प-
47 रदत्तां वा यो हरेतु(त) वसुंधरां(राम्) । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां या(जा)यते कृमिः ॥[९॥*]
48 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा योऽनुपालयते महीं(हीम्) । षष्टिवर्षसहसा(स्रा)णि स्वे(स्व)र्ग्गलोके
49 महीयते ।[।१०॥*] मद्वंरा(श)जाः परमहीष(प)तिवंशजा वा पापादपेत[म]नसो भुवि भा-
50 कि(वि)[भू]पाः । ये पालयंति मम धम्म(र्म्म)महं नु मेपां(तेषां) पादारविंदयुगलं सि(शि)रसा न
51 मामि [॥११॥*]इति कमलदलांवुविं(बुविं)दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिंत्य मनुष्यजोवितं च ॥(।)
52 सकलनि(मि)दमुदाहृतं च वु(बु)ध्वा न हि पुरुपै(षैः) परकीर्न्नि(र्त्त)यो पिलोप्या इति ।[9]
53 संवत् ११७७ चैत्र शुदि ९ गुरौ । दू०[10] पुरो[हि]तश्रीवामनस्वामि ।[11] राज-
54 पुत्रकुमारपालौ । मंगलं महाश्री[:*] ॥

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[1] Both the bracketed *aksharas* are engraved only in parts.
[2] The three *aksharas* in the brackets show uncouth forms.
[3] That is, 77, mentioned here in Prakrit. For the Prakritism in the expression, cf. bayāsa (Sans. ***duāchat-vārimśat***) in the Kamauli plate of V.S. 1190, in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV. pp. 111-112.
[4] Originally, a *daṇḍa*, with an attempt to change it to the sign of *visarga*. *Nibaddha* means registered. Cf. Ep. Ind., Vol. XIX, p. 18, l. 16. The reading of the two preceding letters in the brackets, is not certain.
[5] The sense of this and the preceding word is not clear to me. The reading of the first two of these *aksharas* is also uncertain.
[6] This is grammatically incorrect. Read ग्रामौ द्वौ दत्तौ or ग्रामद्वय दत्तम्. Obviously, the same villages which were donated previously. The *daṇḍa* in the preceding line is redundant.
[7] The *akshara* in the brackets is written above the line, in smaller form.
[8] Read पार्थिवेन्द्रान्.
[9] Read विलोप्याः ॥१२॥ इति । .
[10] This is a contraction of *Dūtaka*. The consonant of *hi* that follows is engraved as *d*.
[11] Delete the *daṇḍa*, and read both the names as one word.

55 र श्रीः [।। ?] सो । सं ।। [नृ] रा । ६ श[टपा ?] ३ [।। ?]

56 स्व[ह]स्तोयं[1] महाराजाधिराजपरमेस्व(श्व)रश्रीमन्नरवर्म्मदेवस्य ।।[2]

(Incomplete & Undated)

EULOGY OF SUN-GOD FROM UDAIPUR

(Incomplete & Undater)

THIS inscription was noticed, by M. B. Garde, in the *Annual Administrative Report* of the Department of Archaeology, former Gwālior State, for the Vikrama year 1977. It is edited here, for the first time, from an inked impression, prepared by the Technical Assistant of the Central Circle of the Survey, to whom my thanks are due.

The inscription is incised on the counterstruck surface of a rectangular slab of stone surrounded by a plain raised border, imbedded in the left hand side of what appears to have been the *maṇḍapa* of an old temple, at **Udaipur** in the Vidishā (Bhilsā) District of Madhya Pradesh. This temple, which stands at a little distance to the south of the well known Śiva temple at that place, is now dilapidated, and is owned by a resident of the place, who continued making additions and alteration to it from time to time. It is locally known as *Bījāmaṇḍala*.[3] In my visit to the place, I found a number of old images lying helter-skelter in the inner cells of the structure, all to be ascribed to about the time of those carved on the Udayēśvara temple in its vicinity, as stated above.

The inscription consists of eight lines of writing, covering a space 80 cms. long by 26 cms. high, with one *akshara* in the line that follows. It is incomplete, inspite of the fact that the lower portion of the stone, measuring about half of the whole, is left blank. The reson why the record was not fully engraved is not known ; it may, however, be conjectured from the engraving of the last two lines, where the letters are rather indistinct in comparison with those of the earlier portion, that the sand-stone, on which it is engraved, was probably found unfit to bear the marks of the chisel,[4] in its lower portion. The size of the letters ranges between 2 and 2.5 cms. A number of them are lost, and some mutilated.

The engraving is fairly deep. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the twelfth century, and bear a close resemblance to those of the celebrated Udaipur praśasti, edited above. The formation of the letters is also of the same type, more or less also showing the same characteristic feature of the writing, *viz.*, that a short vertical stroke is attached to the left of the top-line of almost all the letters, and occasionally, also to its right. To note the peculiarities of the individual letters,

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[1] The syllable in the brackets, which was originally omitted, is engraved just above the preceding letter, and it also appears to have been rubbed off.

[2] The preceding line is in bigger letter and engraved as separate from the main body, as we find also in No. 51, above. Two of the letters in the line, *viz.*, न and रा may perhaps be explained as the initial *aksharas* of नृवर्म्मण: राज्ञ:. The first of the *aksharas* in the line, *i.e.*, र, is also found in No. 38, l. 14.

[3] It also goes by the name *Ghaḍiyalan-kā-makān* ; and from this expression it is inferred that "it was probably the house of the time-keeper or clock-man on the establishment of the great temple." See D. R. Patil, *The Cultural Heritage of Madhya Bhārat* (Gwālior, 1952), p. 104. But the word *Bījāmaṇḍala*, which may have been at the root of the name, appears to have been a corrupt form of *Vijayāmaṇḍala*, an analogous instance of which is furnished by one at Vidishā, where too we have an inscription, No. 36, above.

[4] For another incomplete inscription edited here, see above, No. 160, in which case the reasons appear to be different.

we find that *ch* and *v* are almost alike in form, as in *vivartta-* and *chakra*, both in l. 1, whereas *dh* shows its own distinct form in bearing the horn on its left limb, and the vertical of *dhā* are joined by a horizontal stroke, as in *śraddadhā-*, l. 2. The *rēpha* is often denoted by a serif, attached to the lowest extremity of the preding letter, as in *chakra*, l. 1 ; and the slightly varying forms of the palatal sibilant are to be seen in *kriśa* and *śraddadhāna*, both in l. 2. The conjunct *shṇa* in *ushṇa*, l. 3, is written as *shla*. Mistakes of engraving, which are only a few, are noticed below in the text.

The **language** is Sanskrit ; and excepting an initial short sentence paying obeisance to the Sun-deity, the record is metrically composed. It contains ten verses, the last of which is incomplete. The verses are not numbered. The **orthography** calls only for a few remarks, which are usual, *e.g.*, the doubling of a class consonant following r, as in *karmma*, l. 5 ; the occasional interchange of the palatal and the dental sibilants, *e.g.*, in *praśāda* and *prakāsa*, respectively in ll. 2 and 4 ; the general use of the sign for *v* to indicate *b* ; and finally, the use of *anusvāra* for final *m*, even wrongly at the end of stich, except in a few instances, *e.g.*, at the end of the first-half of vv. 1 and 2. The *mātrās* of dipthongs are used before a letter, and sometimes also above it.

The extant portion of the inscription does not refer itself to the name of any **king** nor does it bear any **date.** Thus, historically it is of no value. Its importance, however, lies in showing the popularity in Mālwā, of the worship of the Sun-deity, eulogised in it, in the twelfth century, to which its **palaeography** belongs, and this account is corroborated by another eulogy of the same deity, engraved on a slab which was found at Vidishā.[1]

Beginning with the *Siddham* symbol followed by the word *svasti* and a short sentence showing obeyance to the Sun, the inscription has a *maṅgala-ślōka*, intending to say that this deity bears the nave of the moving world-wheel, to which his rays in the form of spokes are attached. In the next stanza the poet shows his modesty, and the god's (Sun's) favour which actuates him to compose the eulogy. The following two stanzas refer to the well-known fact that the Sun's splendour is (reflected) in the moon and also to be seen in the fire, which is eulogised by the gods, and that he is the lord (store) of the eternal light. Verses 5-6 state that the Brahman and the world are nothing but the forms of the Sun, the first of these being unmanifested and minute, as to be seen only by the ascetics, and the latter, when it becomes manifest and extensive, in the world. The next stanza, which is partly preserved, means that the deity imparts lustre, not only to the eyes but also to the mind. The last verse identifies the world with the Sun-God.

No **geographical name** appears in the extant portion of the record.

TEXT[2]

[Metres : Verses 1, 4-5, 7-8 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 2, 9 *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 3, 6 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 10 *Śikhariṇī*].

1 सिद्धम् ओं[3] नमः सवित्रे । विवर्त्तमानसंसारचक्रनाभि सनादितं(तम्) । वि(वि)भ्राणं किरणाराभिरंशुमन्तमुपा-
स्महे ॥[१॥*] मूर्याद्वैतद्यु तिपरिवृढं स्तोत्रमेतद्विचित्रं च्छंदोमुद्रास्तव(व) ।-[4]

2 कतिलकं प्रोक्तपौराणतत्त्वमा(म् ।)[5] निर्म्मातुं मां कृशमतिमपि श्रद्दधानं प्रवो(बो)धप्रौढिप्रादुष्करणनिपुणस्त्वत्प्रशा-
(सा)दः प्रयुंक्ते ॥[२॥*] त्वत्तेजः प्रतिवह्निकापरिणतिः[6] सर्व्व-

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[1] Above, No. 37.

[2] From the original and an impression.

[3] Expressed, respectively, by symbol, and the Nāgarī letter उ with the sign of *anusvāra* above.

[4] Here, and at the end of some other lines below, there is an unnecessary *daṇḍa* followed by a horizontal stroke, intended to cover a little blank space at its end.

[5] The *daṇḍa* is placed quite close to the preceding *akshara* ; so as to appear as the sign of *mātrā*.

[6] The *anusvāra* on *lli* is redundant.

3 स्वमुष्णद्यु ते सी(शी)तांसो(शो) ⏑ ⏑ –[1]य कोसलकलावि –[2]पधीरापदः । ताः पीस्तषमुषर्व्बु(र्व्बु)धे[3]
किल हुतस्तस्यामराः कीर्त्तनं तत्वं त्वन्मनसोप्यने(मे)यमहिमास्तोत्रत्नु[4] ।-
4 स(श)क्यैय मे ॥[३॥*] यदनस्व(श्व)रमव्यक्तं व्यक्तं यन्न विनस्व(श्व)रं(रम्) । तद्विरूपं तव ज्योतिर्ज्योति-
षामीस्व(श्व)रस्तु सः ॥[४॥] यदव्यक्तमणु व्र(ब्र)ह्म ज्योतिस्ते स्वः(स्व)प्रकासकं(शकम्) । तदेव व्यक्तन-
(म)मणु ।-
5 जगन्मूर्त्या विवर्त्तते ॥[५॥*] संसारप्रतिकर्म्मकर्म्मनिगडच्छेद्यत्प्रमोदास्पदं ध्यानोपार्ज्जि(र्ज्जि)तवो(वो)ध-
मार्ज्जितमनो – –[5] तरं गा[हि]तं(तम्) । ज्ञेयं यत्किल योगिभिः[6] कथमपि ज्योति-
6 स्तदेतत्परं ब्रम्मै(ब्रह्मै)कांस(श)विवर्त्तमानभुवनाभोगं दिवि द्योतते ॥[६॥*] विदंति ब(व)हि–[र्व्यो]
भुविज्योति[र्न ?]श्चर्म्मचक्षुषः । तन्मात्रमाहृतध्वान्तं स्वान्ते [वर्त्ति]तचक्षुषः ॥ [७॥*] एतत्व(त्त्व)दात्मकं
7 विश्वं त्वं वा विश्वात्मकः स्फुटं(टम्) । संवित्तिरिति तज्ञा(ज्ञा)नमे(म)ज्ञानां भेदसौहृदम् ॥[८॥* कामं कामा
⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ करास्कं ⏑ भा – ⏑ – सो कामे लोकाः सभयविषयानाश्रयन्ते
8 भवन्नं(न्तम्) । आराध्यैनं सपदि विपदामर्ग्गलं दुर्ग्गपारं किं नाक्षुन्नं(ण्णं) विभववितत – ⏑[7] निर्व्वाण-
दुर्ग्गम् ॥[९॥*] मुखे धर्म्मः कर्म्म ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ नोः प्रमाणं निर्व्वाणं
9 टा ॥[8]

No. 200 ; Plate CLXXVI

SĀWARGĀON STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAGADDĒVA

(Undated)

THE stone bearing this inscription was discovered by Doctor A.M. Shiralkar, an officer in charge of registering antiquities in the State Department of Archaeology in *Mahārāshṭra.* The same scholar also published the record in the *Indian History and Culture*, a Quarterly Journal in Marāṭhī (Bombay), in its issue of January, 1973, on pp. 44-49, with the text but without a facsimile.

About ten years thereafter, the inscription was edited by Prof. V. B. Kolte of Nagpur, with his own reading of it from an impression sent to him by Shri Kawadkar, Officer in charge of archaeology of Mahārāshṭra State, stationed at Aurangābād. Kolte's article, in which he corrected Shiralkar's reading of some important interpretations, is published in the *Vidarbha Research Society's Annual* for 1973, pp. 73 ff., with a lithograph. From the same lithograph the inscription is edited here.

The slab bearing the inscription is said to have been found at **Sāwargāon,** also known by its longer name **Rāni Sāwargāon** a village in the Parbhaṇī District of the Marāṭhawāḍā region of Mahārāshṭra. Its exact find-spot is not known.[9] The writing covers an almost squarish

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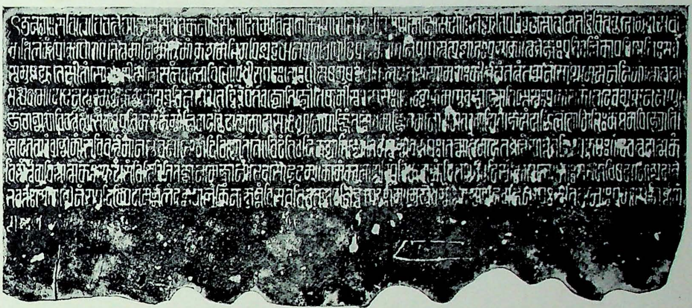
[1] These three *aksharas* are mutilated beyond recognition, and the traces show that they may have been रन्मी.
[2] This *akshara* appears as मो, followed by a *daṇḍa* ; but it gives no meaning.
[3] The fourth *akshara* in this foot is required to be long. Probably we have to read it as र्ध.
[4] Should we read it as स्तोत्रं नु ?
[5] Both these *aksharas* are mutilated beyond recognition. The lacunae may be filled in by reading वृद्ध्य.
[6] It is doubtful whether it is the sign of *visarga,* or *jihvāmūlīya.*
[7] The marks show that all these letters are either mutilated or misformed. They cannot be made out.
[8] The reading of this singular *akshara* in this line is not certain. It is followed by a flowery design and a double *daṇḍa,* as marked here, but the inscription is incomplete, as already stated above.
[9] I could not obtain Shiralkar's article on the inscription, and Kolte's writing is the only source of my information on this subject.

EULOGY OF SUN GOD FROM UDAIPUR (UNDATED AND INCOMPLETE)



Scale : One-fifth

space, about 30 cms. The size of an individual letter is about 2.5 cms. The lower left corner of the stone is slightly broken and lost, causing no loss of any letter.

The writing consists of eight lines of equal length, and, with the initial word *Svasti* and with the exception of a small sentence in the end, which gives the poet's name, the record contains only one stanza in the *Sragdharā* metre.

The **language** is Sanskrit, which is correct. The **palaeography** shares the peculiarities of the Ḍōṅgargāon and Jaināḍ inscriptions, edited above.[1] For instance, the letter *dh* is formed as *v*, in *kudhra-*, l. 3; *ṇ* when doubled is written as *ll*; see *Karṇṇāṭa* in l. 2; and the letter *r* resembles a verticle with a horizontal stroke attached to it on the left in the middle, as in *vīra*, l. 6. The rare *jha* occurs in l. 3.

Orthographically, we note that the syllable following *r* is doubled, of which we have only two examples, namely, *Karṇṇāṭa* (l. 2) and *pūrvvā-* (l. 5). The dipthongs are denoted both by the *pṛishṭha-* and the *ūrdhva-mātrās*, even side by side, as in *Jagaddēva-dēvō* in line 6.

The record refers itself to an illustrious hero of the name of **Jagaddēva** who is described as vanquishing thousands of (enemical) warriors,all alone, when even those who sided him in the battle had fled off. The stanza was composed by the poet Aśvatthāma. The record bears no date, but on palaeographical grounds, it may be assigned to about the same time as of the Ḍōṅgargāon inscription which was dated in Śaka 1034 or 1112 A.C.

Beginning with the asupicious word *Svasti*, as said above, the inscription says that when the terrified Kālidāsa had fled and the Karṇṇāṭa forces were melting away (had dispersed somewhere), when the Pāṇḍya chieftain had sought hasty refuge in some mountain crevices, and even when his own army too had scattered at the nick of the time, when Bhānu (lit. *Āditya,* the Sun) was wandering (busy) in the eastern hill-peaks, the daring, dauntless, valiant and illustrious Jagaddēva, riding his (war) horse Kālamēgha (lit., the cloud of deluge), only by the strength of his arms, vanquished hundreds of thousands (*laksha*) of the hostile warriors.[2]

Neither the family nor the parentage of our hero is mentioned in the record, but on the basis of its find-spot, which is in the same region where the Ḍōṅgargāon and Jaināḍ stone inscriptions[3] were found, it is not difficult to identify him with the homonymous son of Paramāra **Udayāditya** and a brother of **Naravarman.** Our conclusion is supported by the fact that this record was composed by the poet Aśvatthāma who also composed the latter of these records. The palaeography too points to the same, as observed above.

In the above respect, the expression *Bhānau pūrvvādri-sānau* (ll. 4-5) is also noteworthy. Kolte has rightly shown that the word *Bhānau,* as a synonym of Āditya (the Sun), obviously refers to Vikramāditya (VI), the Later Chālukya emperor (1076-1126 A.C.), who has entrusted Jagaddēva with the administration of a province which comprised parts of the Yeōtmāl and Ādilābād Districts, roughly to speak, the northern districts of the old Hyderabad State; and the find-spot of the present inscription, which is in the same region, leaves no doubt in identifying the latter with the illustrious son of the Paramāra Udayāditya.

The verse obviously refers to some engagement by Jagaddēva, in which he was sided by Kālidāsa, the army of the Karṇṇāṭas and the Pāṇḍyas, against an enemy who is not mentioned by name. Kālidāsa appears to be the same who was the general of the Western Chākukya king Vikramāditya and the son of Madhuvarasa, the Commander of the army of Sōmēśvara I Āhavamalla.[4] Karṇṇāṭa-*daṇḍa*, mentioned next, obviously refers to the Chālukya army led by Kālidāsa, though the word sometimes refers to the Hoyasaḷas also.[5]

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[1] Above, Nos. 28 and 29.

[2] The reading is *laksha* and not *lakshya*, as emended by Kolte, for which, see note on the text below.

[3] Above, Nos. 29 and 29. Yeōtmal is about 80 kms. straight north-west of Ādilābād, from which, Parbhaṇī lies about 160 kms. straight south-south-west. Still another inscription of Jagaddēva, dated Śaka 1056 (1134 A.C.), was found at Dharmapurī (Bīḍa District), which is about 120 kms. west of Sāwargāon. This information is due to Shri. Chandrashekhar Gupta, Registering Officer of antiquities, Nagpur. For want of an impession this inscription could not be edited here.

[4] See Yazdani, *Early History of the Deccan*, p. 396. This general appears to be the same as defeated with some others, by Rājādhirāja, son of Rājēndra Chōla. See *Journ. of Ind. History* (Calcutta), Vol. VIII, Pts. I-II, p. 61.

[5] Above, p. 55 (no. 84). Textverse 19. Also see above, pp. 78 f.

The enemy who was vanquished by Jagaddēva by killing the warrors of his army is not mentioned in the record, but he can be no other than the Hoysaḷa Ballāla I, who probably ruled conjointy with his brother Vishṇuvardhana. Jagaddēva's conflict with the Hoysaḷa king is mentioned in the Jaināḍ inscription, which states that he slaughtered the enemies at Dōrasamudra, as already seen, while editing the inscription. We know that Ballāla's grandfather, Vinayāditya recognised the sovereignty of the Chālukyas from 1078 A.C., and he was faithful to his overlord till his death in *c.* 1100 A.C., also siding him in some of his battles. But Ballāla or Vīra Ballāla as he was also known, was an ambitious and adventurous prince, and he appears to have made an attempt to declare his independence, by making aggressive activities against some of the feudatories of the Chālukyas and also by aggrandising himself against his neighbours. From one of his inscriptions we learn that he, along with Vishṇuvardhana, put down the Pāṇḍyas of Nolambavāḍī and seized their wealth.[1] This account is supported by another inscription dated in 1116 A.C., which tells us that Vishṇuvardhana fell upon the Pāṇḍyas, from whom he captured the fortress of Uchchhaṅgī.[2]

Vikramāditya, however, could not tolerate this sort of overbearingness on the part of his own subordinate, but since he was fully occupied with the Chōla affairs in the east,[3] he appears to have sent a punitive expedition against Ballāla, under his loyal subordinate Jagaddēva with a strong force of the Chālukyas, led by his general Kālidāsa, which on the occasion, was also joined by the army of the Pāṇḍyas, who had a special grudge against the Hoysaḷa king.

In the conflict that ensued, the armies of the Chālukyas and the Pāṇḍyas left the field, but Jagaddēva, all alone, killed the soldiers of the enemy and came out victorious, as we learn from the present inscription.

That the Chālukya emperor was then fully occupied with Chōla affair in the east is shown by the expression *Bhanau pūrvvādri-sānau*, the significance of which can hardly be missed, as already seen above.

The struggle between Jagaddēva and Ballāla appears to have taken place after the latter ascended the throne in 1100 A.C.[4] and in the very initial years of his reign.[5] Jagaddēva's success against the Hoysaḷas has also been discussed above.[6] But this does not seem to have been the only phase of the battle, which may have continued even thereafter, as we know from some of the Hoysaḷa records which also claim victory of Ballāla over the Chālukyan army.[7] It also appears possible that these conflicting references may not be taken to allude to one and the same contest.

The **geographical names** appearing in the inscription have already been identified above

TEXT[8]

[Metre : *Sragdharā*].

1 स्वस्थि[9] । सत्रासे कालिदासे[10] द्रव-

2 ति विगलति क्वापि कर्ण्णाटद[ण्टे][11]

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[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, No. Bl. 58.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. Cm., 99. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 100.

[3] For details, see *Journ. of Anc. Ind. History* (Calcutta), Vol. VIII, Pts. I-II, pp. 91-93. Also see *S. E.*, p. 244.

[4] Ballāla was on the throne from 1100 to 1110 A.C. See *A Hist. of South India* (1955), by K. A. N. Sastri, p. 215.

[5] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, No. Ar 34. Also see *Ep. Ind.*, *Vol.* XXII, p. 59, and *S. E.*, p. 244.

[6] See above, Pt. II, p. 95.

[7] See *S. E.*, p. 175.

[8] From photograph facing page 144 of *Vidarbha Research Society's Annual* (Marathi), for 1973.

[9] This word is preceded by some indistinct incisions appearing as of the *Siddham* symbol.

[10] The poet is very fond of using alliterations as he has done here and also below, for example, in *dravati* and *vigalati*, *kudhra* and *randhra*, *bhānau* and *sānau*, etc.

[11] The bracketed *akshara* is not well formed *but* the reading is certain. The word *daṇḍa* means an army here.

3 पाण्डये कुधस्य[1] रंध्रं पटति भ्फटि-
4 ति च भ्रम्यति स्वेपि सैन्ये [।][2] भानौ[3]
5 पूर्व्वाद्रिसानौ भ्रमति भुजव(ब)लः[4] श्री-
6 जगद्देवदेवो लक्षं[5] वीरः प्रवीर [:]
7 [अ]जयदिह[6] दृढः कालमेघाधिरू-
8 [ढः]:[7] ॥ अश्व[त्था]मकवेः[8]श्लोकः ।

No. 201 ; Plate CLXXVII

KUNDEŚVARA COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIDYĀDHARADĒVA

[Vikrama] Year 1060

THE plate which bears this inscription was found at **Digōdā**,[9] a village about 24 kms. straight north of Ṭīkamgaḍh, the principal town of a district in the Vindhya region of Madhya Pradesh. The record was briefly noticed in the *Annual Report of Epigraphy*, 1971-72, as No. A-7. The plate was then in the possession of Shri S. P. Srivastava, Principal of the Basic Training Institute at Kuṇḍēśvara, near Ṭīkamgaḍh ; but at present, as I am informed, it is exhibited at the local Museum at that place. The definite year and the circumstances under which the plate was found are not known. The inscription, which is of great value for the history of the Chandēlla rulers and the Turkish invasion of India, as to be seen below, is edited here for the first time, from an impression kindly provided to me by the Chief Epigraphist. I also revised my reading from the original plate placed at my disposal, due to the courtesy of Shri P. C. Sen, the Director of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh.

The inscription is on a **single** copper-plate, which is fairly large but thin. The plate is broken on all the four sides and the corners, especially at the lower right-hand side, resulting in the loss of some letters in the last three lines. Its ends are slightly raised and it shows a curvature on the right side also. It is inscribed on one side only. The greatest length of it is 58.8 cms. and the breadth is 34 cms. The writing covers an area about 58 cms. broad by 33.5 cms. high. In the middle of the top-margin the plate shows a rectangular hole (1 cm. by .5 cm.), which appears as bored some time later, apparently for hanging it by a nail on the wall, as also stated in the *Report of Epigraphy*, referred to above. A similar attempt also appears to have been made at the bottom, which has mutilated a portion of the plate. It weighs 2 kilograms and 8.80 grams.

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1 The word, which is used here for alliteration, means a mountain.

2 The *daṇḍa* has disappeared, leaving only traces.

3 As said above, here the word denotes Vikramāditya VI of the Western Chālukya dynasty.

4 The word *bala* is used in double meaning: army and strength. Since Jagaddēva's army had scattered, he won the battle on his own strength.

5 Prof. Kolte emends the second letter to *kshya*, meaning the aim. But it is unnecessary. Here it means hundred thousands, that is, innumerable, which is also consistent with *ajayat*.

6 The first *akshara* in this line is partly broken, and the *sandhi* is not observed for the sake of metre.

7 This *akshara* too is partly broken. Kālamēgha, literally meaning 'cloude of deluge', appears as the name of Jagaddēva's horse.

8 Kolte read the third letter of the name as *chchha* and corrected it to *stha*. But also see the same letter in the name of the poet, above, on Plate XXXII. line 28.

9 This place is mentioned as Dugauḍā, above in No. 112. verse 6, and as Dugauḍa, above, in No. 150. verse 7.

The incisions are not deep, excepting in the commencing and the concluding portions, which also show the chisel-strokes on the other side. The inscription has also suffered from corrosion and oxidization, particularly in the middle of ll. 7-14 and also in the lower left corner, and consequently, a number of letters and their parts, with their subscripts and the signs of *anusvāras* and *mātrās*, have either totally disappeared or are damaged. The writing consists of 23 lines, the last two of which, containing the **sign-manual** of the king, are inscribed in the lower left corner. Besides these, there are two lines along the top and one in the left margin, which are all completely corroded, leaving one or two *aksharas* here and there, appearing as containing names which were engraved some time subsequently. In the right-hand margin too is incised a line, repeating in figures, the year, which has already been given in the main inscription, as we shall see presently. The size of the letters ranges between 1 and 1.5 cms. in the first five lines, but it is reduced to about three-fourth of it, in the rest of the lines which are incised most slovenly.

The record is written in the **Nāgarī** script of the tenth century. The characters, though closely resembling those of the Nanyaurā copper-plate inscription of Dhaṅgadēva, which was incised only five years before, also mark the transitional stage between those of this plate and the one issued by Dēvavarman and found at the same place.[1] Noting the **palaeographical peculiarities** of the writing, we find that the letter *ṅ* in *Dhaṅga* in l. 1 is written without the dot; *ch*; *y* and *v* are often alike in form; and *dh* is devoid of its horn on the left limb. The syllable *t* occasionally occurs in its old form also, as in *datvā* in l. 6; and the palatal sibilant in almost all cases begins with a short stroke with a loop in the middle, as in *Paramēśvara* in l. 2.

Most of the letters, particularly the conjuncts, are imperfectly formed; and due to the carelessness of the writer and also of the engraver, many of them appear so much alike in form that it is difficult to distinguish between them, for example, beween *ga* and *va*, as in *Gaṇḍa* and *-śvara*, both in l. 2; between *ya* and *va* in *Vidyādharadēva* in the same line and also in line 5; and between *n* and *t* in *pitṛi* and *manushya* in l. 5. Too often it is not known whether a vertical stroke is intended for a *daṇḍa*, which is so often redundantly put throughout the inscription, or for a sign of *mātrā*, particularly after a geographical or personal name; and consequently, all the names, which are several in the record, cannot be read with confidence. Often the mis-formed or lost *aksharas* have also to be conjecturally supplied, for example, it is not known whether in l. 19 the name has to be read as *Uddāka* or *Uddāma*. All these difficulties, which baffle the efforts of a decipherer of the record, are noted below, in the foot-notes appended to the text.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for one customary imprecatory verse in the end, the record is all in prose. The **orthographical** peculiarities are almost the same as to be found in the Nanyaurā grant referred to above. For example, the sign for *v* is put throughout to denote both *v* and *b*; the palatal sibilant is used for the dental in *sahaśra*, l. 4, and *Vājaśanēya*, l. 10, but not in the same word in ll. 8 and 9. The consonant following *r*, and also often preceding it, is usually doubled, as in *tayōr=mmātā*, l. 4, and in *puttra* and *gōtra*, so often figuring in the record. The *pṛishṭha-mātrās* are generally used, except in a few instances. Besides these, we find the unnecessary use of the sign of *visarga* after *-dhyāta* in l. 1, and *tri* in l. 7; the change of *anusvāra* to *m* in *samvat* and *samvatsara*, both in l. 4, and the violation of *sandhis* throughout the record, particularly in the formal portion thereof. The rules of grammar and syntax are also occasionally violated, and most of the personal names, with those of the *gōtras*, *pravaras*, *etc.*, are put without case-endings and are also separated by marks of punctuation, which are, on the other hand, omitted where they are really required. The sign of the *mātrā* is often detached from the letter to which it belongs, and in several cases it appears as a mark of punctuation. Besides all these, some unnecessary strokes of the chisel make the task of the decipherer indeed a difficult one, as already observed above.

The inscription belongs to the time of the **Chandēlla king Vidyādhara** who is mentioned in it with the royal titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*, with two of his predecessors, *viz.*, his father **Gaṇḍadēva** and grandfather **Dhaṅgadēva,** with almost the same royal titles. This purpose of the inscription is to record the grant to some Brāhmaṇas the (produce of the) village Isaunī, situated in the Vāraṅgi-84. The language giving the names of the donors in

[1] Above, Nos. 100 and 107, respectively.

ll. 3-4 is grammatically incorrect, but the sense appears to be that the donation was made by one Chāha who belonged to the Chandrātrēya family, the chief queen Satyabhāmā and the *mahārāja-putras* Gōpāla and Vitvana, all combined. The record is dated on the **Amāvāsyā of Śrāvaṇa** of the (Vikrama) year **1060,** on a **solar eclipse.** The week-day is not mentioned. The date has been calculated to correspond to **20th July, 1004** A. C. when there was a solar eclipse. The year was Kārttikādi expired.

Commencing with the sign for *Ōm* which is followed by the expression *Brahma-śrīḥ,* which is indeed a peculiar feature of the record and is generally not found in land-grants, the inscription gives the genealogy of the royal house of the Chandēllas, from Dhaṅga to Vidyādhara, and with the date, it then mentions the donation of the village, as stated above, by the chief queen **Satyabhāmā** (one of the donors), who is known from it for the first time. She is said to have been the daughter of one Nanna, who cannot be identified for want of details. Then the record states that the gift was announced in the presence of the headman (*mahattama*) and the village folk (*janapadas*), who were obviously concerned. We do not know that Vidyādhara in whose time the grant was issued, had two sons of the names of Gōpāla and Vitvana, and hence the expression *mahārājaputra* has to be taken here to denote feudatories or some royal office holders, or noblemen, in which sense we often find it used in inscriptions.[1] There is nothing definite to show that the gift-village was included in their fief and hence they are mentioned here, or that of the queen.

The proceeds of the village were divided among Brāhmaṇas belonging to different *gōtras, śākhās* and *pravaras,* and they are mentioned as hailing from different villages, most of which are called *bhaṭṭa-grāmas,* probably indicating rent-free localities in the possession of learned Brāhmaṇas. In a number of cases some of these details are dropped, particularly in the latter part of the record, mentioning only the names of the donees, sometimes with those of their fathers. Sometimes two brothers are mentioned to-gether, without any other details. And with each of the Brāhmaṇas is mentioned the share (from one to four) that he was to receive.

It has already been noted above that because of the indistinct engraving a number of the names of the Brāhmaṇas, with the details about them, can not definitely be read ; and this difficulty is enhanced by the punctuation-marks so often used in the inscription. It is also not known where we are exactly to add the names of the donees mentioned in the left-side margin and also at the top of the plate.

The inscription comes to an end with the **sign-manual** of Vidyādhara, engraved in two short lines in the lower left margin, as already stated above.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, we now turn to the historical information furnished by it. The so far latest known year of Dhaṅgadēva is 998 A.C., when he issued his Nanyaurā grant ; and it has been usually presumed that he closed his reign not long after this date, since at that time he had already been on the throne for more than a normal period of reign commencing sometime before 953-54 A.C. when he put up the Khajurāhō stone inscription of his father Yaśōvarman.[2] Some scholars, on the other hand, are inclined to hold that this king may have lived at least up to 1008 A.C., which saw the downfall of the Sāhī dynasty.[3] But the present record, which mentions Vidyādhara on the Chandēlla throne in 1004 A.C., undoubtedly shows that Dhaṅga had already died before this year, and also that he was succeeded by his grandson Vidyādhara, and also that the latter's father, Gaṇḍa, if at all he occupied the throne may evidently be presumed to have done so only for a few months.[4] Thus the present inscription materially adds to our knowledge with reference to the successor of Dhaṅga on the Chandēlla throne.

Another important point that may be noted here is that the present inscription solves finally the controversy raging so long with reference to the name of the enemy of the Pratīhāra

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[1] See D. C. Sircar, *Epigraphical Glossary.*

[2] Above, No. 98.

[3] See *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XXXVII, p. 142. But we have to observe that the very basis of this conclusion is frail, since the confederacy of some Hindu chiefs organised by Ānandapāla, as referred to in it, is reported only by Firishta (Briggs, Vol. I, p. 46) and by no other Muslim writer. Here also see *D.H.N.I.,* Vol. II, p. 683.

[4] As also shown by G. S. Gai, in his Presidential Address of the Ind. Hist. Congress, December, 1974.

king Rājyapāla. Muslim chroniclers are not unanimous in mentioning his name; for whereas Ibn-ul-Asīr calls him Bida,[1] Nizamuddin,[2] Firishta[3] and Gardizi[4] refer to him as Nandā. Considering all these different readings, Cunningham thought that Nandā of these writers is a misreading for Gaṇḍa;[5] and this view was accepted by Hultzsch,[6] Smith,[7] Ray,[8] Tripathi,[9] and some other scholars. But the present inscription, which is dated in 1004 A.C., shows that Vidyādhara came to the throne immediately after Dhaṅga, and thus both the names referred to above, *viz.*, Nandā and Bidā should be taken as denoting only Bidā, obviously the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word Vidyā and thus signifying only Vidyādhara. This also shows that Rājyapāla, the ruler of Kanauj who is said to have acknowledged the sovereignty of Mahmūd, was killed at the instance not of Gaṇḍa but of Vidyādhara. This conclusion is also in agreement with the statement of the fragmentary Mahōbā inscription, which gives to Vidyādhara the credit of bringing about the destruction of the king of Kānyakubja, *i.e.*, Rājyapāla, and also with that of the Dubkuṇḍ inscription of the time of the Kachchhapaghāta king Vikramasiṁha, which states that his predecessor Arjuna killed Rājyapāla at the instance of Vidyādhara.[10]

As regards the **geographical names** figuring in the inscription, none of them can be satisfactorily identified for want of details. The gift-village **Isauni** and the territorial division **Vārāngi** however, suggest their identification with the modern places respectively appearing in the maps as Isanagar and Barnagar, the former of which is situated almost about 45 kms. east, and the latter about the same distance in the south, from the find-spot of the plate. As regards the various *bhaṭṭa-grāmas* mentioned in the inscription as the places of the origin of the donees, no name corresponding any of them appears on the maps; and besides this, they may also have been in distant regions, and hence I have not attempted to identify any of them. It may here be observed, however, that one of them, *viz.*, Paṇikavaḍa, occurs in a Chandēlla inscription.[11]

TEXT[12]

1 ओंव[13](ब्र)ह्म श्रीः[14] ॥ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजश्रीधङ्गदेवपादानुध्यातः(त)परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-

2 श्वरश्रीगण्डदेवपादानुध्यातः(त)परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीविद्याधरदेवपादानां महीप्रवर्द्धमा-

3 नकल्याणविजयराज्ये अस्य पादपद्मोपजीवीचाहचन्द्रात्रयेण। [श्री]महाराजपुत्रौ श्रीगोपालवित्वनौ[15] श्रीवच्छैकसु-

4 तौ तयोर्म्माता(त्रा) महाराज्ञीश्रीसत्यभामया श्रीमन्ननस्य दुहितया तया च सम्व(संव)त्सरसहश्रे(स्त्रे) षष्ठ्यधिके सम्व(संव)त् १६००

5 श्रावणी[16] अमावास्यायां सूर्यंग्रहणे व्र(ब्र)ह्मशिलायां स्नात्वा गाङ्गे जले देवपितृमनुष्यान्संपूज्य विष्णु[पूजा]- मभिनिर्व्वर्त्य त्वशानुक्र-

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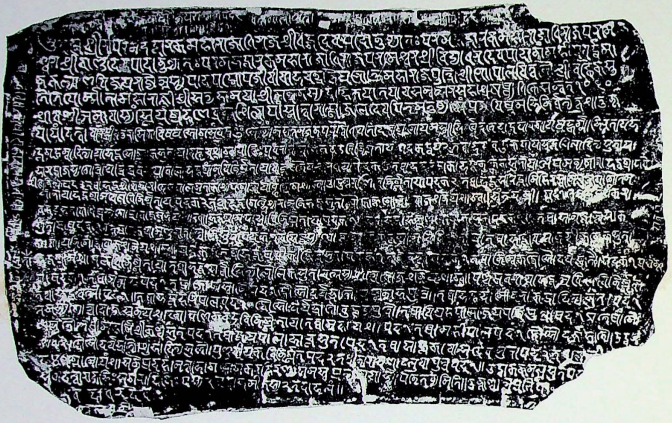
[1] *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 604 ff.
[2] See *T.A.*, Vol. I, p. 12.
[3] *T.F.*, (Briggs), Vol. I, pp. 63 and 68.
[4] *K.Z.A.*, .p. 76. Also see *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. I, p. 640, n. 4.
[5] *A.S.I.R.*, Vol. II, p. 452.
[6] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 219.
[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 128.
[8] See *D.H.N.I.*, Vol. I. p. 606: Vol. II, p. 688, *n.* 4.
[9] *Hist. of Kanauj*, p. 285, n. 5. Also see *J.D.L.*, Vol. X, p. 74, *n.* This led scholars to suggest that Vidyādhara was then the crown-prince who led the army. See *Hist. of Kanauj*, p. 285; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 128 and 142.
[10] See above, No. 113, v. 22; and No. 154, v. 8.
[11] Above, No. 119. Text, l. 19.
[12] From the original plate and an impression.
[13] Expressed by a symbol represented by the Nāgarī ū with the sign of *anusvāra* above.
[14] The upper circle of the *visarga* is engraved as the Nāgarī *ō* and the lower is omitted. The names of Chandēlla kings, also end in *Brahma* in the *Prithvīrāja-Rāsō* (Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabha), pp. 25-28.
[15] For the reading of the consonant in- *gō*, see the same in *Gaṇḍa* in line 2, and for that of *tvā*, see the same letter in *datvā* in line 6. The second appear to be a strange name. The sense of *Chāha* above, is not clear to me, but the reading is certain. Probably *vin=atra* is intended (?).
[16] *Sandhi* is not made here and also in the next line in *ddha* and *ī*.

KUNDĒŚVAR COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF CHANDĒLLA KING VIDYĀDHARA, VIKRAMA 1060



Scale : One-third

6 योयं ।[1] दत्वा वारङ्गी[2]चतुरासि(शि)काविषयभोगसंव(व)द्धईसौन्यां महत्तमंजनपदान्वो(न्बो)धयति[3] ।[4] दत्तो ग्रामोयमस्माभिर्व्वेदवेदाङ्गपारगाय षट्कर्म्माभिरताय भ-

7 ट्ट ठ[4] । अम्वा(म्बा)दित्याय । भट्टसोग्ग्रा(?)कसुताय व(व)हृचशाखाय त्रिः(त्रि)प्रवराय । पणिकवडविनिर्ग्गताय पदकद्वयं २[।*] तथा भट्टव(व)हुरूपाय । भट्टशिलादित्यसुताय ।

8 भारद्वाजस्य(स)गोत्राय । त्रिप्रवराय । वा(?)लाभट्टग्रामविनिर्ग्गताय । वाजसनेयशाखाय पदक ४[।*] तथा भट्टव(ब)हाक । भट्टनुक्कंकसुताय । उपमन्युगोत्र । भट्टग्राम[यो-

9 शी?]विनिर्ग्ग[त*] पद ३ [।*] तथा भट्टश्रीकुमार । देवपालसुत । काश्यपगोत्राय । च्छ(छ)न्दोगशारवा । ३[5] । पुम्वगणिविनिर्ग्गताय । पदक २[।*] तथा भट्टसावद्र । मिहिरस्वामिसुताय । गौतम-

10 गोत्राय । भट्टग्रामयेलेविनिर्ग्गताय[6] । पदक २ [।*] तथा भट्टगण्डेशाय । अनिरुद्धसुत । लौकाक्षगोत्र । वाज-श(स)नेयशारवा । स्वंदयश्री(?) पद १ ॥ तथा रुद्रशंकर ।

11 व[व्व?]टसुत । वासिष्ठस्य(स)गोत्र । वाजसनेयशाखा । भट्टग्रामवरस्त्री(श्रो?)विनिर्ग्गताय पदक १ ॥ तथा भट्टसमूण । कदाकसुत[7] । पदक १ ॥ तथा मूणाक-

12 सुताय । पदक १ [।* [त]था भट्टचामुण्डराज । स्वामिसुत । पदक १। वसिष्ठस्य [लाउथिवे?]भट्टग्राम-विनिर्ग्गताय । तथा भट्ट । यसानन्द[8] । क्र(कृ)ष्णंक(?)सुत ।

13 कात्यायनिगोत्त्र । वाजश(स)नेयशाखा । पदक १ [।*] तथा भट्टप[व्वी]क । छितू(?)सुत । पदक १ [।*] तथा वच्छ(त्सी) । पदक १[।*] तथा नि[म्वे ?]कद्वौसौदर्यभ्रात्रो(तरौ)[9] । पदक १[।*] प्रसंस(सन्न)

14 सुत[10] । भट्टग्रामशा[द्व?]लविनिर्ग्गताय । तथा भट्टसर्व्वादित्य । लोलिकसुत । वत्सस्य(स)गोत्र[11] । वाजश(स)नेयशाखा । पञ्चप्रवराय । भट्ट[ग्राम*] [अविधि?] विनिर्ग्गता-[12]

15 य । पदक १ तथा मम्मट पद १ तथा [आ]गस्वामि पद १ [।*] द्वौ सौदर्यभ्रात्रौ(तरौ) पद्मनाभपु[त्रौ] तथा भट्टदामोदर । रुद्रादित्यसुत । पद् १[13][।*]

16 तथा भट्टवत्स । पद १ ॥ तथा हरिपाल पद १ (?)[।*] द्वौ सौदर्यभ्रात्रौ(तरौ) । वृद्धडपुत्रौ तथा विग्रहपाल । जयपतिपुत्र । पद १ [।*] एतेषां[14] गौ-

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1 What appears to have been intended is *kriśānavē tōvam.* The punctuation mark is redundant.

2 What seems as the sign of *anusvāra* on *ra* in the impression is due to the fault of the plate, as seen from the original.

3 This verb goes with *mātā* in line 4, which, however, cannot grammatically be connected with the word *Satyabhāmā* nor also with *tayā*. Moreover, after this verb, one expects an expression like *yathā*.

4 That is, *Ṭhakkura*. The next *akshara* may also have been a misformed *ja* and thus its reading is not certain. Most of the names and some other words in this and the following lines are without case-endings and are also unnecessarily separated by punctuation marks. The corrections are not made every time lest the number of foot-notes should increase. The first *akshara* of the name is blurred and also seems as *ma*. It may also be noted that in the following lines some details with reference to the donees are dropped, and in some instances, nothing besides the names is found, as already stated.

5 The numeral 3 probably represents the *pravaras*, or it may have been a misformed *ya*, as required here.

6 The consonant of the first *akshara* of the name of the place may also be read as *r* or *v*.

7 All the *aksharas* of the name after *tathā* are blurred and their reading is uncertain.

8 Grammatically it is incorrect.

9 From the construction it is not possible to know anything about the names of the brothers, here and in some cases below. Perhaps Nimvāka and his brothers (?).

10 An arrow-mark above this *akshara* probably indicates that the line in the left margin has to be supplied here, but the corresponding mark is not engraved.

11 The consonant of the preceding *akshara* appears as *l*.

12 The reading of the bracketed *akshara* is doubtful, and it is not known whether the *mātrā* of the third *akshara* of the name is of *ē*. One naturally expects the name of the village here.

13 In this line, and also in some others below, the use of both the words *pada* and *padaka* occurs side by side.

14 This *gōtra* seems to refer to those mentioned previously. The letter *tra* is also written as *ttra* in this line.

17 तमस्य (स)गोत्र । वाजसनेयशाखा । पणिकवडविनिर्ग्गताय । तथा महायश । पद १ तथा महीपाल पद १ [।*] द्वौ सौद[र्यं]भ्रात्रौ(तरौ) उद्धर-

18 णसुतौ । तथा महर्षिश्रीकण्वसुत पद १ [*] तथा जयपाल । भा[रू?]सुत । पद १ [।] तथा सांभूक । वासुदेवसुत । पद २ तथा....[1]

19 शाध-[2] । द्वौ सौदर्यभ्रात्रौ(तरौ) । शुभादित्यसुतौ । पुणु(ण्ड?)वीयकविनिर्ग्गत[तौ] पद २ [।*] तथा नारायण । [द?]लुवापुत्र पद १।। उ[द्वाक][3] कमलसुत प[द?]........

20 द ४[4] [।*] ग्रामोयं शासने प्रदहं[5] । यत्वा भागभोगकरहिरण्यसमस्तप्रत्यादाया[द्य*]स्योपनेतव्यमिति[6] ।। उक्तञ्च । व(ब)हु भि[र्ब]-

21 सूधा दत्ता[7] राजभिः सगरादिभिः[।*] यस्य २ [8] यदा भूमी(मिस्) तस्य २ तदा फलं(लम्) ।। [१।।*]

22 [श्री] विद्याधरदेवः

23 स्वहस्तो मम [।]

भार्ग्गवगोत्राय । सहारणसुताय । जाह्ल- - -पद १[9] [।*]

1 वत्स । गोत्राय....यति ।। जयसर्न्म(शर्म्म)णे पद १[।*]वत्सगोत्राय त्रि .....त्रि....सि(शि)वस(श)र्म्मणे पद १——————[10]

2 सुताय-वौ । णरा(?)विंद--१ (?)[11]

[सं]वत् १०[६०][12]

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[1] After an indistinct *akshara* following *tathā*, a portion of the plate is lost in this and the rest of the lines.

[2] One syllable after *dha* is indistinct and cannot be made out. It is engraved as *rai*, or *vai*, but what appears to be intended is *sya*.

[3] Both these *aksharas* are partly broken and their reading is not certain. They may also be read as *ddhāma*. The first three letters, though not separated by a punctuation mark as in the other cases, denote the names of the donee or his father.

[4] Perhaps a *daṇḍa* is intended here.

[5] Read *śāsanēna pradattam* for *pradattaḥ*. One expects a word line *ēvaṁ*, before this and also *iti*, before *matvā*.

[6] The correct form would be *ētēshām=upanētavyam*.

[7] For *bhuktā*, as usually found.

[8] The use of the numeral showing repetition is noteworthy. Also see above, p. 319, Text-line 3.

[9] The *aksharas* in this line are slightly advanced in form than those in the main inscription. After *Jālha*, two of them are altogether lost, and the third one is indistinct. The reading of the number after *pada* is also uncertain.

[10] The letters which are indistinct on the plate are shown here by the number of dots, and when more, by a line. The second line begins after some space in the first, and ends much before it.

[11] Reading from the original. The *aksharas* here are most slovenly formed and those in the brackets are also weather-worn, but are faintly visible.

[12] Both the numbers in the brackets are almost lost, and their reading is from the traces left.

No. 202 ; Plate CLXXVIII

RĀMVAN MUSEUM COPPER-PLATE INSCRIPTION OF TRAILŌKYAVARMAN

[Vikrama] Year 1283

INFORMATION about this plate was received by me from Shri B. C. Jain, Deputy Director of Archaeology and Museums in Madhya pradesh, Eastern division, who also favoured me with a photograph of the inscription. From the same photograph the inscription is edited here.[1]

The record is inscribed on a **single plate** of copper, now preserved in the Museum at **Rāmvan** a village lying about 16 kms. from Satnā on metalled road to Rēwā, in Madhya Pradesh. It was presented to the Museum by Professor Urmila Prasada Shukla of Amarapāṭan (in Satnā District), who procured it from his friend the late R. D. Gautama, belonging to the family of spiritual preceptors of the former State of Nāgōd (in the Vindhya region of the present Madhya Pradesh),[2] in whose possession it was from heredity. Nothing could now be known about the provenance of the plate.

The plate is inscribed on one side only. The writing is protected by copper-bands (.7 cms. wide) fixed with copper-rivets on all the four borders of the inscribed side. It measures 40 cms. broad by 27.5 cms. high, and is in a good state of preservation, except in ll. 14-15 where most of the letters are either abraded or mutilated. In the central part of the upper section of the inscription, a space about 4-5 cms. square is occupied by the seated figure of the **goddess Lakshmī,** with four arms, the upper two of which hold a lotus in each. The figure disturbes the continuity of the writing in the first four lines of the inscription. The plate, together with the rivetted border bands, weighs 2502 grams, as I am informed by Shri Jain.

The writing shows slovenliness, though the charter is an imperial Chandēlla record. Most of the letters are rather carelessly formed ; and the engraver, who failed to follow the precise shape of the letters, worked in his own arbitrary way, deforming most of them, with the result that often they cannot be deciphered satisfactorily. This difficulty is accentuated particularly in reading the names of the donees mentioned in the grant portion where we have no clue to decide the precise letters forming a name. Moreover, the signs of *mātrās, anusvāras* and the superscript *r* are often omitted in the process of engraving ; the *daṇḍa,* which also bears a top-stroke, as the letters do, is many a time confounded with a sign of *ā-mātrā,* and the curve of the *mātrā* of short and long *i* is often omitted.

The inscription has in all twenty-four lines of writing, the last of which, which is about one-third of the/length of the others, is wholly occupied by the **sign-manual** of the king.

The **alphabet** is Nāgarī, regular for the period and the locality to which the record belongs. The characters resemble those of the Gaḍhā and Sāgar plates of Trailōkyavarman, who issued this plate also. To note the formation of the individual letters, *ch, dh,* and *v* often appear alike ; *p, m,* and *y* occasionally resemble each other ; *t* is sometimes confounded with *n* ; and *r,* which is generally marked as a vertical, so as to resemble a *daṇḍa,* has sometimes a slanting or horizontal stroke, or only a dot, attached to it on the left. Occasionally the letters are also crisped into each other, and the limbs forming them are often separated.

The **language** is Sanskrit, excepting in the use of some of the Prakrit words which are given in their original or local forms. The record is composed in prose, with the exception of two verses in the beginning and two in the end.

The inscription refers itself to the victorious reign of the **Chandrātrēya** (Chandēlla) king **Trailōkyavarman,** and speaks of the royal house to which he belonged. Its **object** is to record

[1] From the same photograph, the inscription was edited by me in the *Journ. of Academy of Ind. Nemismatics* (Indore). Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.

[2] Satnā and Rēwā, both of which are now district headquarters in Madhya Pradesh, are connected by a metalled road. Amarapāṭan is now the headquarter of a *tehsīl,* situated about 16 kms. north by east of Satnā and 40 kms. south by east of Rēwā. And Nāgōd, now a *tehsīl* headquarter in the Satnā District, is about 25 kms. west of Satnā, which is a Railway Station on the Central Railway. Thus all these places are situated in the same region.

the donation made by him, of the village Varahī lying in the *vishaya* (territorial division) of Paṭisā, to some Brāhmaṇas, from his stay at the fort of Jayapura, which is Ajayagaḍh itself, as we have so often seen. The **date** of the record, as mentioned in line 7 in numerical figures only, is the **eleventh** of the **bright half** of **Chaitra** of the **Vikrama year 1283,** on a **Wednesday,** the date regularly corresponds to **11th March, 1226 A. C.,** for the expired Vikrama year, when the *tithi* was current at mean sunrise.

The **orthographical** peculiarities to be noted are : (1) *b* has been written by the sign for *v*, as in *kuṭumvi*, l. 5 ; (2) the letter following *r* is often reduplicated, *e.g.*, in *durggē*, l. 7, but not in *nirgama*, l. 10 ; (3) occasionally we find the use of the palatal for the dental sibilant ; see *vasundharā* in l. 4 ; and (4) the *mātrā* of *ē* is marked by a vertical before the letter and not above. Signs of the *anusvāra* and the *visarga* are often omitted in the process of engraving. Another feature of the epigraph is that the names occurring in the grant portion are separated by the *daṇḍa*, the use of which is sometimes so close to a letter as to look as an *ā-mātrā* or a *pṛishṭha-mātrā*. In this respect, the grant shares the peculiarities of the Sēmrā grant of Paramardin, edited above.

This is the third grant of the Chandēlla king Trailōkyavarman, brought to light for the first time, as already stated above, the other two grants of him being the two Gaḍhā plate inscriptions and the Sāgar inscription.[1] Beginning with the symbol for *Siddham*, which is followed by the auspicious word *svasti* and the off-quotted two verses generally to be found at the commencement of a Chandēlla grant, the inscription gives the genealogy of the house, beginning from **Madanavarman,** who was succeeded by **Paramardin,** who, in his turn, was succeeded by **Trailōkyavarman,** the donor or the present grant. All the three rulers are mentioned as sovereign lords, and the additional title of *Kālañjar-ādhipati* (supreme lords of *Kālañjara*) is applied to Trailōkyavarman. The relationship existing between these rulers is already known from the other records of the house. Thereafter, is named the village Varāhi, with the *vishaya* as mentioned above, followed by the names of the Brāhmaṇa donees, with the names of father and grand-father of each, the *gōtras* they belonged to, and the shares donated to them each, as given in the appendix that follows. Then we find the usual terms of the gift ; and, with two of the concluding verses followed by the **sign-manual** of the king, the inscription is closed.

The historical significance of the inscription lies in its date. The latest known date of Trailōkyavarman is V.S. 1269 or 1212 A.C., supplied by the fragmentary stone inscription found at Ajayagaḍh ; and the earliest known date of his son, Vīravarman, who succeeded him is V.S. 1311 or 1254 A.C. when he issued the Charkhārī grant.[2] Trailōkyavarman is also known to have occupied the throne after V.S. 1258 or 1201 A.C., the latest known date of his father Paramardin. The present grant, which supplies for him the year 1226 A.C., shows that he ruled at least up to this year, when he was succeeded by his son Vīravarman.

It is worthy of note that the first-mentioned person of the donees was called Gautama. It is therefore likely, that along with some others, he may have settled at the gift-village. It is also likely that some of his descendants later on came to Nāgōd, which is not far from the village, and may have become the religious preceptor of the house which ruled over the territory. And in view of this assumption, it is likely that the plate was his ancestral property and he adopted the surname Gautama.[3]

As for the **localities** mentioned in the inscription, **Jayapura** (l. 7) is of course Ajayagaḍh, as we have so often seen. It is interesting to note that this stronghold of the Chandēllas is about 50 kms. north by west of Nāgōd, the findspot of the inscription. **Paṭisā,** the donated village (l. 5), is probably represented by its modern name Paṭihā, with the last consonant *s* changed to *h*, as we generally find in Prākṛita. The place lies about 16 kms. west of Nāgōd,

[1] Above, Nos. 141-142.

[2] See, respectively, Nos. 141 and 144. This account ofcourse omits the date of the Dhurēṭi plate which was issued at the time of a Kalachuri king. See *appx.* of No. 143.

[3] For a parallel instance, see above, p. 20.

where the plate was for some time deposited ; and last of all, **Varāhi** mentioned as the head-quarters of the territorial division in which the grant village was situated (l. 5), is the modern village Varahī, lying about eight kms. south by west of Nāgōd, on metalled road to Jasō and in the same region as of the well-known archaeological place Chandrēhē.

APPENDIX

The following table shows that the produce of the village was divided into 33 shares which were donated to thirty-four Brāhmaṇas, excluding, of course, two or three in each cases mentioned in line 15 where their names and the other particulars are chiselled off. It is not necessary to presume that each of the donees received one share, for, as we are told, two of them (Nos. 3 and 4) obtained three shares each, one (No. 6) two and a half shares ; three (Nos. 1, 5 and 19) received two shares each ; five (Nos. 7, 14, 22, 29 and 33) got half a share each ; and the rest sixteen obtained one share each.

It may also be observed here that donees No. 8 to 12 appear to have been all brothers ; and Nos. 17 and 27, whose particulars are not mentioned, seem to have been, in each case, a brother of the donee mentioned just before.

Note :—In the table that follows, a question mark is put in the case of doubtful reading ; an asterisk to show that the particular item is not mentioned ; and two asterisks to show that the details are lost in the chisel strokes.

No.	Name of donee	*gōtra*	Surname or title	Father's name	Father's surname	Shares received	Line
1	Mahāśama	Gautama	*Śrōtri*	Mahidhara	*Avasthi*	2	9-10
2	Bhuṁbhāna (?)	„	*Upā*	Gōvinda	*Ti*	1	10
3	Manōratha	Agasti	*Śrōtri*	Vyāsa	*Paṁ*	3	10
4	Dēvaputra	Vatsa	*	Bharata	*Śrōtri*	3	10-11
5	Dēlhūka	(Brother of the preceding one)		*	...	2	11
6	Ālhaṇa	Kauśika	*Paṁ*	(?)	*Dīkṣita* (?)	2½	11
7	Gōlhēka	*		*	*	½	11-12
8-12	Lāhaḍa (with four brothers)	Vatsa	*Paṁ*	Vāta-	*Paṁ*	1	12
13	Gāgēka	Kauśika		Janaha	„	1	12
14	Mālādhara[1]	*		*	*	½	12-13
15-16	Sāḍha and Risiuta	Vatsa	„	Dēku	„	1	13
17-18	Jāsō and Vātuka (?)	*	*	*	*	1	13
19	Nānēka	Śāṇḍilya	*Paṁ*	Māhē	*Paṁ*	1	13-14
20	Sumānaka	Rāhula (?)	„	Sōmē	„	2	14
21	Vāsudēva	Gautama	*Ṭha*	Rayādhara (?)	*Ṭha*	1	14
22	Bhērābhēka (?)	Vyāsa	„	Nārāyaṇa	„	1	14-15
23	Sūlhaṇa	**	*Paṁ*	Vāmadēva	*Paṁ*	½	16
24	Dharaṇīdhara	Vatsa		Mādhava	„	1	16
25	Vīlhaṇa	Kaśyapa		Gaṅgādhara	„	1	16
26	Pāmēka	„		Vīhīvata (?)	„	1	16-17
27	Pītuka	Pārāśara		Kulachandra	„	1	17
28	Jātuka[1]	*		*	*	1	17
29	Sāṭaka	Gargga		Dēvōdita	„	1	17
30	Purushōttama	Vatsa		Gajānana	„	½	18
31	Dēvōdita (?)	Kaśyapa		Gāgū	„	1	18
32	Pālhaṇa	Bharadvāja		Dādē	*Dvi* (?)	1	18-19
33	Mārkkaṇḍa	Kaśyapa		Nārāyaṇa	*Ṭha*	½	19

[1] Brother of the preceding donee.

Total shares=33 ; plus two complete or part shares lost in line 15.

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TEXT[1]

[Metre: Verses 1-3 *Anushṭubh*]

1 सिद्धम्[2] । स्वस्ति ॥ जयत्याह्लादयन्विश्वं विश्वेश्वरशिरोधृतः ।[3] चंद्रात्रेयनरेन्द्राणां वंशश्चंद्र इवोद्धृतः ॥ [१।*] तत्र प्रवर्द्धमानवि-

2 रोधिविजयभ्राजिष्णुजयशक्तिविजयशक्त्यादिवीराविर्भावभास्वरे परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रोमदन-वर्म्मदेवपादानुध्या-

3 तपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीपरमर्द्दिदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहे-[श्व]-

4 रसी(श्री)कालंजराधिपति[श्री]त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मदेवो विजय(यी) ॥ र्स(स) एष दुर्व्विषहतरप्रतापतापितरिपुकुल[ः*] कुलधूगि(कुलवधूमि)व वशुं(सुं)धरान्नि(रां नि)राकुला(लां) परिपा-

5 लयन्नविकलविवेकनिर्म्मलीकृतमतिः ।[4] चचाहिपि(वि)षपा(या)न्तःपातिपटिसाग्रामोपगतान्ब्रा(न्ब्रा)ह्मणानन्यांश्च मान्यानधि[कृ*]तान्कुटुंवि(बि)कायस्थदूत-

6 वैद्यमहत्तरान्मेदयंडालपर्यन्तान्सर्व्वान्संवो(बो)धयति समा[ज्ञा]पयति. चास्तु[5] वः संविदितं यथोपरिलिखितोयं ग्रामः सजलस्थलः सस्थावरजंग-

7 मः स्वसीमावच्छिन्नः साधऊर्द्ध्वो भूतभविष्यद्वर्त्तमाननिःशेषादायसहितः प्रतिषिद्धचाटादिप्रवेशश्चास्माभिः ।[4] श्रा(श्री)जयपुरदुर्ग्गे संवत(त्) १२८३ चैत्र

8 सुदि ११ वु(बु)धवारे नानागोत्रेभ्यो नाना[प्र*]पौत्रेभ्यो नानापौत्रेभ्यो नानापुत्रेभ्यो नानाशर्म्मब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणेभ्यः कुशलतापान(पूतेन) ह[स्तो]दकेन स्वस्ति-

9 वाचनपूर्व्वं चंद्रार्क्कसमकालं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयानुगामि शासन कुत्वा[6] प्रदत्तः । मध्ये[7] । गौतमगोत्र अवस्थि । महि-धरपुत्र श्रोत्रि[8] । महाशम-

10 ॥ः[9] पदद्वयं(यम्) । गो(गौ)तमगोत्र ति[10] । गोविंदपुत्र उपा[11] [भुं ?]भानस्य पदमेकं(कम्) । अगस्तिगोत्र प[12] । व्यासपुत्र श्रोत्रि । मनोरथस्य पदत्रय(यम्) । वत्सगोत्र श्रोत्रि

11 भरतपुत्रस्य । देवपुत्रस्य पदन्त्रयं(यम्) । तथा भ्रातृदेल्हूकस्य[13] पदद्वयं(यम्) । कौसि(शि)कगोत्र दीक्षितपुत्र[14] प । आल्हणस्य सार्द्ध(र्द्ध) पदद्वयं(यम्) । तथा प(प) । गोल्हेक-

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[1] From a photograph.

[2] Expressed by symbol.

[3] The punctuation mark and the preceding *visarga* sign are intervened by the figure of the goddess.

[4] The punctuation mark is redundant.

[5] Read च । अस्तु.

[6] Read शासनं कृत्वा.

[7] These two syllables we also find in some other Chandēlla grants. For example, see above, No. 126, line 17. In the business portion that follows, the words denoting names *etc.*, are all without case endings and are also intervened by unnecessary punctuation marks. They are reproduced here, without any emendation.

[8] That is, *Srōtriya.*

[9] Reading uncertain. Probably स्य is intended, as in the other cases.

[10] Probably to be emended to *tri*, for *Trivēda* or *Tripāṭhin.*

[11] That is, *Upādhyāya*. The reading of the first name that follows is doubtful.

[12] Here, as also in some cases below, this syllable has no *anusvāra* sign above, and with the following *daṇḍa,* it is likely to be taken as *Pā*, for *Pāṭhaka*. But in view of all the instances which are invariably followed by a punctuation mark, the syllable denoting the first letter of the surname is read as used for *Paṇḍita* in all these cases. — Also note Vyāsa as a name.

[13] The curve of ह is not engraved.

[14] Either the father's name is omitted here, or, the first letter *di* may denote *Dīkshita*, and the rest two, which are indistinct, may have been intended to denote the name, which cannot be made out.

12 स्य पदार्द्धं(र्द्धम्)। वत्सगोत्र पं। वात-[1]पुत्र पं। लाहडभ्रातृव[तु] भिः[2] सह पदमेकं (कम्)। गो(को)-
सि(शि)कगोत्र पं। जणहपुत्र पं। गागेकस्य पदमेकं (कम्)। तथा प। मालाधर-

13 स्य पदार्द्धं(र्द्धम्)। वत्सगोत्र पं। देकुपुत्र पं। सार्ढरिसिपतयोः[3] पदमेकं(कम्)। तथा जासोवातूकयोः[4]
पदमेकं(कम्)। सा(शां)डिल्यगोत्र पं। माहेपुत्र पं। नानेकस्य

14 पदमेकं(कम्)। राहुलगोत्र[5] पं। सोमेपुत्र पं। सुमानकस्य पदद्वयं(यम्)। गौतमगोत्र ठ। रायाधरपुत्र[6]
ठ वासुदेवस्य पद[मे]कं(कम्)। [व्या]सगोत्र ठ[7]। नारायणपुत्र

15 ठ। भेराभकश्य(स्य)[8] द(प)दमेकं (कम्)। व[त्स]........[9] पदमेक(कम्)। शादि(शांडि)ल्यगोत्र पं।
....[10]कस्य पदार्द्ध(र्द्धम्)। – – – – गोत्र [।][11]

16 वामदेवपुत्र प(पं)। सूल्हणस्य पदार्द्धं (र्द्धम्)। वत्सगोत्र पं। माधवपुत्र पं। धरणीधरस्य पदमेकं(कम्)।
कस्य(श्य)पगोत्र प। गंगाधरप्रत(पुत्र) प। वील्हणस्य पददेकं(कम्)। कश्यपगोत्र वं (पं) वीही-[12]

17 वतपुत्र पं। पामेकस्य पदमेकं(कम्)। पाराशरगोत्र पं। कुलचंद्रपुत्र पं। पी[तु]कस्य पदमेकं(कम्)।
तथा जातुकस्य[13] पदमेकं(कम्)। गर्गगोत्र व(पं?) देवो[दि]त्य पुत्र[14] साटकस्य

18 पदमेकं(कम्)। वत्सगोत्र ठ। गजाननपुत्र पं। [पु]रुसो(षो)त्तमस्य पदार्द्धं(र्द्धम्)। कस(श्य)पगोत्र
वं(पं)। गागूपुत्र पं। देवोदितास्य[15] पदमेकं(कम्)। भरद्वाज गोत्र द्वि(?) दादेपुत्र प(पं)। पा-[16]

19 ल्हणस्य पव(द)मेक (कम्)। कस्य(श्य)पगोत्र ठ। ना[रा]यणपुत्र[17] प(पं)। मार्क्कंडस्य[18] पदार्द्धं(र्द्धम्)।
इति मत्वा भवद्भिराज्ञाश्रवण[विधेयै]भू(र्भू)त्वा भागभोगादिक(कं) सर्व्वमेषां

20 समुपनेतव्यं(व्यम्)। तदेनमेषां दानं सम(मं)दिरं सनिर्ग्गमप्रवेसं(शं) ससर्व्वाशनेक्षुकर्प्पास[शै]लगस[णाम्र]
[म]धूका[दि]भूरुहं[19] सवनखनिनिधानं सलोहाद्या-

21 करमपरैरपि [सीमान्तर्गतैर्व्वस्तुभिः][20] सहितं सवा(बा)[ह्या]भ्यन्तरादा[यं] भु(भुं)जानानां व(न) केनापि
वा(बा)धा काया(र्या)। अत्र च राजराज[पुरुषा]दिभिः स्वं[स्वमा]-

22 भाव्यं परिहातं(हर्त)व्यमिदं[21] चास्मद्दानमनाच्छेद्यमनाहार्यञ्चेति भाविभिरपि भूमिपालै।(:) पालनीय(यम्)॥
उक्तञ्च॥ श(शं)खं भद्रासनं छत्रं वरा[श्वा]वरवा-

---

[1] This syllable is mutilated beyond recognition.

[2] The reading of the bracketed *akshara* is doubtful, and the construction is also grammatically faulty. Should we read भ्रातृभिश्चतुर्भिः सह ?

[3] The Sanskrit form of the second name is probably *Śrīpati*, or *Ṛishiputra*.

[4] The reading of the *mātrās* in these two names is not certain. May also be read as *Jāsēvō*.

[5] The first two letters are mutilated and the reading thereof is only from the traces left.

[6] The reading of the first two letters is again doubtful here.

[7] That is, *Ṭhakkura*.

[8] The reading of the consonent ot the first letter of the name is doubtful, as also of the stroke after *ra*, which may be taken either as a *mātrā* of *ā*, or a *prishṭha-mātrā*.

[9] About eighteen *aksharas* are lost here, and one point is used in the text to denote two lost *aksharas*.

[10] About ten *aksharas* are again lost here.

[11] Here the *gōtra* consisting of four letters cannot be made out.

[12] A curve above the first syllable shows that it may also be read as *Vi*, and the reading of the second is not certain.

[13] The details of this donee, as of some others, are no' mentioned.

[14] The curve of the *mātrā* of the bracketed letter is omitted in engraving.

[15] Read देवोदित्यस्य, or more probably, देवादित्यस्य, as in the preceding line.

[16] A redundant stroke here, as also at the beginning of the next line, is probably put to show that name is not completed here.

[17] The bracketed syllable, which was omitted at first, is written above the line, in smaller form.

[18] The *rēpha* of this *akshara* is cut on the preceding syllable, and the *anusvāra* sign on the one that follows it.

[19] The three *aksharas* शैलग, which probably denote hilly product, are not found in any other known grant of the house.

[20] All the letters in the bracketed are most crudely formed.

[21] Read परिहर्त्तव्यम्। इदं

23 ॥--खारणाः[1] ॥(।) भूमिदानस्य पुष्पाणि फलं स्वगः(र्गः) पुर(रं)दर ॥[२॥*] ष[ष्टि]र्व्वर्व(र्ष)सहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे वत(स)ति भूमिदः[2] । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव त(न)रके [वसेत्] ॥[३॥*]

24 स्वहस्तोयं राजश्रा(श्री)[त्रैलोक्य]वर्म्मदेवस्य [।*]

No. 203 ; Plate CLXXIX

BUDHĒRĀ PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF GAṆAPATI

[Vikrama] Year 1351 ; Śaka Year 1216

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by M.B. Garde, the then Director of Archaeology in the former State of Gwālior, who announced its discovery in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department*, for Saṁvat 1986 (1929-30 A.C.), pp. 22 and 59-60 (No. 23). A number of errors appearing in this notice were subsequently corrected by D. C. Sircar, who edited the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXIII (1960), pp. 162 ff. and plate, in which he also gave a revised reading of the text. From the same plate the inscription is edited here.

The inscription is incised on a pillar which is about 5.5 metres high above the ground, and stands on a hillock close to the northeastern end of the Jhālōnī tank, at **Budhērā**[3], in the Pichhōre *parganā* of the Shivpuri District of Madhya Pradesh. The pillar is roughly dressed and the portion on which the record is incised was not made smooth for the purpose. The letters too were not well formed, and they have also suffered very much from the weather; some of them are lost altogether and some others are mutilated. Thus, the preservation of the inscription is far from satisfactory, and at times, we have to resort to imagination to decipher them.

The inscription has seven lines of writing, occupying a space about 36 cms. in breadth and 23 cms. in height. The letters too are indifferently formed, as said above. In all these respects the record resembles the Baṅglā inscriptions edited above (Nos. 162-174). The individual *aksharas* are about two cms. in height.

The record is all in prose. As to the **orthography,** we notice scribal errors, *e.g.*, in *durgrē* (for *durgē*), *bhaṭṭārka* (for *bhaṭṭāraka*), in ll. 2 and 3, respectively and in the proper names which are all given in the local language.

The inscription refers itself to a ruler named the glorious **Gaṇapati**[4], whose dynasty or lineage is not mentioned, but from the Imperial titles used in it, he was undoubtedly the last of the **Yajvapāla** rulers whose known dates range between V. 1348 and 1357, or 1292 and 1300 A.C. The **purpose** of the inscription is to record the raising of the pillar on which the inscription was incised, to commemorate the memory of two persons who are described in it as *hata* (killed), apparently in a contest with some enemies who are not specified. The **year**, which is given only in figures and without the further particulars, is (Vikrama) **1351**, Śaka 1216, regularly corresponding to **1294-95 A.C.**

Beginning with the date, as mentioned above, the record, in its first half (ll. 1-3) refers to the ruler Gaṇapati, endowed with royal titles, and says that his *mahāpradhāna* (Chief Minister) Dēüva was in charge of administration *i.e.*, his governor or viceroy, at **Kīrtidurga.** This place appears to be more likely the town of Chandērī in the Gunā District, rather than Dēogaḍh, as

---

[1] The first two letters in this line are repeated inadvertently, by the writer.
[2] The curve of the *mātrā* of *mi* is omitted in engraving.
[3] Also spelt as Budhēr, Budhēra, Budēr and Budhera.
[4] The first of the *aksharas* of the name is in traces, with *Śrī* before it.

we have already seen above, while identifying place-names in No. 179. For we have no evidence to show that the Yajvapālas in their last days succeeded in extending their dominions so far as to include Dēogaḍh in the Jhansi District which was under the Chandēllas.

The second half of the inscription (ll. 4-7) is more corrupt and also fragmentary; but as reconstructed by Sircar, it seems to introduce the *Pradhān* Ravija of Jatuhaṭṭa, his son **Mudhaïsīha,** and the latter's two sons, Harirāja and Jayarāja, both of whom lost their lives in a battle with an unspecified enemy, and also that the pillar was erected in memory of their death, by Jayarāja's son, Yamarāja. Here the word used is *nirvāhita.*[1]

As already observed by Sircar, the name of Ravija's wife and that of the mother of Yamarāja cannot be fully deciphered, because of the mutilated condition of the record.

Of the **geographical names** appearing in the inscription. **Kīrtidurga** is more possibly Chandērī rather than Dēogaḍh with which we have identified above;[2] and **Jauhaṭṭa** (Sans. Jatuhaṭṭa) appears to be a locality in the vicinity of Budhērā where the pillar was found.

TEXT[3]

1 [सं]वत् १३५१ शाके[4] १[२१]६॥ स्वस्ति श्रीकी-
2 र्त्तिदुग्रे(र्गे) समस्तराज(जा)वलीसमलंकृतप[मं(रम)]-
3 [भ]टार्क(ट्टारक)[पडि]मरज[5][श्रीग]णपतिमहाप्रधान-
4 देउव . . [6]व्यापा[रं] करोति [।*] जौहट्टिप्रधान[7]-
5 रविज[पत्नी]दिनसुतमुघइसीह[8] पु-
6 [त्र]ह[रि]राजजेरा[जु]दौहतु[9] [।*] लघुपुत्रत्रि[धौ]
7 . . . .[10]न्दि[सुपु]त्रे[ण] [ज]मरायण[11] नि[वे]हेदे[यं(यम्)][12] ॥

---

[1] See note on the corresponding portion of the text.
[2] See No. 179, above.
[3] From plate facing p. 165 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII.
[4] The consonant of the penultimate sibilant is palatal and not dental, as used in *samasta* in the next line.
[5] Read परमराज.
[6] The two *aksharas* which are lost here may have been मुद्रा, as suggested by Sircar.
[7] As read by Sircar, according to whom, the first of these words is the Sanskrit *Jatuhaṭṭīya.* But all the letters here are mutilated and the last two appear as मात.
[8] All these letters are either mutilated or lost, and are given here as tentatively read by Sircar.
[9] Reading uncertain.
[10] Four syllable are lost here.
[11] Probably we have to read *yēṇa,* to be restored to *Yamarājēna.*
[12] As read by Sircar, who amended them to *nirvāhit=ēyam.* But some of the letters are misformed and some others are lost.

INDEX

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The figures refer to pages, and *n* after a figure to foot-notes. The following other abbreviations also have been used ; *au.* = author ; *Br.* = Brāhmaṇa ; *ca.* = capital ; *ch.* = chief ; *ci.* = city ; *co.* = country ; *com.* = composer ; *de.* = deity ; *dt.* = district or division ; *do.* = ditto ; *dy.* = dynasty ; *engr.* = engraver ; *ep.* = epithet ; *f.* = family ; *fe.* = female ; *feu.* = feudatory ; *gen.* = general ; *imp* = imperial ; *ins.* = inscription, inscriptions ; *k.* = king ; *lo.* = locality ; *l.m.* = linear measure, land measure ; *m.* = male ; *min.* = minister ; *mo.* = mountain ; *myth.* = mythological ; *n.* = name ; *off.* = office, officer ; *peo.* = people ; *pr.* = prince, princes ; *q.* = Queen ; *reg.* = region ; *rel.* = religion ; *ri.* = river ; *s.a.* = same as ; *S.* = Southern ; *sur.* = surname ; *te.* = temple ; *t.d.* = territorial division ; *tit.* = title ; *tk.* = taluk ; *tn.*, = town ; *vi.* = village ; *W.* = Western ; *wk.* = work ; *wt.* = weight.

INDEX

A

a, form of, 408*n*, 419, 439, 468
a, initial vowel, form of, 2, 10, 18, 28, 32, 35, 42, 50, 55, 90, 94, 127, 134, 138, 145, 147, 157, 172, 176, 211, 232, 286, 296, 312, 332, 338, 347, 356, 391, 400, 437, 503, 511, 529, 600
ā, medial, form of, 313, 335, 338, 382, 408*n*
Abhaṭa, *m.*, 423
Abhayadēva, *do.*, 503, 517
Ābhē, *do.*, 522
Abhi, *fem.*, 496
Abhijñāna Śākuntala, *Skt. drama*, 219*n*
Abhimanyu, *k.*, *of Kachchhapaghāta dy.*, 530-31
Abhimanyu, *m.*, 358
Abhinanda, *do.*, 180, 423, 602
Abhrasarit, *ri.*, 26
Ābhū, *m.*, 564
Ābū, *ca.*, 628 and *n*
Ābū, *mo.*, 234, 250-52, 258, 260, 271*n*, 272*n*, 273
Ābū, *tk.*, 252*n*
Ābū road, *Railway Station*, 623 and *n*, 638
Ābū ins., dated in 1031 A.C., 234
Ābū ins., of V.S. 1287, 639
Ābū stone ins., of V.S. 1342, 273
Achalagaḍh *s.a.* Achalapur, *fort*, 77, 240 and *n*
Achalagaḍh, *vi.*, 275*n*
Achalēśvara, *te.*, 239, 272*n*
Acharya G.V., 325 and *n*, 326 and *n*, 327 and *n*, 328 and *n*, 329*n*
āḍhaka, *l.m.*, 444*n*
aḍhatiyāni, *do.*, 290
Adhidrōṇāchārya, *n.*, *of a ruling house*, 139
Ādilābād, *dt.*, 93, 649 and *n*
Ādinagara *s.a.* Nagara or Mukhaliṅgam, *tn.*, 79*n*
Ādityadēva *s.a.* Udayāditya, *Paramāra k.*, *of Mālwa*, 65
Adriyalavidā-sthāna, *lo.*, 103-04
Adriyalaviddhāvarī, *do.*, 131
Āga, *vi.*, 558
Agaṇē, *m.*, 563
Āgar, *tn.*, 19
Agarāvāhalā, *ri.*, 11
agaru-paṅka, 453*n*
Agasiyaka, *vi.*, 557-58
Āghāṭa *s.a.* Chitor, *reg.*, 613*n*
Agra, *ci.*, 473,
Agra, *dt.*, 473
Agra, *reg.*, 597*n*
Agra-Bombay road, 594
Āgyā or Ākya *s.a.* Āryā, *vi.*, 558
Āhaḍa, *m.*, 148, 152, 564
Āhalla, *do.*, 100
Ahallaṇa, *do.*, 467*n*
Ahar, *vi.*, 455, 457, 632
Ahichchhatra, *n.*, *of a place*, 10*n*, 12 and *n*
Ahmedabad, *dt.*, 1, 5, 27, 146
Aijala, *m.*, 51
Airammadēva, *Yādava k.*, 642
Ajahāri *s.a.* Ajhārī, *vi.*, 237-38, 250
Ajahārī stone ins., 624*n*
Ajai, *m.*, 423
Ajainī, *fe.*, 563
Ajau, *m.*, 423
Ajayadēva, *off.*, 203
Ajayagaḍh, *fort*, 367*n*, 373, 406-07, 413, 436, 468, 499-500, 503-04, 510-11, 513, 515, 517-18, 523, 527-28, 629-31, 633, 635-36, 658
Ajayagaḍh ins., of Vīravarman, 116, 397, 474*n*, 496, 503, 508
Ajayagaḍh stone ins., of Kīrtivarman, 377, 379, 512, 517
Ajayagaḍh stone ins., of the time of Bhōjavarman, 375, 515, 633
Ajayapāla, *m.*, 423
Ajayapāla, *Chandēlla k.*, 30
Ajayapāla, *off.*, 139
Ajayapāla, *Chaulukya k.*, 244, 251
Ajayarāja, *Chāhamāna k.*, 116
Ajayasāgar, *n.*, *of a place*, 421
Ajayavarman *s.a.* Jayavarman, *Paramāra k.*, *of Mālwa*, 162-63 and 163*n*, 177, 215
Ajayī, *m.*, 180
Ajaypāl, *tank*, 631
Ajhārī *s.a.* Ajahārī, *vi.*, 237, 249
Ajhārī stone ins., of the time of Dhārāvarsha, 254, 264
Ajmer, *dt.*, 39 and *n*
Ajmer, *ci.*, 590*n*
Akālavarsha *s.a.* Akālavarshadēva, *Rāshṭrakūṭa k.*, 3, 4*n*, 5
Ākāra-janapada *s.a.* East Mālwa, *t.d.*, 149
Ākar-āvantī, *do*, 26*n*
Akbarpur, *tn.*, 282
Aklēra, *tk.*, 71
Akōlā, *tn.*, 179-80
Āladēva, *m.*, 218
Ālāka, *do.*, 314
Alakā, *ca.*, 108*n*
Alaṅkāras —
  Anuprāsa, 108, 279, 347, 660
  Apahnuti, 537
  Atiśayōkti, 108, 279
  Parisaṅkhyā, 338, 350, 352*n*, 537, 543
  Rūpaka, 108, 279, 283*n*, 287, 338, 350
  Sandēha, 416*n*, 473, 537, 600
  Slēsha (*double entendre*), 108, 126*n*, 287, 388*n*, 473, 537, 543*n*, 550
  Upamā, 108, 279, 287, 338, 350, 473, 537, 600
  Utprēkshā, 108, 143*n*, 273, 279, 287, 473, 563
  Virōdhābhāsa, 108, 112*n*, 144, 220*n*, 388 and *n*, 542*n*
  Vyatirēka, 108, 287, 292, 338, 345*n*, 537
Alā-ud-dīn-khaljī, *k.*, 523, 526, 528, 622, 628, 636, 638
Alaurā *s.a.* Laur, *vi.*, 492-93
Albērūnī, *Muslim chronicler*, 149 and *n*
Ālhā, *m.*, 422*n*
Ālhādana, *do.*, 273
Alhaṇa, *do.*, 601
Ālhaṇa, *do.*, 423, 659
Ālhaṇa, *Chāhamāna k.*, *of Nāḍōl*, 52, 333
Ālhaṇadēva, *k.*, 327
Alhaṇadēvī, *q.*, 131
Ālhaṇasiṁha, *k.*, 267-68
Ālhi, *m.*, 423
Ālhū, *do.*, 423, 517
Aliṇa, *do.*, 267

Allahabad, *ci.*, 342, 367*n*, 376, 513, 598
Allaka, *m.*, 119
Ālōṭ, *lo.*, 558
Altekar A.S., 72-73 and 73*n*, 74*n*, 244*n*
Āmadēva, *au.*, 203
Āmadēva, *m.*, 423
Āmadēva, *engr.*, 564
Amalāḍhā, *vi.*, 155*n*
Āmaṇa, *m.*, 215
Amara, *au.*, 511
Amarakaṇṭaka, *lo.*, 107*n*
Amarakīrtidēva, *m.*, 563
Amarakōśa, *wk.*, 464, 597*n*
Amarāpadra, *t.d.*, 153 and *n*, 155 and *n*
Amarapāṭan, *tn.*, 657 and *n*
Amarēśvara, *lo.*, 62-63, 168-69, 203, 643
Amarēśvara, *te.*, 104*n*, 176*n*, 204, 604
Amarēśvara-tīrtha, *ri.*, 641
Amātta, *m.*, 22
Āmbaḍa, *min.*, 244
Ambarasēna, *m.*, 531
Ambaṭa, *do.*, 314
Āmbēṁ stone ins., of Śaka 1150, 215*n*
Amērā, *vi.*, 98
Amēra ins., 641
Amitagati, *au.*, 25*n*, 78
Amma, *feu.*, 55, 57, 58*n*
Ammadēvāchārya, *Jaina pontiff*, 57
Amnaka, *m.*, 29
Amōghavarsha, *sur.*, *n.*, *of Paramāra Vākpatirāja*, 11
Amōghavarsha I *s.a.* Amōghavarshadēva, *Rāshṭrakūṭa k.*, 3, 4*n*
Amōghavarsha III, *do.*, 3
Āmpa, *m.*, 256
Āmradēva, *do.*, 563-64
Amrāvad, *vi.*, 155
Amṛitadēvī, *q.*, 228
Amushyāyaṇa, *ep.*, 162*n*
Amv(b)āditya Vyāsa, *com.*, 234
Ānā, *m.*, 257
Anahilla, *Chāhamāna k.*, *of Naḍḍūla*, 52, 324
Anala *s.a.* Śiva, *te.*, 79
Ānanda, *m.*, 423
Ānanda, *off.*, 517
Ānanda, *governor of the Ajaygadh fort*, 518
Ānandapāla, *Shāhi k.*, 79
Ānandapāla, *k.*, 653
Ānandapura, *vi.*, 3, 456-57
Ānandapura, *lo.*, 5
Ananta, *n.*, *of a scribe*, 310
Ananta, *m.*, 180, 218, 414
Anantāditya, *do.*, 21
Anantapāla, *do.*, 297, 423
Anayapāla, *k.*, 558
Anayasiṁha, *m.*, 169*n*
Anayasiṁha, *off.*, 212, 215-16
Āndhra, *co.*, 96, 217*n*, 218, 384-85
Andhra Pradesh, *state*, 93
Aṅga, *co.*, 384-85, 465
aṅgula, *l.m.*, 103
Aṇhilwāḍ, *ca.*, 174, 193*n*
Aṇhilwāḍ, *tn.*, 5, 56
Aṇhilwāḍ-pāṭan, *do.*, 4
anna-chchadma *s.a.* *anna-chhatra*(?), alms-house(?), 289
anna-chhatra *s.a.* alms house(?), 289
Aṇṇigere(Dhārwār) ins., dated 1189 A.D. 179
Anōhā, *lo.*, 22
Ānōha, *vi.*, 21
Anṛiṇa, *m.*, 479
Antarnātha, *do.*, 512
Antarvēdi., *reg.*, 414
Aparājita, *Paramāra k.*, *of Jālōr*, 333
Aparājita, *Kachchhapaghāta pr.*, 549
arahaṭṭa, 'water drawing wheel', 250 and *n*, 273, 277*n*, 625*n*
Araṇipadra *s.a.* Rāṇipadra *s.a.* Rāṇōd, *vi.*, 116*n*, 149, 493*n*
Araṇyarāja, *Paramāra k.*, *of Chandrāvatī*, 228, 260
Arasīsha *s.a.* Arisiṁha, *m.*, 581*n*
Arasiṁha, *do.*, 602
Aravasāka, *do.*, 330
Arddhāshṭama-maṇḍala, *t.d.*, 29
Ardhāshṭamaśata, *reg.*, 289-90.
Arbuda, *mo.*, 76 and *n*, 84, 96, 108, 196, 234, 240, 245, 261, 263, 273, 282, 290, 298, 310, 327
Arbuda-maṇḍala, *t.d.*, 228, 234, 238, 239*n*
Argalā-stōtra, *wk.*, 322*n*
Arikēsarin, *Śilāhāra k.*, *of Northern-Kōṅkaṇa*, 37 and *n*
Arisiṁhadēva, *m.*, 197
Arjuna, *do.*, 197, 297, 384
Arjuna, *k.*, of *Kachchhapaghāta dy.*, 530 and *n*, 654
Arjuna, *epic Pāṇḍava pr.*, 95, 340, 545*n*, 553
Arjuna, *feu.*, 94
Arjunavarman *s.a.* Arjunavarmadēva, *Paramāra k.*, *of Mālwa*, 126*n*, 128*n*, 129*n*, 162-64, 166, 168, 169*n*, 173, 177-79 and 179*n*, 196, 209*n*, 213-14 and 214*n*, 215, 260-61, 508*n*, 619, 622
Arjunavarman II, *do.*, 215, 273
Arṇaiyākhēdā, *vi.*, 526
Arṇōrāja, *Vāghēla k.*, *of Gujarat*, 251
arthalēkhin, 'keeper of account', 492
Arthaśāstra, *wk.*, 452
Arthūṇa, *vi.*, 41, 280*n*, 286, 289-90 and 290*n*, 296, 298 and *n*, 300, 302, 305-06 and 306*n*, 307, 308*n*, 309, 312, 314 and *n*
Arthūṇa stone ins., of the time of Chāmuṇḍarāja, 61
Arthūṇā ins., of Vijayarāja, 290
Arthūṇā *praśasti*, 280-81, 313*n*
Arthur Venis, 446 and *n*
Āśāchandra, *m.*, 549-50
Āsadēva, *do.*, 297, 299*n*
Asadhara, *do.*, 423
Āśādhara, *do.*, 115, 180, 420*n*, 558, 592
Āśādhara, *au.*, 179, 191*n*
Āśāditya, *m.*, 22
Āsalla *s.a.* Āsallarāja *s.a.* Āsalladēva, *k.*, *of the Yajvapāla dy.*, 562 and *n*, 563, 568, 569-70, 587-88, 590*n*, 601
Āsarāja, *engr.*, 281, 297*n*
Āsarāja, *m.*, 289, 297
Āsarāja, *Chāhamāna k.*, *Nāḍōl*, 327
Āsarva, *fe.*, 414
Āsarvva, *do.*, 354
Āśāvā, *vi.*, 266
Ashan, *m.*, 515*n*
Ashan, *off.*, 634, 636
Āshṭā, *tk.*, 32
Āshṭā, *tn.*, 34
Āsinī, *fe.*, 15
Āśrama-sthāna, *lo.*, 179-80

Astavāla-grāma, *vi.*, 401
Asurēśa-maṇḍala, *t.d.*, 21
Aśvadhara, *m.*, 420*n*
Aśvadhara or Āśādhara, *do.*, 430*n*
Aśvatthāma, *com.*, 96
Aśvatthāma, *au.*, 649
Aśvins, *myth. physician twins*, 506*n*
Aśvī plates dated Śaka 1020, 642
Ātaka, *m.*, 21
Ātmānuśāsana, *wk.*, 312, 314
Atri, *m.*, 218
Atrū, *tk.*, 72, 74, 118
Atrū, *tn.*, 72*n*, 192-93
Atrū stone ins., of the time of Jayasiṁha, 209
Atrū stone ins., of the time of Jayavarman, 208
Audīchya Brāhmaṇa, *community*, 318
Audrahādi, *t.d.*, 57-58
Aufrecht, 78*n*
Augāsi, *vi.*, 471
Augāsi, *te.*, 395 and *n*
Augāsi copper-plate ins., of Madanavarman, 71*n*, 116, 135, 146, 400-01, 414, 448, 450*n*
Auji, *m.*, 391
Āülli *s.a.* Awāl, *vi.*, 273-74
Āürakāchārya, *m.*, 318
Avantī, *t.d.*, 25-26 and 26*n*
Avantī, *co.*, 139, 196, 313
Avantivarman Yōgarāja II, *Chālukya k.*, 4*n*
Āvaraka, *vi.*, 19
Āvaraka-bhōga, *t.d.*, 19
Āvasa, *m.*, 273
Avasara, *do.*, 423
Avasāvika, *do.*, 163
Āvasthika, *ep.*, 148, 152, 178, 180-81, 184*n*, 223*n*
Avasthin, *do.*, 216, 218
Avivā, *vi.*, 21
Āvrā, *do.*, 19, 20*n*
Awār, *do.*, 19
Ayan, *m.*, 511
Ayōdhyā, *ca.*, 273, 616

B

b, form of, 83, 233, 271, 287, 371, 377, 405, 499, 511
Babāḍō, *vi.*, 553-54
Babu Jwala Prasad, 528
Babu Rajendralal Mitra, 395
Bābū Śāstrī, 210
Badarbēḍ, *vi.*, 229
Badarī, *lo.*, 229
Bādmēr, *tn.*, 325
Badnāvar, *vi.*, 217*n*
Badnāwar, *do.*, 132*n*
Baḍōdī, *do.*, 572
Baḍōdi ins., 602
Bagaḍi, *vi.*, 217
Bāgh, *tn.*, 241 and *n*, 242
Bāgh, *reg.*, 242
Baghāri, *do.*, 473 *n*
Bāgh image ins., of the time of Yaśōdhavala, 260
Bāgidōrā, *tk.*, 41
Bāgidōrā, *province*, 290
Bahāl ins., of 1222 A.C., 214*n*
Bahī Tāl, *n.*, *of a lake*, 438
Bāhlē, *do.*, 452
Bāhula, *m.*, 424
Bāhuladēva, *do.*, 424
Bailva, *n.*, *of a tank.*, 384, 388*n*
Baka-aigala, *tn.*, 57, 59*n*
Bala, *demon*, 292 *n*, 474
Balabhadra, *m.*, 218
Balabhadra Mallaya, *gen.*, 588
Bālaharsha, *Kalachuri Chēdi k.*, 340*n*
Bālakēlhaṇa, *m.*, 243
Bālanārāyaṇa, *ep.*, 202
Bālaprasāda, *Chāhamāna k.* *of Nāḍōl*, 324, 327*n*
Bālasiṁha, *m.*, 197
Balban, *gen.*, 191, 203, 628
Bālhaṇā, *m.*, 456
Balī, *k.*, 362
Bālī, *dt.*, 257
Bālī, *tk.*, 232, 247, 264, 265*n*
Balirāja, *Chāhamāna k.*, *of Nāḍōl*, 16
Ballāla, *k.*, *of Mālwā*, 139 and *n*, 242 and *n*, 260-61
Ballāḷa, *Hoysaḷa k.*, 95, 159, 650 and *n*
Bālōdā, *vi.*, 217
Baluā *s.a.* Baruā, *ri.*, 588 and *n*
Bālukā, *do.*, 588*n*
Balvan ins., of Hammīra dated V.S. 1345, 193, 569
Bāmanpurī *s.a.* Brahmapurikā, *vi.*, 558
Bāṁbhaṇvāḍa *s.a.* Bāmaṇwārjī, *do.*, 253
Bamhaṇaudā, *do.*, 397
Bamharḍā, *do.*, 396
Bamhari, *do.*, 397
Bamhrī, *do.*, 525 and *n*, 526*n*
Bāṇapura, *do.*, 456-57
Banās, *do.*, 226*n*
Banās, *ri.*, 252
Bāndā, *dt.*, 342, 367, 369, 390, 392, 395, 402, 405, 438, 440, 448, 453, 461, 471, 478, 507, 518
Bāndā, *tn.*, 395, 402, 422, 637
Bandhu, *poet.*, 84 *n*
Banerji R.D., 54, 56-57, 58*n*, 59*n*, 114 and *n*, 115*n*, 116, 117*n*, 194, 197, 336*n*, 379*n*, 562*n*, 642
Baṅga, *co.*, 465
Baṅgla, *m.*, 588*n*
Baṅgla, *vi.*, 577, 579
Baṅgla ins., 479*n*, 595, 596*n*, 601, 662
Banī, *vi.*, 20 and *n*
Bānswāḍā, *erstwhile state*, 278 and *n*, 296
Bānswāḍā, *dt.*, 40-41, 279, 287, 300, 302, 305, 307, 309, 312, 643
Bānswāḍā, *reg.*, 249 *n*, 314
Bānswāḍā, *tn.*, 28, 33, 35-37, 626
Bānswāḍā copper plate ins., of Bhōjadēva, 28, 35-37, 38*n*, 39, 46, 52, 54, 56, 286
Bappaiparāja, *Paramāra k.*, 4 and *n*, 5
Bāpyadēva, *engr.*, 167, 169
Bārājī, *te.*, 320
Bārappā, *gen.*, 5, 78
Barappa, *k.*, 30, 56, 379*n*
Barkhēḍā, *vi.*, 132, 136*n*
Barkhēḍī, *do.*, 132
Barliyā, *do.*, 41
Barloot, *do.*, 628
Barnagar, *tn.*, 654
Barnett L.D., 59*n*, 281-82, 286 and *n*, 287*n*, 288*n*, 289-90 and 290*n*, 291*n*, 292*n*, 293*n*, 294*n*, 295*n*, 296*n*

Barō, *vi.*, 128*n*, 136
Barōd, *do.*, 136, 554
Barōdā, *dt.*, 5, 27
Baroda, *t.d.*, 50
Barōdiyā, *vi.*, 41
Baruā *s.a.* Balwā, *ri.*, 578, 588
Barua B.M., 487
Barūḍ, *vi.*, 203
Bārūṭ ins., V.S. 1283, 639
Basak R.G., 179*n*
Bāsōdā, *tk.*, 185, 187, 611, 622
Bāsōdā, *parganā*, 65, 75, 98, 144
Bastar, *dt.*, 94, 96
Baṭēśvara, *tn.*, 473 and *n*
Baṭēśvara stone ins., of Paramardin, 354*n*, 421, 462*n*, 480, 526*n*
Batiāgaḍh, *vi.*, 526*n*
Bayānā Jaina ins., 365
Beḍwāḍā, *vi.*, 485
Beekore, *do.*, 422
Bēgandī, *do.*, 128
Bengal, *co.*, 125, 340
Bengal, *t.d.*, 20-21
Benkā, *vi.*, 19-20
Berar, *t.d.*, 78, 89
Berwan, *vi.*, 44
Bēiwārā, *dt.*, 422
Bēṭmā, *vi.*, 19*n*, 28, 33, 35 and *n*, 36-37
Bēṭmā copper plate ins., of Bhōjadēva, 28, 37, 40, 46, 52, 54, 56, 102
Bētwā, *reg.*, 116, 397, 500
Bētwā, *ri.*, 116, 131, 342, 354, 362, 371, 379, 423, 444, 523*n*
Bētwā, *valley*, 116, 397, 531
bh, form of, 2, 18, 32, 35, 43, 46, 51, 70, 72, 76, 90, 94, 99, 107, 127, 141, 147, 172, 192, 248, 251, 257, 279, 287, 300, 305, 309, 312, 325, 332, 335, 338, 371, 377, 382, 400, 405, 419, 439, 455, 458, 464, 470, 473, 479, 499, 536-37, 556, 561, 569, 586, 595, 597, 624
Bhābhinī, *fe.*, 242
Bhābhū, *m.*, 424
Bhādadēva, *do.*, 273
Bhadrēśvara, *do.*, 178, 180, 424, 592
Bhāduka, *do.*, 314*n*
Bhāḍūṇḍ *s.a.* Bhuṇḍipadra, *vi.*, 232 and *n*
Bhāḍūṇḍ stone ins., of the time of Pūrṇapāla, 238, 321
bhāga, 'a portion of produce', 33
Bhagavatpura, *vi.*, 15-16
Bhagavatpura *s.a.* Bhagar, *tn.*, 104 and *n*
Bhagavatputra-pratijāgaraṇaka, *t.d.*, 103
Bhagīratha, *myth. k.*, 538
Bhagōr, *vi.*, 15-16 and 16*n*, 104
Bhagōrā, *do.*, 282
Bhāila, *m.*, 22, 40
Bhāilasvāmin, *te.*, 122
Bhāilla, *m.*, 314, 354
Bhāillasvāmipura *s.a.* Vidisha *s.a.* Bhilsā, *ci.*, 149
Bhainrā, *vi.*, 193
Bhalla *s.a.* Jhalla, *m.*, 301
Bhāminī, *fe.*, 242*n*
bhāṇḍāgāra, 'royal treasury', 641
Bhāṇḍaka, *vi.*, 110
Bhandarkar D.R., 30*n*, 37, 39, 59*n*, 65, 69, 83, 91*n*, 104*n*, 120, 178*n*, 185, 192, 193*n*, 194 and *n*, 195, 197, 208, 214*n*, 227, 230*n*, 237*n*, 238*n*, 239, 240*n*, 247*n*, 248, 250*n*, 251*n*, 254, 255*n*, 256*n*, 257, 260*n*, 263*n*, 264-65 and 265*n*, 266*n*, 267*n*, 270, 271*n*, 273*n*, 280*n*, 281, 298, 306*n*, 308*n*, 309, 310*n*, 312, 318 and *n*, 320 and *n*, 321 and *n*, 322-23, 325-26, 330, 332-33, 358*n*, 461*n*, 464, 510, 530*n*, 549*n*, 556*n*, 557, 559, 561, 586, 591, 596, 600, 601*n*, 604*n*, 623
Bhander, *ri.*, 422
Bhānika, *m.*, 424
Bhānpurā, *tn.*, 194
Bhānpurā, *n.*, *of a parganā*, 21
Bhāradvāja, *m.*, 148, 152
Bharahapāla, *do.*, 592
bharaka, *l.m.*, 289
Bharata, *m.*, 659
Bharatapāla, *m.*, 180
Bhāratībhavana *s.a.* Bhōjaśalā, *n.*, *of Bhōjas palace*, 49
Bhārat Kalā bhavan copper plate ins., of Harirāja, 341
Bharat Kalā bhavan grant of Madanavarman, 419
Bhārat Kalā bhavan copper plate ins., of Paramardidēva, 471, 483
Bharatpur, *erstwhile state*, 365
Bhartṛihari, *au.*, 364*n*
Bhāskara, *m.*, 273, 424
Bhāsvat *s.a.* Bhilsā or Vidishā, *tn.*, 342
Bhatahaḍa, *tank*, 444
Bhatia P, 30*n*, 250*n*, 290
Bhaṭṭa Ēllā, *m.*, 401
Bhaṭṭāgrahāra, 'agrahāra of learned persons', 421, 440-41, 444, 448, 452, 460, 471
Bhaṭṭagrāma, *do.*, 20, 25, 358, 361-62, 653-54
Bhaṭṭa Magan Motīrām, *m.*, 1
Bhāṭuka, *com.*, 314
Bhāvā, *fe.*, 550
Bhavabhūti, *au.*, 76*n*, 143*n*
Bhavagupta, *k.*, 229
Bhavaṇasvāmi, *m.*, 424
Bhavaśarman, *do.*, 424
Bhāvyakumudachandrikā, *wk.*, 191*n*
Bhavyāsarāja, *m.*, 297
Bhavyāsarāja, *off.*, 299*n*
Bhāyila, *m.*, 424
Bhēḍāghāṭ stone ins., 131
Bhēlā, *vi.*, 155 *n*
Bhērābhēka, *m.*, 659
Bhikangāon, *n.*, *of a parganā*, 128
Bhil, *state*, 58
Bhil, *tribe*, 54
Bhillama, *Yādava k.*, 163, 119 and *n*
Bhillama II, *do.*, 78 *n*, 214 *n*.
Bhillama V, *do.*, 159, 214 *n*, 246, 614
Bhillas, *peo.*, 517
Bhillasvāmin, *de.*, 397
Bhillasvāmin, *te.*, 213
Bhillasvāmipura *s.a.* Bhilsā, *tn.*, 116, 135, 146, 206-07, 213, 216
Bhilsa *s.a.* Vidishā, *tn.*, 122, 125, 128*n*, 135-36, 140, 146, 153, 188, 206-07, 340, 342, 397
Bhilsa, *fort*, 188, 203
Bhīma, *vi.*, 62-63

Bhīma *s.a.* Bhīmadēva, *Chaulukya k., of Gujarat*, 56, 63, 78-80, 82, 91, 109, 228, 234, 238, 324, 327*n*
Bhīma II, *do.*, 163, 196, 244-46, 251, 256, 260, 330*n*, 545*n*
Bhīmapallī, *ca.*, 251
Bhīmasēna, *epic Pāṇḍava pr.*, 553
Bhīmasēna, *a member of the Kachchhapaghāta f.*, 530 *n*
Bhīmpur, *vi.*, 561, 564
Bhinmāl, *ca.*, 248, 318 and *n*
Bhinmāl, *tn.*, 319-20, and 320*n*
Bhinmāl-kirāḍu, *reg.*, 321-23, 326, 329 and *n*, 330
Bhinmāl plates, 318*n*
Bhinmāl stone ins., of the time of Jayatsiṁha, 248
Bhinmāl stone ins., of the time of Krishṇarāja V.S. 1117, 318
Bhīshma, *epic warrior*, 387*n*
bhōga, 'territorial division', 11-12
Bhōgāditya, *m.*, 424
Bhōgyapura, *vi.*, 282
Bhōja II, *Pratīhāra k.*, 336 and *n*
Bhōjadēva *s.a.* Bhōja, *Paramāra k.*, 5, 8, 19*n*, 26*n*, 28, 30, 33 and *n*, 36 and *n*, 37 and *n*, 40-41, 43, 46-47, 49, 51-52, 55-57, 60-63 and 63*n*, 65, 73, 78 and *n*, 79-80, 88*n*, 90-91, 94, 100, 103-04 and 104*n*, 109, 115, 120, 125 and *n*, 162 and *n*, 168, 177, 198*n*, 202, 213, 220*n*, 228, 234, 260, 280-81, 283*n*, 288, 313, 378, 397, 506*n*, 530-31, 538, 570, 622, 641
Bhōjaka, *n., of a physician*, 503
Bhōjaprabandha, *wk.*, 77, 295
Bhōja-śalā *s.a.* Bhāratī-bhavana *s.a.* Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, *n. of Bhōja's palace*, 49
Bhōjavarman, *Chandēlla k.*, 503, 511-12, 513*n*, 516-18, 523 and *n*, 526, 530, 601, 633-34, 636
Bhōjpur, *vi.*, 105
Bhōjūka, *off.*, 503, 517-18
Bhōṇapāla *s.a.* Bhuvanapāla, *m.*, 440
Bhopal, *ci.*, 30, 132, 146 and *n*, 157, 168*n*, 422, 480, 614
Bhopal, *dt.*, 32-33, 131, 136, 149, 157*n*, 159, 166, 169*n*
Bhopal, *erstwhile state*, 138, 152*n*, 157, 168
Bhopal, *reg.*, 131-32, 135-36, 139, 145, 149, 158
Bhopal copper plate ins., of *Mahākumāra* Hariśchandra, 135*n*, 136, 139, 143, 145, 153
Bhopal copper plate ins., of *Mahākumāra* Udayavarman, 135, 139, 151, 159, 169*n*
Bhopal pillar ins., of the time of *Mahākumāra* Lakshmīvarman, 30
Bhō(ū)pati, *m.*, 218
Bhōṭa, *tn.*, 342
Bhṛigu, *m.*, 180, 564
Bhrigukachchha *s.a.* Broach, *lo.*, 166-67
Bhṛiṅgārikā, 64, *t.d.*, 188
Bhṛiṅgārikā *s.a.* Bhiraṅgāvalī, *vi.*, 188
Bhūlā, *do.*, 641, 643
Bhuṁbhāna, *m.*, 659
Bhūmi-gṛiha, *t.d.*, 33-34
Bhuṇḍipadra *s.a.* Bhāḍuṇḍ, *vi.*, 233-34
Bhūshaṇa, *m.*, 313-14
Bhūtapallikā, *vi.*, 361-62
Bhuvanadēvī, *q.*, 357-58
Bhuvanapāla, *m.*, 442*n*
Bhuvanapāla, *min.*, 570
Bhuvanapāla, *k.*, 538, 549 and *n*, 550, 558
Bhuvanasvāmin, *m.*, 129*n*
Biḍa, *dt.*, 649*n*
Bīghā, *l.m.*, 104, 186*n*
Bihar, *state*, 351, 385, 402, 460, 518, 598
Bījāmaṇḍala, *te.*, 646 and *n*
Bījāmandir, *do.*, 120
Bijaulī, *vi.*, 397
Bijāwar, *tk.*, 485
Bijāwar, *erstwhile state*, 418 and *n*
Bijāwar, *tn.*, 497
Bikaura, *n., of a place*, 422*n*, 485
Bilhaṇa, *au.*, 95 and *n*, 109*n*
Bilhaṇa, *com.*, 619
Bilhaṇa, *m.*, 163, 167, 173
Bilhaṇa, *min.*, 178-79
Bilhārī, *lo.*, 107*n*
Bilhārī stone ins., 110
Bilhārī ins., of Ratnadēva, 294*n*
Bilquisgang, *vi.*, 149
Bilvavāra, *lo.*, 20
Binā, *tn.*, 397
Bindā, *vi.*, 74
Bindraban, *m.*, 446*n*
Birudas —
Avantināthа, 131 and *n*, 132*n*, 242, 313
Bhuvanaikamalla, 538
Chēdīśa *s.a.* *Dāhalādhīśa*, 82
Dāhalādhīśa, 80, 82, 109*n*
Daśārṇādhinātha, 479
Kālañjar-ādhipati, 351, 357, 496, 658
Kānyakubjādhipati, 491
Kavichakravartin, 192, 384
Kavīndra, 475
Kavirāja, 78
Kāyastha-kuñjara, 613
Kumāra-nārāyaṇa, 202*n*
Mahākavi-chakravartin, 123, 125
Mahāmāṇḍalika chūḍāmaṇi, 3*n*
Mahēśvara-śirōmaṇi, 474*n*
Nirvāṇa-Nārāyaṇa, 616
Paṇḍitāchārya, 365
Prithvīvallabha, 3, 11, 77
Rājatrayādhipati, 491
Sāmanta-chūḍā-maṇi, 3
Sarva-vidyābdhi, 77
Śrī-vallabha, 3, 11, 77
Trailōkyamalla, 538
Tribhuvanamalla, 642
Trividha-pravīra, 196
Bisheshwar Nath Reu, 332-33 and 333*n*, 334*n*
Bisheshwar Nath Shastri, 69, 71*n*, 318 and *n*, 320*n*
Boar, *te.*, 80
Bōdhanē, *m.*, 424
Bōgra, *dt.*, 20
Bombay, *ci.*, 8, 27
Bombay, *erstwhile state*, 54, 155*n*, 166
Bōramdeō, *te.*, 353*n*
Bōrdā, *vi.*, 160
Bose A.N., 104*n*
Bose N., 470
Bose N.S., 471*n*
Brahmadēva, *ch. min.*, 579
Brahmagupta, *au.*, 124*n*, 647
Brāhmaṇa, *community*, 47, 52, 62, 90, 92, 99, 103, 115, 128*n*, 145, 148, 152, 164*n*, 169, 178, 179*n*,

195, 202-03, 209*n*, 212, 215-16, 217*n*, 218*n*, 229, 233*n*. 235*n*, 248, 249*n*, 267, 268*n*, 269-72, 276*n*, 314, 319, 321, 324, 351, 357-58, 361, 372, 384, 389*n*, 396, 401, 420, 422, 444, 446*n*, 452, 459, 477*n*, 496, 508, 522, 536-37, 539-40, 544*n*, 546, 553, 576*n*, 575, 622, 624, 652, 658-59
Brahmāṇa *s.a.* Varmān, *vi.*, 225-26
Brahman, *m.*, 180, 424
Brahmāṇḍa, *do.*, 628
Brāhmṇamanē, *lo.*, 592
Brahmapaṇḍita, *m.*, 21
Brahmapurī, *tn.*, 216, 538, 558
Brahmavāk, *f.*, 5
Briggs, 79*n*, 562*n*, 653*n*, 654*n*
Bṛihaspati, *preceptor of the gods.*, 414, 121, 539, 544*n*, 551
Bṛihatsaṁhitā, *wk.*, 124*n*
British Museum Saraswati image ins., 88*n*
Broach, *lo.*, 215
Būḍāpata *s.a.* Bēdoowā, *vi.*, 626
Ḅuddha s.a. Jina, 567n
Budha, *planet*, 437
Budh Budra s.a. Būḍhi Bhadrā, *n.*, *of a gate*, 461
Budhēaā, *vi.*, 662
Budhēr *s.a.* Budhēra, *do.*, 662*n*
Budrukh, *do.*, 282*n*
Bühler *G.*, 75-78 and 78*n*, 79-80 and 80*n*, 81*n*, 118
Bundēla, *reg.*, 588
Bundēlkhand, *do.*, 144, 335, 351, 358, 360, 375, 379, 411-12, 418, 423, 450*n*, 451, 469, 484, 499, 504, 510, 515, 521, 636
Būndī, *vi.*, 587
Burgess, 106, 335, 338, 347, 381, 411, 461, 600
Burt T.S., 226-27, 337*n*, 381
Butrī, *vi.*, 256
Byāvarā, *do.*, 110

C

Cadell *A.*, 395
Calcutta, *ci.*, 14, 24, 48, 349
Cambay, *gulf*, 5
Cartellieri *W.*, 418-19 and 419*n*, 420, 422-23, 427*n*, 428*n*, 429*n*, 430*n*, 431*n*, 432*n*, 433*n*, 434*n*, 435*n*
Central India, 556
Central India Agency, 360, 451
Central Rajasthan, 557
Ch, form of, 2, 11, 18, 32, 46, 55, 76, 99, 102, 107, 115, 123, 127, 134, 138, 158, 172, 233, 259, 278, 297, 309, 312, 325, 335, 347, 350, 354, 356, 361, 365, 367, 374, 377, 382, 391, 393, 395, 400, 419, 439, 443, 447, 452, 455, 458, 463, 468, 470, 473, 479, 483, 487, 499, 504, 511, 522, 529, 569, 586, 597, 616-17, 626, 629, 631, 640, 647, 652, 657
Chachcha, *Paramāra k.*, 229, 280-82
Chachchāī, *q.*, 57
Chachchurōṇī, *vi.*, 70, 73
Chachchurōṇī, *t.d.*, 73
Chāchiga, *off.*, 599 *n*
Chāchiga *s.a.* Chāchigadēva, *Paramāra k.*, 628 and *n*
Chāchigadēva, *feu.*, 598
Chāchigadēva, *Paramāra k.*, 628
Chāchigadēva, *off.*, 597 and *n*
Chachōḍā, *vi.*, 459
Chāḍadēva, *engr.*, 238
Chādala, *m.*, 500
Chaḍōbha, *do.*, 533*n*
Chāḍuri, *do.*, 197
Chāḍuri, *ch. min.*, 197
Chāha, *m.*, 564, 653
Chāhaḍa, *do.*, 306, 564, 567*n*
Chāhaḍa, *k.*, *of the Yajvapāla dy.*, 562*n*, 563, 569-70, 571*n*, 587, 601-02
Chāhaḍadēva, *off.*, 598*n*
Chāhamāna, *dy.*, 52, 116, 250-51, 254, 281, 288, 324, 339, 465, 479, 590 *n*, 628 and *n*, 642
Chāhamāna of Ajmer, *do.*, 246, 251
Chāhamāna of Jālōr, *do.*, 324, 330
Chāhamāna of Nāḍōl, *do.*, 52, 163, 254, 261, 264*n*, 324, 330, 333
Chāhamāna of Raṇathambhōr, *do.*, 193, 209
Chāhamāna of Śākambharī, *do.*, 52
Chaha-i-aja *s.a.* Chāhaḍa, *k.*, 562
Chāhila, *m.*, 70, 303
Chāhilla, *do.*, 303
Chaitra, festival, 289
Chakradurga, *lo.*, 94, 96
Chakrakōṭa, *do.*, 95 *n*
Chakrapāṇī, ep. of Vishṇu, 174
Chakrasvāmin, *m.*, 424
Chakravarty N.P., 44*n*, 58, 114-15, 117, 135, 145-52, 159, 365, 367, 370, 373, 467, 487, 490-94, 504, 506, 513, 604, 613, 629, 631-32, 634, 636-37, 642
Chāmana, *m.*, 554
Chāmaṭikā, *vi.*, 103, 105*n*
Chambal, *ri.*, 15-16, 47, 72*n*, 104, 152*n*, 193, 529*n*
Chambal, *dam*, 197
Champā, *ci.*, 357
Champakā, *fe.*, 512
Chāmpalā, *do.*, 273
Champū-kāvya, *a type of literary wk.*, 352 *n*, 357
Chāmuṇḍarāja, *Chaulukya k.*, *of Gujarat*, 56, 326
Chāmuṇḍarāja, *Paramāra k.*, *of Vāgaḍa*, 61, 287 and *n*, 288-90, 297-98, 300-10, 303, 305-06 and 306*n*, 307, 310, 313 and *n*
Chāṇakya, *min.*, 303.
Chanda *R.P.*, 49*n*
Chāndā *s.a.* Chāhuṇḍa, *tn.*, 140
Chāndā, *dt.*, 110 and *n*, 203
Chandala, *vi.*, 271*n*
Chandana, *m.*, 324
Chandana, *Paramāra k.*, *of Jālōr*, 333
Chaṇḍapa, *m.*, 288
Chaṇḍapa, *Paramāra k.*, *of Vāgaḍa.*, 280
Chaṇḍaśivāchārya, *m.*, 318
Chāndala, *q.*, 402
Chandēla, *vi.*, 623
Chandēlla, *dy.*, 5*n*, 116, 135, 146, 149, 154, 159, 191, 212*n*, 392, 335-36, 339-42, 350, 354, 357, 361 and *n*, 365-66, 368, 372, 374-75, 378, 397, 401, 404*n*, 407, 411-14, 419-22, 436-40, 443-44, 447-48 and 448*n*, 452-53, 456, 459, 462, 465, 468-69, 497, 483-84, 487-88, 491*n*, 492, 493*n*, 496, 497*n*, 499-500, 503-05, 508, 513, 516-18, 522-23 and 523*n*, 525 *n*, 526-27, 531, 538, 557, 578-79, 580 *n*, 588, 589*n*, 601, 629-30, 633, 636-37, 642, 651-54 and 654*n*, 657-58, 660*n*, 663
Chandērī, *ca.*, 342
Chandēri, *tn.*, 203, 601, 662-63
Chandērī *s.a.* Kīrtīdurga, *n.*, *of a fort*, 601*n*, 602

Chandiri, *lo.*, 562
Chaṇḍīśa Mahādēva, *te.*, 329
Chandpur, *vi.*, 132,
Chandra *s.a.* Śrīchandra, *Paramāra gen.*, 125
Chāndra, *system of grammer*, 88*n*
Chandra, *Yajvapāla gen.*, 570
Chandra, *com.*, 289
Chandrāditya, *m.*, 21, 424
Chandrakaṇṭha, *do.*, 180
Chandrapurī, *vi.*, 131-32
Chandraśrēsṭhin, *m.*, 492
Chandrashekhar Gupta, 649*n*
Chandrātrēya *s.a.* Chandēlla, *dy.*, 339, 348, 354, 377, 383, 396, 401, 444, 448, 452, 465, 474, 511-12, 522, 653, 657
Chandrātrēya, *race.*, 440, 499
Chandrāvatī, *ca., of the Paramāras*, 77, 139, 225, 240, 242, 244, 250, 252, 254, 261, 263, 264-65, 267-69, 273-74
Chandrāvatī, *reg.*, 245, 256, 272, 321
Chandrāvatī 1800, *t.d.*, 254
Chandrāvatī, *do.*, 238
Chandravāṭikā, *n. of a garden.*, 347
Chandrēhē, *lo.*, 659
Chandrēśvara, *f.*, 496
Characters —
Nāgarī, 2, 8, 10-11, 14, 18, 24-25, 27-28, 32, 35, 39, 42, 45-46, 49-50, 54, 60, 62, 65, 67-69, 72, 75, 83-84, 87, 89-90, 93, 99, 102, 106-07, 114, 120, 123, 127, 130, 134, 138, 141, 145, 147, 157, 162, 166, 168, 172, 176, 185, 188, 190, 193, 195, 201, 207-08, 210-11, 225, 227, 232, 235*n*, 240, 242-43, 245, 248, 251, 256-57, 259, 263, 265, 267, 269, 271, 278, 286, 296, 300, 303, 305, 309, 312, 318, 320, 325, 332, 335, 338, 347, 350, 353, 356, 360, 367, 371, 373-74, 377, 382, 391, 393, 395, 400, 405, 407, 409-10, 419, 436-37, 439, 443, 447, 451-52, 455, 458, 461, 463, 468, 470, 473, 479, 483, 487, 491, 496, 499, 503-04, 507, 511, 516, 522, 526, 529, 536, 549, 553, 556, 561, 569, 578, 586, 591, 595, 597, 600, 611, 613-14, 616, 619, 622, 624, 626-27, 629-31, 633-34, 636-37, 639-40, 646, 652
Roman, 27, 32, 54, 69, 114
Charkhārī, *erstwhile state*, 360, 521
Charkhārī, *tk.*, 495
Charkhārī copper-plate grant of Hammīravarman, 527 and *n*
Charkhārī plate dated in 1178 A.C., 154
Charkhārī grant, 379, 397, 402, 633-34, 658
Charkhārī grant of Vīravarman of V.S. 1311, 523
Charmaṇvatī, *ri.*, 15*n*
Charūpī (or Rūpī ?), *fe.*, 272
Chaturbhuja, *te.*, 337*n*
Chaturbhuja, *m.*, 424
Chāturvargachintāmaṇi, *wk.*, 156*n*, 389*n*
Chaubērā Dēra, *te.*, 89
Chauhan, *dy.*, 581, 628
Chaulukya, *do.*, 4-5, 30, 34, 37*n*, 55-57, 63, 73, 77-80, 82, 91-92, 95, 109, 116, 135, 139, 159, 163, 174, 208, 213, 215, 228, 234, 237-38, 240, 242, 244-46, 251, 260-61, 272, 280, 321, 324, 327, 330*n*, 421, 474, 557*n*, 642, 650
Chaulukya of Lāṭa, *do.*, 30, 52
Chālukya, *kingdom*, 56
Chaulukya of Gujarāt, *dy.*, 52, 79, 131, 256, 314, 397, 500
Chālukya W. *f.*, 52
Chauramba, *vi.*, 21
Chaurika, *off.*, 57, 59*n*
Chāvḍā *s.a.* Chāpōtkaṭa, *dy.*, 4
Chēdi, *co.*, 55, 57, 342, 379, 413
Chēdi, *dy.*, 56, 58*n*, 78, 340 and *n*, 413, 500
Chēdis, *peo.*, 116, 340
Chēṭaka, *m.*, 323,
chh, subscript, form of, 107, 211, 278, 305, 309, 400, 529, 586, 600, 624
Chhabra *B.Ch.*, 90, 259
Chhachchha, *m.*, 310
Chhaḍḍaka, *scribe*, 29
Chhanār, *vi.*, 274
Chhanāra, *do.*, 273
Chhandas, *one of the Vēdāṅgas*, 358*n*
Chhaṅga, l.m., 289
Chhaprī, *vi.*, 353*n*
Chhatarpur, *dt.*, 335, 337, 347, 353, 358, 381, 385, 409, 411, 418, 483, 485, 497, 629
Chhatarpur Rājā, *ch.*, 337*n*
Chhatrasēna, *preceptor*, 314
Chhatrasēna, *m.*, 303
Chhattīsgaḍh, *dt.*, 353, 480, 519*n*
Chheench *s.a.* Chhiñchchha, *vi.*, 41
Chhichhā, *m.*, 384
Chhīdula, *do.*, 444
Chhiñcha-sthāna, *vi.*, 40
Chhindwāḍā, *dt.*, 155, 423
Chhīpābaḍōd, *tk.*, 74
Chhittapa, *com.*, 123, 125 and *n*
Chhittarāja, *Śilāhāra k., of Northern Koṅkaṇa*, 37*n*
Chhittōd, *dt.*, 74
Chhītu, *m.*, 424*n*
Chhōṭā-tavā, *tributary*, 174*n*
Chīchai *s.a.* Chāchiga, *m*,. 627, 628*n*
Chikaldā, *tn.*, 12
Chikhillikā, *lo.*, 11-12, 13*n*
Chīkhlī, *vi.*, 12
Chillaṇa, *m.*, 106
Chirgāon, *vi.*, 449
Chirihilla, *do.*, 70-71
Chitalī *s.a.* Chītrī, *do.*, 626
Chitrakūṭa, *fort.*, 305-07
Chītraratha, *epic k.*, 547
Chītrī, *vi.*, 626
Chittor *s.a.* Chitrakūṭa, *tn.*, 307
Chītū, *m.*, 180
Chōla, *co.*, 77-78, 94, 327, 650
Chōlāpikā, *local n., for fodder*, 273
Choral, *ri.*, 154*n*
Chūḍādēva, *m.*, 191
Chuli *s.a.* Yulli, *vi.*, 350-51
Colebroke H.T., 17*n*, 126 and *n*, 133, 137*n*
Cooma, *vi.*, 246
Cousens, 61, 176
Cunningham, 65, 77, 128*n*, 144, 190 and *n*, 191 and *n*, 192*n*, 208*n*, 209 and *n*, 335 and *n*, 336*n*, 337 and *n*, 347-48, 350*n*, 353 and *n*, 355*n*, 367 and *n*, 371 and *n*, 373 and *n*, 377-78, 379*n*, 381, 390 and *n*, 391-92 and 392*n*, 393, 394*n*, 405-06 and 406*n*, 407*n*, 408*n*, 410-11 and 411*n*, 413, 421*n*, 422*n*, 423*n*, 435-36 and 436*n*, 437 and

n, 438n, 461-65, 468, 469n, 473n, 478, 480, 491, 498-99, 503 and n, 504, 505n, 507, 510, 511n, 512n, 515, 526, 528-29 and 529n, 531n, 535-36, 539n, 548, 550n, 562n, 563n, 586n, 600, 630, 631n, 637 and n, 654
Cupid, *god.*, 421
Curzon Lord, 86

D

d, form of, 28, 32, 115, 347, 361, 365, 522
ḍ, form of, 28, 90, 296, 303, 367, 395, 499, 529, 536
Dabhōka, *vi.*, 613
Dabhōka stone ins., of the time of Naravarman, 613
Dabhyuhaḍavarman, *k.*, 496-97
Dabiabāōḍī, *n.*, *of a well*, 591
Dābī plate ins., of the Chandēlla Vīravarman, 579n
Dādarapadra, *vi.*, 148-49, 150n
Dādari, *do.*, 401
Dādē, *m.*, 659
Dadhīchi, *race*, 500
Dadra, *vi.*, 20
Dagauḍā *s.a.* Digaurā, *do.*, 518
Dāhaḍa, *m.*, 531
Dāhī, *t.d.*, 496-97 and 497 *n*
Dāhī, *vi.*, 525n.
Dāhī grant of the Chandēlla k., 588
Dāhima, *f.*, 94-95 and 95n
Daimāpur, *lo.*, 95n
Daksha, *son of Brahmā*, 334n, 544
Dakshiṇa-dēśa, *co.*, 131
Dakshiṇa Kōsala *s.a.* the upper Mahānadī valley, *reg.*, 340
Dakshiṇāpatha, *t.d.*, 103-04
Dakshiṇapathaka, *do.*, 557, 641-43
Dakshiṇa-Rāḍha, *co.*, 19-21
Ḍalaṇa, *m.*, 180
Ḍāllaṇa, *do.*, 181
Damanaka, *n.*, *of a festival*, 73
Dāmara, *do.*, 424
Damayantī, *pr.*, 108
Dambarasiṁha, *Paramāra k.*, *of Vāgaḍa*, 280 and *n*, 281-82, 288
Dāṁdi, *engr.*, 119
Dāmōdara, *m.*, 181, 235, 306, 424, 540, 554, 588, 602, 632
Dāmōdara, *off.*, 570
Damōh, *dt.*, 139, 523, 525-26, and 526n
Damōh, *vi.*, 526, 528
Damōh-Jabalpur, *reg.*, 526
daṇḍa, *l.m.*, 103, 104n, 115, 127n
Daṇḍī, *au.*, 491, 494n
Dāṇika, *off.*, 255
Dantapāli, '*a kind of weapon*', 545n
Dantivarman, *k.*, *of Chandrāvatī*, 260-61
Dantivarman, *Paramāra k.*, *of Bhinmāl*, 321
Dantivarman, *Paramāra k.*, *of Ābū*, 624
Dapura, *vi.*, 21-22
Darbat, *do.*, 365, 368, 456
Darbat image ins., 374, 379, 412
Dardurikā, *vi.*, 20-21
Daśarathaśarman, *m.*, 153
Daśārṇa, *co.*, 479-80
Daśārṇa, Eastern, *reg.*, 480
Daśarūpa, *wk.*, 12
Daśaratha Sharma, 193n
Datia, *dt.*, 497
Dāū, *m.*, 424
[Dā]ūa, *do.*, 235
Ḍāvaha *s.a.* Ḍavēhagrāma, *vi.*, 401
Dāvaṅgērē, *tn.*, 215
Dāvara, *m.*, 452
Davaū, *do.*, 267
Dāwēla, *vi.*, 282
Dayachandra, *m.*, 456
Dāyī, *do.*, 424
Days—
lunar (*tithis*)
bright fortnight—
1 29, 251, 326
2 119, 263, 310, 372, 383, 436-37, 484
3 202, 207, 249, 263, 266n, 313, 383, 410, 456, 530
4 256
5 33, 36, 40, 173, 333, 475, 592, 614
6 321, 528, 549
7 65, 99, 191, 208, 212, 254, 288, 348, 368, 421, 453, 491, 578, 637
8 134, 322, 393, 496
9 392, 629
10 19, 70, 162, 267, 271, 479
11 103, 202, 246, 297, 468, 577, 658
12 115
13 242, 499, 504, 632
14 11, 47, 73, 237n, 462, 471
15 15, 19, 33, 36, 51 and *n*, 90, 115, 134, 148, 153, 158, 168, 177, 225, 243 and *n*, 257 and *n*, 266n, 318, 362, 396, 440
dark fortnight—
1 195, 595
2 484, 488, 631
3 43, 128, 188, 269, 357
4 443, 459
5 233, 401, 537, 600, 627
7 597
8 448
9 16, 228, 406, 464
10 330, 587
13 25, 62, 141, 323, 522, 622, 624
14 131
15 9, 55, 153, 166, 240 and *n*, 257, 265, 420, 553, 626, 641, 653
tithi not specified 186 and *n*, 633, 636
fortnight not specified—
7 641
9 145
15 407
Days holy—
Akshaya-tritīya, 250, 313
Days of the week—
Sunday, 29, 43, 158, 202, 240, 321, 348, 350, 372, 406, 436, 440, 475, 522, 553
Monday, 51, 103, 166, 191, 249, 256, 263, 265, 266n, 267, 269, 271, 313, 322, 348, 350n, 357, 362, 396, 437, 453, 464, 479, 496, 504, 530, 595, 627, 629 and *n*, 632

Tuesday, 99, 103, 119 and *n*, 178, 362, 401, 443, 459
Wednesday, 3, 142, 168, 208, 225-26, 251, 254, 330, 448, 468, 528, 592, 597, 624, 626, 658
Thursday, 33, 103, 119, 131, 141, 162, 177, 188, 189*n*, 202, 207 and *n*, 242, 246, 310, 326, 409, 420-21, 462, 499, 587, 601, 614, 636, 641
Friday, 99, 142, 186 and *n*, 212, 288, 383 and *n*, 456, 484, 488, 578, 622
Saturday, 99, 141, 148, 173, 243, 323, 393, 407, 410, 471, 630-31, 633, 637
Deccan, *reg.*, 52, 109
Deccan, *territory*, 18*n*
Dēdā, *m.*, 243, 425
Dēdahari, *do.*, 321
Dēdāka, *do.*, 22, 273
Dēdda *s.a.* Dēddāka, *do.*, 29
Dēdda, *au.*, 339
Dēdda, *vi.*, 414
Dēdē, *m.*, 424
Dēdi, *do.*, 424
Dēdu, *do.*, 412
Dēdū, *do.*, 366
Dēhula, *do.*, 424
Dējā, *do.*, 243
Dēku, *do.*, 659
Dēlaṇama *s.a.* Dēlhaṇa, *do.*, 163
Dēlha, *do.*, 36, 152, 424
Dēlhā, *do.*, 424
Dēlhaṇa, *min.*, 272-73
Dēlhaṇa, *m.*, 424
Delhi, *ci.*, 590*n*
Dēlhū, *m.*, 424
Dēlhūka, *do.*, 659
Dēlū *do.*, 153
Dēlwāḍa, *vi.*, 282
Dēnavaḍā, *do.*, 401
Denvāv, *do.*, 240
Dēogaḍh, *tn.*, 116, 353, 368, 371, 662-63
Dēogaḍh ins., 374, 379, 393, 405
Dēogaḍh ins., of Vatsarāja, 531
Dēogarh ins., of the time of Kīrtivarman, 377, 601, 633
Dēolī ins., 3*n*
Dēpālpur, *tn.*, 34, 45, 47
Dēpālpur copper-plate ins., of Bhōjadēva, 34, 44, 102
Dēpālpur parganā, *t.d.*, 35 and *n*
Deshmukh M.G., 89
Deshmukh, *surname*, 149*n*
Deshpande R.B., 87*n*, 210, 617
Dēū, *m.*, 242
Dēūa, *engr.*, 229, 234
Dēūka, *m.*, 479
Deul *s.a.* Dewlā, *vi.*, 128
Deūlapāṭaka, *do.*, 281-82
Dēūva, *ch. min.*, 662
Dēva, *m.*, 218
Dēvachandra, *au.*, 564
Dēvaḍā Mēlāka, *m.*, 273
Dēvadatta, *do.*, 424
Dēvadhana, *do.*, 424
Dēvadhara, *do.*, 181, 424, 531
Dēvadhara, *off.*, 30*n*, 128, 636
Dēvadhara, *au.*, 474-75 and 475*n*
Dēvadharmapurī, *tn.*, 188
Dēvāditya, *m.*, 21-22
Dēvagaḍh *s.a.* Dēvagarh, *fort.*, 372, 602
Dēvagaḍh ins., of the time of Kīrtivarman, 375*n*
Dēvagiri, *ca.*, 159, 169*n*, 179, 214-15, 372
Dēvagupta, *m.*, 564
Dēvahara, *m.*, 424
Dēvakhētar, *vi.*, 627
Dēvakī, *fe.*, 632
Dēvalabdhi, *Chandēlla k.*, 354
Dēvalabdhi Sudhīra, *do.*, 540
Dēvalapāṭaka, *vi.*, 128
Dēvalladēvī, *fe.*, 636
Dēvanābha, *m.*, 424
Dēvanāga *do.*, 540
Dēvapāla, *do.*, 119, 368-69, 456
Dēvapāla, *Paramāra k.*, 30, 45*n*, 172-73- and 173*n*, 174, 177, 182*n*, 191, 196, 201-02, 213-14 and 214*n*, 217*n*, 619
Dēvapāla, *Pāla k.*, 384*n*
Dēvapāla, *Pratīhāra k.*, 342
Dēvapāla, *k., of Kachchhapaghāta dy.*, 538, 549 and *n*
Dēvapāladēva, *Paramāra k.*, 186, 188
Dēvapālapura *s.a.* Dēpālpur, *tn.*, 216
Dēvaputra, *m.*, 659
Dēvar, *vi.*, 21
Dēvarāja, *Paramāra k., of Bhinmāl*, 248, 288*n*, 318, 321, 324, 326 and *n*
Dēvarāja, *m.*, 319, 464
Dēvarāṭ, *Paramāra k., of Jālōr*, 333
Dēvarshi, *m.*, 424
Dēvāsa *s.a.* Dēwās, *tn.*, 581*n*
Dēvaśarman, *m.*, 115, 424, 540
Dēvaśarman, *com.*, 173
Dēvasēna, *m.*, 531
Dēvashamū, *feu.*, 496
Dēvasiṁha, *m.*, 563-64, 598
Dēvasiṁhapāla, *k.*, 212
Dēvasirī *s.a.* Dēvaśrī, *fe.*, 592
Dēvasvāmin, *m.*, 21, 539, 630*n*
Dēvaṭa, *do.*, 401
Dēvaū, *engr.*, 234
Dēvavarman, *m.*, 357
Dēvavarman, *Chandēlla k.*, 357-58, 361-62, 378*n*, 379 and *n*, 397, 413, 652
Dēvavrata, *m.*, 424
Dēvavratā, *q.*, 538
Dēvēndra, *m.*, 401
Dēvēśvara, *do.*, 243-44, 424
Dēvī, *n., of a tank*, 66
Dēviśa, *m.*, 424
Dēvkhētar, *vi.*, 266 and *n*
Dēvkhētar stone ins., of the time of Sōmasiṁha, 263
Dēvōdita, *m.*, 659
dēvōttara, 'rent-free holding in the possession of a god', 546*n*
Dēvrāo, *vi.*, 351
Dēwās, *dt.*, 21, 32*n*, 159-60, 179, 642
Dēwās, *tn.*, 99*n*, 102, 179
Dēwās, *erstwhile state*, 556
Dēwās copper plate ins., of Naravarman, 99*n*, 117*n*, 123, 169, 641
Dey N.L., 12*n*, 480*n*
dh, form of, 2-3, 8, 11, 18, 28, 32, 36, 46, 49, 51, 55, 60, 62, 65, 70, 72, 76, 83, 94, 99, 102, 107, 115,

120, 123, 127, 134, 138, 141, 147, 158, 172, 176, 190, 211, 225, 233, 251, 259, 263, 278, 297, 303, 305, 310, 312, 325, 335, 338, 347, 350, 354, 356, 361, 367, 371, 377, 382, 393, 395, 400, 405, 407, 410-11, 419, 439, 443, 447, 452, 455, 458, 461, 463, 468, 470, 479, 483, 487, 499, 504, 511, 529, 556, 561, 569, 586, 616-17, 629, 631, 647, 649, 652, 657

dh, subscript, form of, 419

dhā, form of, 297, 305, 325, 350, 361, 382, 447, 529, 536, 640, 647

Dhābhā, *vi.*, 68

Dhaināka, *m.*, 564

Dhāīṇi, *fe.*, 70

Dhala, *m.*, 173

Dhāmadēva, *do.*, 152

Dhāmadēvaśarman, *do.*, 202

Dhāmadēya(va ?), *off.*, 186

Dhāmaṭikā *s.a.* Dhāmnō, *vi.*, 104*n*

Dhāmnōd, *do.*, 282

Dhanapāla, *au.*, 77

Dhanapāla, *m.*, 103

Dhanapati-bhaṭṭa, *do.*, 43

Dhānatā *s.a.* Dhāntā, *vi.*, 264

Dhanauka, *m.*, 602

Dhanaura *s.a.* Dhanaurā, *vi.*, 443-44

Dhānavāhi, *dt.*, *head quarters*, 492-93

Dhandhanāka, *m.*, 321

Dhandhē, *do.*, 424

Dhandhuka, *Paramāra k.*, of *Chandrāvatī*, 225, 228, 233-34, 260-61, 321

Dhandhūka, *Paramāra k.*, *of Bhinmāl*, 321, 324, 325*n*, 326 and *n*, 327

Dhaṅgala-pāṭaka, *t.d.*, 110

Dhanika, *Paramāra k.*, *of Vāgaḍa*, 280 and *n*, 281, 288

Dhanēsar *s.a.* Dhānīkhēḍā, *lo.*, 438

Dhanēśvara, *te.*, 280

Dhaṅga *s.a.* Dhaṅgadēva, *Chandēlla k.*, 5*n*, 339-41 and 341*n*, 347-51, 354, 356, 358, 378, 383-85, 388*n*, 397, 412-14, 422, 456, 652-54

Dhaṅga-vāḍī *s.a.* Dhaṅga-vāṭikā, *n.*, *of a garden*, 347

Dhanika, *m.*, 12

Dhānna, *engr.*, 226

Dhāntā image ins., of the time of Sōmasiṁha, 254, 266

Dhāntā, *vi.*, 262

Dhānu, *m.*, 424

Dhār, *tn.*, 10 and *n*, 16, 84*n*, 86 and *n*, 217, 618

Dhār *s.a.* Dhārā, *dt.*, 12, 31, 34, 35*n*, 37, 49, 62, 66, 131-32, 146, 163, 169, 179 and *n*, 216-17, 241-42

Dhār, *erstwhile state*, 66, 83, 128

Dhar ins., 89

Dhārā, *ca.*, *of the Imp. Paramāras*, 33-34, 40, 43, 47, 57, 63, 68, 70, 77, 91, 132, 134-36, 149, 158, 161-62, 165, 173-74, 178-79, 186, 188, 191, 193, 203, 212, 214, 216, 242, 260-61, 569-70

Dharampurī, *tn.*, 4-5, 9-10 and 10*n*, 12, 15-16, 128, 169, 179, 204, 649*n*

Dharampurī grant of Vākpatirājadēva, 15, 18, 26, 42*n*, 128*n*

Dharaṇachaṇḍa, *m.*, 321

Dharaṇāditya, *do.*, 321

Dharaṇīdhara, *do.*, 181, 273, 424, 659

Dharaṇīdhara's (Dharaṇīvarāha) copper-plate of V.S. 1059, 326*n*

Dharaṇīvarāha, *Paramāra k.*, *of Bhinmāl*, 260, 326 and *n*, 328*n*

Dhārāsiṁha, *m.*, 216

Dhārāvarsha, *Paramāra k.*, *of Ābū*, 639

Dhārāvarsha, *Paramāra k.*, *of Chandrāvatī*, 234, 238, 242-44 and 244*n*, 246 and *n*, 248, 250 and *n*, 251-57, 260-61, 262*n*, 263, 264*n*, 265-66, 269, 272, 275*n*, 333

Dharēka, *off.*, 334*n*, 491-92, 628

Dhārēśvara, *engr.*, 234

Dharkuṭa, *f.*, 321

Dharma, *m.*, 235

Dharmadhara, *do.*, 218, 424, 474

dharma-lēkhin, 'writer of legal document', 396, 401, 448, 459

Dharmāmṛita, *wk.*, 179

Dharmānanda, *m.*, 424

dharma-śālā, 'a house for accommodating pilgrims free of cost, 320 and *n*, 329

Dharmaśāstra, *wk.*, 375, 519*n*

Dharmasiṁha, *m.*, 563

Dhasan, *ri.*, 342, 422

Dhavala, *Vāghēla k.*, *of Gujarat*, 251

Dhavalī *s.a.* Dhābhā, *vi.*, 68

dhimaḍā s.a. 'well', 273, 277*n*

Dhīnuka, *fe.*, 583*n*

Dhīrā, *do.*, 564

Dhōbhaṭ, *vi.*, 493

Dhōdhar, *Railway Station*, 104

Dhōvahaṭṭa *s.a.* Dhurēti, *vi.*, 492-93

Dhṛitarāshṭra, *epic Paṇḍava k.*, 388*n*

Dhruva H., 1

Dhubēla, *vi.*, 629

Dhūmādēvī, *ch. q.*, 579*n*

Dhūmarāja, *k.*, 212, 245, 258, 272

Dhūrbhaṭa, *Paramāra k.*, *of Chandrāvatī*, 260 and *n*

Dhurēti, *vi.*, 490

Dhurēti copper-plate, 484, 631, 658*n*

Dhurvai, *vi.*, 351

Digambara, *a Jaina sect*, 312

Dignitaries—

aksha-paṭalika, 362, 641

amātya, 243

aśvapati, 491, 602*n*

āṭavika, 289, 452, 454*n*

chāturjātaka, 30*n*

daṇḍādhipati, 166 and *n*, 167*n*

daṇḍanāyaka, 125, 644

daṇḍapāśika, 57, 59*n*

dāpaka, 3-4, 9, 16, 20

dēsilaka, 57, 59*n*

drāṅgika, 644*n*

dūtaka, 14*n*, 116, 118*n*, 128-29, 149 and *n*, 158, 161*n*, 179, 185*n*, 203, 246, 641, 645*n*

gajapati, 491, 602*n*

grāmaṭaka, 57, 59*n*

Karaṇapurusha, 641

Karaṇika, 339

Mahāmahattaka, 492

Mahantas, 553

Mahāpradhāna, 128, 197, 203, 662

Mahāpratīhāra, 391

Mahāsādhanika, 15, 224*n*

Mahāsāndhivigrahika, 167, 169, 178-79

Mahattama, 57, 357, 653
Mantrin, 492-93
Mantrivarishṭha, 601
Mukhyādēśa, 149
Nagarādhyaksha, 240*n*
Nāyaka, 488
Niyuktipurusha, 641
Paṭṭakila, 19, 29, 33, 44, 70, 103, 216
Pradhān, 663
Pratīhāra, 202, 269, 270*n*, 289, 414, 422
Prātirājyika, 57, 59*n*
Purādhyaksha, 240*n*
Purōhita, 128
Rājaputra, 30 and *n*, 128, 197, 215 273, 641
Sachiva, 255
Sādhanika, 15, 169*n*, 212, 218, 224*n*, 249*n*, 394*n*
Sāndhivigrahika, 492, 619
Śrīkaraṇa, 368
Śrīkaraṇādhipa, 368
Śrīkaraṇika, 407
Śayyāpāla, 641
Talāra s.a. Talaraksha, 238, 240 and *n*
Ṭhakkura, 128
Udraṅga-varishṭha, 644*n*
Vāhikā-karaṇa, 299*n*
Vārika, 370*n*
Vishayika, 641
Viśikhā, 517*n*
Digōdā, *vi.*, 651
Dikshit K.N., 1, 3-5, 6*n*, 7*n*, 8*n*, 18 and *n*, 19 and *n*, 20 and *n*, 21, 24, 25*n*, 26 and *n*, 27*n*, 48, 49*n*, 483-84, 485*n*, 486*n*, 487*n*, 631
Dilīpa, *myth. k.*, 617
Dinājpur, *dt.*, 20
Dīnakara, *m.*, 51, 424
Dindori, *tk.*, 58
Diṇḍvānaka *s.a.* Dindvana, *vi.*, 179-80
Disalkar D.B., 1, 5, 6*n*, 8 and *n*, 9, 35, 37 and *n*, 50, 51*n*, 52, 57-58
Divākara, *m.*, 202, 424
Diwan Seth Brijmohan Das, 146
Ḍōbha, *s.a.* Ḍubkuṇḍ *s.a.* Dobkund, *vi.*, 530, 532
Dōdē, *m.*, 208
Dōgariyā, *vi.*, 34
Dōhaḍa, *m.*, 305-06
Dōnāka, *do.*, 21
dōṇakārī, l.m., 273, 277*n*
Dōṅgar, *vi.*, 587*n*
Ḍōṅgargāon *s.a.* Ḍōṅgaragrāma, *do.*, 89-90, 92
Dōṅgargāon stone ins., of the time of Jagaddēva, 63, 80, 109, 140, 213, 649
Dongora, *vi.*, 375
Doodhai, *do.*, 353*n*
Dōpariyā *s.a.* Dōgariyā, *do.*, 34
Dōrasamudra, *ca.*, *of the Hoysaḷas*, 94-95, 159, 650
Dōsī, *m.*, 173
Dowson, 475*n*
dramma, n., of a coin, 55, 57, 142*n*, 197, 273, 289, 295*n*, 322-24, 330, 624
drōṇas, l.m., 396, 444 and *n*, 445, 448
Dube *J.*, 169*n*
Dubkund *s.a.* Ḍukuṇḍ, *vi.*, 329*n*, 365, 528, 529*n*, 530-31, 533*n*
Ḍubkuṇḍ ins., 551*n*, 654
Dudāhī, *t.d.*, 5*n*, 423
Dudāhī *s.a.* Bīnā, *vi.*, 553-54
Dudhai, *do.*, 421-22
Dudhai, *dt.*, 421
Duḍuhi *s.a.* Duduhi *s.a.* Dudāhī, *vi.*, 459
Duduhī, *t.d.*, 459
Dugauḍā *s.a.* Digaura, *vi.*, 375, 517, 651*n*
Dugāyī *s.a.* Dugāryī, *do.*, 33
Dundubhi, *do.*, 255
Ḍūṅgarpur, *dt.*, 40, 229, 279, 287, 307, 314*n*, 626, 643
Ḍūṅgarpur, *erstwhile state*, 557
Ḍūṅgarpur, *reg.*, 557
Dūravāhara, *lo.*, 351
Durga *s.a.* Durgārka *s.a.* Durgāditya, *m.*, 229
Durgāditya, *do.*, 235*n*
Durga Prasad Basu, 395
Durgasvāmin, *m.*, 235
Durgaṭa, *do.*, 235
Durlabha, *do.*, 319
Durlabharāja, *Chaulukya k.*, *of Gujarat*, 56, 326
Durlabharāja, *k.*, *of Badarī*, 229
Durlabhasēna, *m.*, 531
Dūrvāhara, *vi.*, 351
Duryōdhana, *epic hero*, 545*n*, 553
Dūsala, *k.*, 326
dvā, form *of*, 569
Dvārakā, *ci.*, 616
Dvārmēla, *lo.*, 207
Dvittapa *s.a.* Dvittaya *s.a.* Chhittapa, *com.*, 123*n*
Dvivedi H.N., 65*n*, 561*n*, 572*n*, 586*n*, 594*n*, 596*n*, 611*n*
Dvyāśraya-kāvya, *wk.*, 80, 242*n*, 261*n*
Dyojayī *s.a.* Dugāryī, *vi.*, 34

E

ē, initial, form of, 2, 50, 55, 65, 94, 338, 361, 371, 374, 377, 395, 455, 529, 536
ē, medial, form of, 29, 408*n*, 411, 523
ē, vowel, form of, 443, 447, 483, 561, 633, 636
ē, vowel, confounded with *pa*, 491
East Nemāḍ, *dt.*, 61, 145-46, 169, 171, 176, 179*n*, 200, 209, 604
Eclipses :
Lunar, 15 and *n*, 19, 33, 134, 148, 168, 177, 257 and *n*, 318, 319*n*, 350, 362, 440
Solar, 55, 108, 114, 153 and *n*, 166-67, 240, 420, 641, 653
Ekdalā, *vi.*, 471
Elliot, 475*n*, 622*n*
Eras —
A.H. years of,
632 — 213
Kalachuri, years of,
907 — 95*n*
944 — 492
967 — 631
Sāhasāṅka, years of,
1240 — 464
Śaka, years of,
832 — 5
851 — 18
862 — 3*n*
870 — 3*n*
880 — 3*n*

940 30
941 55
996 109*n*
1033 95
1034 89-90
1174 203*n*
Vikrama, years of,
935 153
1005 28*n*, 340
1011 339, 347, 383*n*
1011 or 1111 348
1026 4, 8-9
1031 4, 9-12, 15, 26, 128*n*
1034 140
1036 4, 14-15 and 15*n*, 16
1037 15*n*
1038 4, 18-19, 21
1040 341
1043 4, 24-25, 39
1050 25*n*
1055 350, 384
1059 318, 383-84
1060 653
1067 27, 29, 79
1074 31, 33
1076 26*n*, 35-36, 39-40, 43
1078 42-43
1079 45, 47
1091 48-49
1099 76, 225-26, 228, 234, 238
11[..] 72-73
1102 232-34, 238
1103 50, 79
1107 356-57
1108 360
1112 61-62, 213
1117 321
1132 323, 365
1136 228
1137 65-66, 70
1138 66-67
1140 67-68
1143 69-70
1145 530
1147 367, 382
1148 641
1149 537
1151 98-99 and 99*n*, 104, 106
1152 99*n*, 102-04, 117*n*
1154 115, 371-72
1157 105-06
1159 115, 300
1161 106, 108, 549
1165 310
1166 313
1167 114-15
1173 383
1174 333
1177 553
1181 624
1186 391
1187 392
1188 368*n*, 393
1190 104, 106, 127, 396, 557
1191 118-19 and 119*n*, 133-34, 149, 159
1192 126, 128, 132, 135, 401, 419*n*
1193 131*n*
1195 131-32
1198 139
1200 132-35, 149, 159
1202 237-38, 242, 266*n*
1207 239-40, 242
1208 139, 409
1210 241-42
1211 410
1214 135 and *n*, 143, 145-46, 148
1215 412
1216 141, 209, 662
1218 248, 326
1219 420
1220 159, 243, 246
1223 421
1224 436
1228 440
1229 159
1230 443
1233 448
1234 153*n*
1235 135, 145, 148, 152, 163 and *n*
1236 152-53 and 153*n*, 453
1237 245-48, 456
1239 248, 330, 459
1240 254, 464
1243 468
1245 250-51
1247 471
124[9] 253
1252 354*n*, 475
1255 254
1256 145, 157-58, 169*n*
1258 479
1261 484
1267 136, 162, 165*n*
1269 630
1270 136, 166
1271 256
1272 136, 168
1274 257
1275 171, 173, 186, 213
1276 246
1277 254, 262-63, 266
1282 173, 175, 177, 186, 195, 213
1283 658
1286 185-86, 209
128[9] 187-88, 207, 209
1290 264-65
1293 266, 629
1298 491
1300 191, 267-68
1311 191*n*, 496
1312 190-91
1314 191-92
1314 194-95 and 195*n*, 209
1317 116, 136*n*, 200, 202, 211, 499
1319 562
1320 188, 206-07
1321 269
1325 503
1326 188, 208

1331	15, 149, 169*n*, 195, 206*n*, 209, 212
1338	578
1339	587
134[.]	636
1341	592
1343	271
1344	268-71, 633
1345	193, 512
1346	522, 526
1351	662
1355	601
1356	627, 632
1361	526
1362	526
1365	526
1366	526, 622, 636
1368	528
1426	250*n*
1466	637
1562	91*n*

Erachha *s.a.* Erich, *vi.*, 444

Ereyanga, *Hoysala k.*, 80, 91, 95, 109*n*

Erich, *t.d.*, 402

Ernest Barnes, 86

F

Firishta, *Muslim Chronicler*, 79*n*, 188*n*, 378, 562, 653*n*, 654

Fitz Edward Hall, 10, 552

Fleet, J.F., 14, 106, 126, 133, 137*n*, 157 and *n*, 159*n*, 160*n*, 161*n*, 349, 353, 356, 381, 395, 498

Forbes X., 78*n*, 330*n*

Fragmentary Mahōbā ins., ending with the name of Kīrttivarman, 463

Führer A., 75, 418

G

g, form of, 2-3, 18, 25, 39, 278, 350, 413, 473, 504, 536, 549, 587

g, subscript, form of, 350

ga, form of, 652

Gadādhara, *m.*, 180, 424

Gadādhara, *ch. min.*, 413-14

Gadādhara, *min., and com.*, 474-75

Gaḍḍarakula, *f.*, 421

Gadgacha, *te.*, 192

Gaḍhā *s.a.* Garrā, *vi.*, 483

Gaḍhā plate ins., of Trailōkyavarman, 657-58

Gādhēya, *m.*, 260

Gaḍhī, *tk.*, 278, 286*n*, 290*n*, 300

Gādhinagar *s.a.* Kānyakubja, *tn.*, 537, 539, 542*n*

Gāgā, *m.*, 119

Gāgē, *do.*,424

Gāgēka, *do.*, 659

Gāgū, *m.*, 659

Gahaḍavāla, *dy.*, 414, 470-71, 491

Gahilū *s.a.* Gahuli, *vi.*, 443-44

Gahōi, *surname*, 412

Gai G.S., 179*n*, 332*n*, 578, 594, 653*n*

Gajādbara, *m.*, 218

Gajānana, *m.*, 659

Gajanan Gopal Joshi, 54

Gālā grant of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja of V.S. 1193, 131*n*, 132*n*

Galhaṇa, *m.*, 456 and *n*

Gālhaṇa, *do.*, 424

Galhē, *do.*, 424

Gālhū, *do.*, 410

Galṭēśvara, *te.*, 5

Gāmē, *m.*, 424

Gaṇaūrā *s.a.* Ganōra, *vi.*, 159-60

Ganam N.M., 320, 623, 627

Gaṇapati *s.a.* Gaṇādhīśa, *m.*, 504-05

Gaṇapati, *Yajvapāla k.*, 601, 662

Gaṇapatidēva, *k.*, 597

Gaṇḍa *s.a.* Gaṇḍadēva, *Chandēlla k.*, 358, 375, 378, 381*n*, 413-14, 517-18, 652-54

Gandharvas, *n., of a type of semi-celestial beings*, 538

Gandhvānī, *vi.*, 12

Gaṇēśjū, *m.*, 446

Gaṅgā, *f.*, 55

Ganga *s.a.* Ganges, *ri.*, 66*n*, 116, 260, 362, 381, 387, 499, 538, 543*n*, 598, 601-02, 625*n*

Gāṅgadēva, *engr.*, 273

Gāṅgadēva, *off.*, 202

Gāṅgadēva, *m.*, 563, 592, 602

Gāṅgadēva, *min.*, 587-88

Gaṅgādhara, *m.*, 152, 180-81, 424, 512, 510, 632, 659

Gaṅgādhara *s.a.* Kamale, *m.*, 512 and *n*

Gaṅgādhara, *com.*, 492

Gaṅgādhara, *councellor of the k., Paramardin*, 517

Gaṅgā-Jamnā, *n., of a well*, 499

Gaṅgasiṁhadēva, *k., of Kachchhapaghāta dy.*,

Gaṅga Udayāditya, *gen.*, 91, 109

Gāngeyā, *Kalachuri k.*, 378

Gāṅgēyadēva, *m.*, 588

Gāṅgū, *off.*, 273

Gāṅgū, *m.*, 424, 433*n*

Ganguli G.L., 176

Ganguly D.C., 4*n*, 15*n*, 58, 63, 79, 91-92 and 92*n*, 93, 95*n*, 97*n*, 98*n*, 110, 136*n*, 148, 154, 155*n*, 164*n*, 166*n*, 167*n*, 169*n*, 194*n*, 217, 227*n*, 228*n*, 244*n*, 247*n*, 250*n*, 273, 277*n*, 280, 282, 289, 326, 333*n*, 471*n*, 530-31, 556*n*

Ganjām, *dt.*, 79*n*

Ganōrā, *vi.*, 160

Gaōnri *s.a.* Gonry, *do.*, 4, 18, 20-21, 24-26

Gaonrī copper-plate ins., of Vākpati Muñja, V.S. 1043, 39

Gaonrī copper-plate ins., of Vākpati Muñja, V.S. 1038, 21, 52

Garana, *n., of a stream*, 395

Garbhēśvara, *m.*, 180

Gardabha, *ri.*, 11-12

Gardabhapānīya, *do.*, 11-12

Gardar J.J., 114

Garde M.B., 18, 24, 65, 81, 98, 120 and *n*, 144, 185, 187, 241, 561, 568, 572, 577-78, 586, 591, 594, 596*n*, 600, 615, 646, 662

Gardizi, *Muslim chronicler*, 654

Garg R.S., 604, 640

Garhī, *tk.*, 41*n*

Gartēśara, *m.*, 152

Garrā, *vi.*, 483, 485*n*

Garrāh plates of Trailōkyavarman, 422, 487-89, 496

Garwa ins., of V.S. 119, 512*n*

Gāsala, *m.*, 424
Gauḍa *s.a.* Gauḍadēśa, *co.*, 33, 327, 339, 383
Gauḍa, *f.*, 208, 340, 475, 592
Gauḍas, *peo.*, 340
Gauḍī, *style*, 108, 287
Gaura, *min.*, 539
Gaurī, *fe.*, 303
Gautama, *m.*, 424, 540, 658
Gautama R.D., 657
Gavīśa, *m.*, 203
Gayā, *tn.*, 351, 518, 570, 598
Gayādhara, *m.*, 424
Gayādhara, *off.*, 488, 540
Gayākarṇa, *Kalachuri k., of Tripurī*, 131, 154, 413, 465
Gayāas-ud-dīn Balban *s.a.* Ghiyas-ud-dīn Balban, *ruler of Khalji dy.*, 273, 588
Gaznavide, *gen.*, 79*n*
Gaznī, *ca.*, 79
gg, form of, conjunct consonants, 367, 395, 400, 407, 419, 437, 439, 487, 499, 529, 536, 561, 633
gh, form of, 356
Ghaḍiyalan-kā-makān *s.a.* Bījāmaṇḍala, *te.*, 646*n*
Ghāghradōra-bhōga, *t.d.*, 40
Ghalēśvara, *m.*, 407
ghāṇa, 'oil mill', 295*n*
Ghaṇṭapalli *s.a.* Ghaṇṭōlī, *vi.*, 51-52
Ghaṇṭēśvara, *te.*, 52
Gharatōda *s.a.* Ghaḍōd, *vi.*, 197
Ghaṭāūshari, *lo.*, 202, 204
Ghaṭērā, *Railway Station*, 525*n*
ghaṭṭādāya, tax on ghāṭ, 169
Ghayaṁka Achchhōda, *au.*, 393
Ghōshakūpika *s.a.* Ghaṭōlā, *vi.*, 70-71
Ghuḍaddēva, *m.*, 592
gn, form of, 400
Girvad *s.a.* Girvar, *vi.*, 251, 271, 273, 623
Girivida *s.a.* Girvaḍ, *do.*, 624, 628
Girvaḍ stone ins., of the time of Pratāpasiṁha, 251, 252*n*, 268-69
Girvaḍ stone ins., of V.S. 1181, 321*n*
Gods —
Achalēśvara, 240
Achyuta, 541, 587
Āditya *s.a.* Sun, 124
Ajayēśvara *s.a.* Śiva, 197
Aniruddha, 537, 539, 541
Ashṭamūrti-Śiva, 212, 219*n*
Arka *s.a.* Sun, 125 and *n*
Balarāma, 292
Bhānu *s.a.* Sun, 124, 649
Bhavānīpati *s.a.* Śiva, 36, 163
Boar incarnation of Vishṇu, 3, 79-80, 109, 212
Brahmā, 108, 174*n*, 334*n*, 339, 353, 374, 383, 414, 500, 501*n*, 512, 538, 546*n*
Chāmuṇḍasvāmidēva *s.a.* Śiva, 145
Chaṇḍīśa *s.a.* Śiva, 323-24
Chandrārdhamauli *s.a.* Śiva, 61
Dakshiṇāmūrti Maṇēśvara *s.a.* Śiva, 51
Dharaṇīdhara *s.a.* Varāha, 328*n*
Ēkalladēva, 197
Gadādhara *s.a.* Vishṇu, 418*n*
Gaṇapati, 491, 504-05
Gaṇēśa *s.a.* Gaṇapati, 233
Garuḍa, 640
Ghaṇṭēśvaradēva *s.a.* Śiva, 51
Gōhaḍēśvara *s.a.* Śiva, 557
Hanumān, 309-10, 311*n*
Hara, 91-92
Hari, 142, 228, 297, 306*n*, 512, 537, 541, 545*n*
Harihara, 108, 306*n*
Hēramba *s.a.* Gaṇapati, 173, 196
Ina *s.a.* Sun, 125 and *n*, 182*n*, 292*n*, 384, 474, 506*n*, 508*n*, 538, 544*n*, 592
Indra, 182*n*, 292*n*, 384, 474, 506*n*, 508*n*, 538, 544*n*, 592
Īśa *s.a.* Śiva, 173*n*
Īśvara *s.a.* Śiva, 306, 633
Jagat-svāmin *s.a.* Sun, 321*n*
Jambūkēśvara *s.a.* Śiva, 215
Kālabhairava, 166*n*
Kamalāpati *s.a.* Vishṇu, 512
Kēdāra *s.a.* Śiva, 516-18, 633
Kṛishṇa, 25, 213, 275*n*, 292*n*, 384, 388*n*, 508 and *n*, 544*n*, 545, 601, 619, 633
Kāmadēva, 357, 421
Kubēra, 196, 538, 598*n*
Lakshmīdhara, 393, 394*n*
Lōligasvāmidēva, 70
Madana *s.a.* Kāmadēva, 73, 203*n*
Mādhava, 228
Madhumathana *s.a.* Vishṇu, 379
Mahākāla *s.a.* Śiva, 15
Mahēśvara, 173, 228, 393, 396, 440, 444, 448, 459, 595
Marakatēśvara, 381*n*, 383, 595
Mārkaṇḍēśvara *s.a.* Śiva, 155
Māruti *s.a.* Hanumān, 310
Matsya *s.a.* Vishṇu, 292*n*
Murāri *s.a.* Vishṇu, 100, 142
Mura-ripu *s.a.* Kṛishṇa, 11
Nāgavaktra *s.a.* Gaṇapati, 383
Nārāyaṇa, 93*n*, 100, 233, 508, 545*n*, 553, 624
Nīlakaṇṭha *s.a.* Śiva, 103, 368, 390*n*, 393-94, 478, 508
Nīlakaṇṭhadēva *s.a.* Śiva, 265
Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara *s.a.* Śiva, 65, 189
Nimbāditya *s.a.* Sun, 94, 96
Nṛisiṁha *s.a.* Vishṇu, 384, 512
Oṁkārēśvara, 216
Padmanātha, 537-38
Paraśurāma, 162, 199*n*, 212, 512, 545*n*
Pārvatīpati *s.a.* Śiva, 216
Paṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, 271-72, 274*n*, 624
Pitāmaha *s.a.* Brahmā, 212
Pramathanātha *s.a.* Śiva, 381*n*
Puradruh *s.a.* Śiva, 212
Purandara *s.a.* Indra, 113*n*
Purāri *s.a.* Śiva, 479, 482*n*, 544*n*
Purushōttama *s.a.* Vishṇu, 271-72, 288, 378, 477*n*
Rāma, 162, 212, 383, 512, 576*n*
Rāmachandra *s.a.* Rāma, 372
Rudra *s.a.* Śiva, 383-84
Sadāśiva, 372, 587
Śambhu *s.a.* Śiva, 281, 326, 383, 538, 543*n*, 597
Śaṁkara *s.a.* Śiva, 297, 538, 544*n*
Saṁkrandana *s.a.* Indra, 544*n*

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Śarva *s.a.* Śiva, 592
Sātalēśvara, 626
Śiva, 5, 25, 33, 36, 40, 43, 61, 67*n*, 70, 73, 76, 79*n*, 83-84, 90, 94, 96*n*, 98*n*, 108, 111*n*, 130, 138, 142, 153, 155*n*, 158, 166*n*, 173, 174*n*, 186, 196, 203*n*, 219*n*, 221*n*, 227, 260, 279, 281, 287-88, 293*n*, 297, 303, 305-06, 310, 341, 362, 368, 372, 377, 382-83, 388*n*, 421, 465, 470, 475*n*, 477*n*, 479, 491, 505-08, 512, 549*n*, 550, 592, 597, 598*n*, 600-01, 604, 636
Skanda, 562
Smara *s.a.* Cupid, 464, 550
Smarārāti *s.a.* Śiva, 33, 40, 43, 46, 62, 103, 115, 134, 148, 281, 464
Sōmanātha *s.a.* Śiva, 73, 421
Sōmeśvara *s.a.* Śiva, 325
Śrīkaṇṭha *s.a.* Śiva, 11
Śrīpati *s.a.* Vishṇu, 108
Sthāṇu *s.a.* Śiva, 94
Śuddhēśvara *s.a.* Śiva, 272
Śūlapāṇi *s.a.* Śiva, 272
Sun, 76, 78, 94, 96*n*, 111*n*, 119, 122*n*, 123, 124*n*, 125 and *n*, 143*n*, 149, 163, 164*n*, 174*n*, 225, 226*n*, 255, 320-21, 322*n*, 342, 345*n*, 350, 389*n*, 421, 465, 587, 601, 627, 647
Trimūrti, 173
Tripurāri *s.a.* Śiva, 94, 293*n*
Udalmēśvara *s.a.* Udayēśvara *s.a.* Śiva, 186
Udayēśvaradēva, 66
Udyōtana *s.a.* Sun, 247*n*
Vaidyanātha *s.a.* Śiva, 188, 197
Vāmana *s.a.* Vishṇu, 292*n*, 293*n*, 345*n*, 477*n*, 512, 545*n*
Vāṇī-Vināyaka *s.a.* Gaṇapati, 504
Varāha *s.a.* Vishṇu, 292*n*, 512
Varuṇa, 233, 281
Vāsudēva *s.a.* Vishnu, 338, 342, 474, 510*n*, 512
Vishṇu, 3, 73, 96*n*, 108, 111*n*, 124, 143*n*, 174*n*, 219*n*, 220*n*, 288, 292*n*, 308*n*, 339, 362, 372, 413, 418*n*, 474, 477*n*, 484, 500, 505, 506*n*, 512, 536, 538, 545*n*, 553, 592, 619, 624
Viśvamūrti *s.a.* Vishṇu, 512
Vyōmakēśa *s.a.* Siva, 33, 40, 43, 46, 62, 72, 74*n*, 103, 115, 134, 148
Yajñapurusha *s.a.* Vishṇu, 592
Yama, 53*n*
Gōḍarpur, *vi.*, 200
Gōdāvarī, *ri.*, 78, 82
Goddess —
Aindrī, 633
Ambikā, 215, 633
Bhāratī *s.a.* Sarasvatī, 108, 173, 289, 383
Bhaṭṭeśvarī, 15
Chachchikā *s.a.* Charchikā, 121
Chāmuṇḍā, 633
Chaṇḍā Māhēśvarī, 637
Chaṇḍikā, 272, 374
Charchikā, 121 and *n*, 174
Dēvī *s.a.* Durgā, 108
Durgā, 517, 633
Gajalakshmī, 400, 443, 487, 491
Gaurī, 636
Girijā *s.a.* Pārvatī, 260, 479*n*
Harasiddhi *s.a.* Durgā, 15, 633
Kālī, 508, 633
Kāmākshyā, 633
Kamalā *s.a.* Lakshmī, 508
Lakshmī, 96, 288, 292*n*, 339, 360, 372, 378-79, 388*n*, 395, 419, 439, 447, 452, 458, 470, 483, 495, 522, 555*n*, 657
Limbāryā, 173-74
Mahāruṇḍā, 597
Mahishāsura-mardinī, 263
Pārvatī, 67*n*, 98*n*, 288, 478-79, 551, 633
Śānti, 394*n*
Sarasvatī, 49, 219*n*, 233-34, 491, 617
Sītā, 576*n*
Śivā *s.a.* Pārvatī, 501*n*
Tārā, 633
Tripurā, 633
Vāgdēvī *s.a.* Sarasvatī, 49
Vāṇī *s.a.* Sarasvatī, 569
Gōddhala, *m.*, 597
Gōdhana, *do.*, 424
Gōdhrā, *tn.*, 5
Gōdurpur, *vi.*, 63, 155*n*
Gōhaḍa, *m.*, 424, 432*n*
Gohargaṇj, *tk.*, 60, 105
Gōhila, *m.*, 273
Gōgā *s.a.* Kōkā, *k.*, 273
Gōggaka, *t.d.*, 29
Gōhaḍēśvara, *te.*, 558
Gōkarṇa, *m.*, 33
Gōkula, *vi.*, 421
Gōkula *s.a.* Gōḍala, *min.*, 505
Gōkulika, *off.*, 57, 59*n*
Gōlhē, *m.*, 152, 424
Gōlhēka, *m.*, 659
Gōṇḍala, *Paramāra k.*, 91
Gonds, *tribal peo.*, 353*n*
gōṇī, a measure of grain, 531
Gōpa, *mo.*, 342
Gōpa *s.a.* Gōpāla, *m.*, 569
Gōpabhūpa *s.a.* Gōpapāla, *Yajvapāla k.*, 570
Gōpāchala *s.a.* Gwalior, *ci.*, 601-02
Gōpāditya, *m.*, 29
Gōpādri *s.a.* Gwalior, *ci.*, 538-39, 588
Gōpagiri *s.a.* Gwalior, *do.*, 342, 570
Gōpāla, *gen.*, 372, 379
Gōpāla, *engr.*, 512
Gōpāla, *m.*, 598
Gōpāla, *feu.*, 653
Gōpāla II, *Pāla k.*, 340
Gōpāla III, *do.*, 501*n*
Gōpāladēva, *k.*, *of the Yajvapāla dy.*, 497, 563, 568-69, 572*n*, 578-79, 580*n*, 587-88, 590*n*, 592, 595, 597 and *n*, 598, 601
Gopal Lal Vyas, 286, 288*n*, 292*n*, 295*n*, 296*n*
Gōpasēna, *off.*, 269
Gōpati, *m.*, 424, 517, 554
Gopinath Rao, 49*n*
Gōsala, *m.*, 180
Gōśaraṇa, *do.*, 21
Gōsē, *do.*, 180, 424
Gōsēka, *do.*, 203
gōshṭhika, 'a member of a society', 233, 236, 254-55, 535*n*, 563
Goshṭhika, *m.*, 119
Gōṭha, *do.*, 424

Gōtra —
Adavāha, 152
Agasti, 43, 659
Agastya, 21
Ātrēya, 46, 218, 235
Atri, 423, 554
Audalya, 180
Aupamanyava, 29
Bābhravya, 423
Bandhula, 423
Baudhāyana, 423
Bhāradvāja, 22, 100, 131, 152, 180, 202, 217-18, 350, 358, 396, 423, 522, 539, 554, 659
Bhārgava, 21-22, 180, 202, 423, 554
Chandrātrēya, 218, 423
Darbhi, 423
Dārḍhyachyuta, 423
Dhaumya, 180, 423
Gārgga, 21, 158, 273, 423, 659
Gōpāli, 3
Gautama *s.a.* Gōtama, 21, 152, 180, 202, 217, 401, 423, 554, 659
Haritakutsa, 180
Jātūkarṇa, 423
Jīvantāyana, 423
Kapila, 554
Kātyāyana, 115, 153, 180, 218, 423
Kāśyapa, 21-22, 152, 163, 180, 217-18, 234-35, 423, 448, 496, 553-54, 564, 597, 601, 659
Kauṇḍinya, 4*n*, 152, 423, 641
Kauśika, 36, 423, 659
Kautsa, 180, 401, 423, 459
Kṛishṇātrēya, 152, 361, 423, 440, 554
Laugākshi, 423
Māhula, 22, 423
Maitrēya, 21
Māṇḍavya, 423
Mārkaṇḍeya, 180
Maudgalya, 21, 423
Mauna, 423
Mauni, 22
Mudgala, 180
Pāṇini, 423
Parāśara, 21-23, 153, 180, 423, 659
Parāvasu, 180
Pavitra, 180
Rāhula, (?) 659
Sāṁkṛitya, 21, 25, 152, 423, 444 and *n*
Śāṇḍilya, 21-22, 152, 180, 218, 235, 423, 659
Śaunaka, 446*n*
Sauśravasa, 152
Sāvarṇi, 423
Sāvarṇya, 218
Śyāvāśva, 441*n*
Traikāyaṇa, 423
Upamanya, 423, 553
Vāräha, 22
Vasē, 423
Vasishṭha, 21, 40, 180, 218, 423, 429*n*, 475
Vatsa, 21-22, 33, 180, 218, 423, 452, 488, 492, 503, 659
Vishṇuvṛiddha, 423
Vyāsa, 659
Gōtra-dēvī, '*f., deity*', 174*n*
Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba, *wk.*, 364*n*, 446*n*
Gouta, *vi.*, 401
Gōvardhana, *m.*, 3
Gōvinda, *do.*, 181, 209*n*, 235, 306, 319, 424, 553, 659
Gōvinda, *au.*, 539
Gōvinda, *off.*, 197
Gōvinda Bhaṭṭa, *m.*, 43
Gōvindachandra, *k.*, *of Gāhaḍavāla dy.*, 414, 471*n*
Gōvindarāja, *k.*, 500
Gōvindaśarman, *m.*, 163, 166-67, 169
Gōvindasvāmin, *do.*, 21
grā, form of, 407
Grahapati, *f.*, 366, 409, 412 and *n*, 456, 632
Gṛihadāsa, *m.*, 540
Gugī, *do.*, 324
Guhilas of Mēwaḍ, *dy.*, 240, 251, 269, 272-73, 314, 628
Guhya-tīrtha, *lo.*, 272
Gujarat, *state*, 4-5, 8-9, 12, 21, 27, 29-30, 33, 50, 52, 56, 78-79, 92*n*, 95, 162-63, 196, 203, 215, 234, 246, 251, 260-61, 272, 281, 614
Gujarat chroniclers, 92*n*, 508
Gujarat empire, 131
Gunā, *dt.*, 119, 459, 601, 622
Guṇadhara, *m.*, 3
Guṇākara, *do.*, 22
Guṇapāla, *do.*, 564
Guṇapālaka *s.a.* Guṇapāla, *off.*, 119
Guṇapura fort, 153, 155
Guṇapura, *vi.*, 16
Guṇarāja, *m.*, 95
Guṇaürā, *vi.*, 158, 159*n*
Guṇāvad, *do.*, 16
Gupta K.P., 626
Gūrjjara *s.a.* Gurjara, *co.*, 55-56, 508
Gūrjara, *dy.*, 78-79, 94-95, 280, 341, 421*n*, 508, 530
Gūrjaras, *peo.*, 340
Gūrjara-Pratīharas, *dy.*, 341, 379*n*, 384
Guvāḍāghaṭṭa, *n.*, *of a bathing place*, 159, 169*n*
Guvāḍiā, *vi.*, 159
Guvāsā, *do.*, 197
Gwālior *s.a.* Gwālher *s.a.* Gwālikēra, *ci.*, 75, 81, 342, 529, 530*n*, 535, 537-39 and 539*n*, 550 and *n*, 557-58, 562, 570, 586, 591
Gwalior, *erstwhile state*, 18, 24, 81, 241*n*, 561, 568, 572, 586-87, 600, 615, 662
Gwalior Archaeological Museum, 98*n*, 123, 241
Gwalior fort, 213, 548
Gyāraspur, *vi.*, 144-45
Gyāraspur pillar ins., of Trailōkyavarman, 142
Gyātā, *Paramāra k.*, 91

H

h, form of, 28, 32, 39, 42, 70, 102, 134, 287, 338, 357, 377, 382, 391, 409, 516, 536, 597
hala, *l.m.*, 29, 43*n*, 44*n*, 68, 104, 115, 117*n*, 127*n*, 128-29, 197, 368-69, 424, 444, 448, 452, 470*n*, 472*n*
Haladhar Pathak, 613
halavāha, *l.m.*, 256
Halāyudha, *au.*, 341*n*
Halder R.R., 237, 238*n*, 239*n*, 243, 256-57, 258*n*, 278 and *n*, 282, 284*n*, 312 and *n*, 314 and *n*, 315*n*, 316*n*, 317*n*
Hall T.E., 4*n*, 12*n*, 75, 77, 126*n*, 130, 133, 136*n*, 140, 159*n*, 162*n*, 164*n*, 166*n*, 167*n*, 168, 169*n*, 171, 172*n*, 174*n*, 353-54 and 354*n*, 555*n*

Hallaṇa, *m.*, 464
Hamid, *do.*, 146
Hamilton R.N.C., 14
Hammīramadanamardana, *wk.*, 261*n*
Hamīrpur, *dt.*, 356, 360, 365, 376, 402, 410, 435, 443-44, 451, 462, 484, 495, 521, 523*n*
Hamīrpur, *tn.*, 193
Hammīra, *Chāhamāna k., of Raṇathambhōr*, 193
Hammīvarman, *Chandēlla k.*, 378, 513*n*, 522-23, 526-28 and 528*n*, 570, 595, 601, 633-34, 638
Haṁsarāja, *m.*, 602
Hanumān Darwāzā, *n., of a gate*, 461
Hānsī, *lo.*, 79
Hara *s.a.* Śiva, *te.*, 549-50
Haradēva, *m.*, 197
hāraka, *l.m.*, 289, 295*n*
Harasēna, *m.*, 558
Hardā, *Railway Station*, 159, 613
Har Dutta Sharma, 147*n*
Hari, *te.*, 511, 538
Hari, *m.*, 21-22, 181, 229, 305-07, 424
Haridatta, *do.*, 424
Haridēva, *do.*, 218
Haridhara, *do.*, 181, 424
Haripāla, *au.*, 499
Haripāla, *off.*, 492
Haripāla, *feu.*, 496
Harirāja, *m.*, 518, 602, 663
Harirāja, *Pratīhāra k.*, 341
Hariśarman, *m.*, 202, 218, 424
Hariśchandra, *do.*, 119, 629
Hariśchandra, *off.*, 614, 615*n*
Hariśchandra, *Paramāra k.*, 135, 143, 145-46, 148-49, 150*n*, 153-54, 158, 159*n*, 173, 177-78, 213
Harishēṇa, *m.*, 301
Harīśvara *te.*, 305-06
Harsha *s.a.* Harshadēva, *Chandēlla k.*, 288, 336, 339-40, 350, 358, 378
Harshuka, *engr.*, 70
Harsōla, *vi.*, 1, 8-10, 28*n*, 30, 146
Harsōla copper-plate grant of Sīyaka, 9, 28*n*, 51, 77, 244
Harsōlā grants of Harshadēva, 340
Harsaudā, *vi.*, 30, 171 and *n*
Harsaudā stone ins., of the time of Dēvapāla, 30, 146, 186, 188, 191*n*, 213
Harshacharita, *wk.*, 592, 593*n*
Harshadēva, *com.*, 203
Harshadēva *s.a.* Sīyaka, *Paramāra k.*, 77
Harshapur *s.a.* Harsōlā, *tn.*, 5
Harshapura, *vi.*, 29-30, 174
Harshapura, *lo.*, 145-46
Harsūd, *tn.*, 145-46
Harsūd, *vi.*, 174*n*
Harsūd pargaṇa, *t.d.*, 171
Hārūka, *m.*, 512 and *n*
hasta, 'a kind of measurement', 444 and *n*
Hastināpura, *vi.*, 178-80 and 180*n*, 590*n*
Hāṭa, *do.*, 457
Hāṭa — 18, *do.*, 421
Hāthaḍalī, *do.*, 246
Hāthal *s.a.* Hathāra, *do.*, 245
Hathavāḍa, *do.*, 57-58
Hathidahā, *do.*, 421
Hathināvara *s.a.* Hatnāwar, *do.*, 168-69
Hathivavāhā, *do.*, 622
Hathnāpur, *do.*, 169*n*
Hathnāwar, *do.*, 179
Hathūṇḍī *s.a.* Hastikuṇḍī, *lo.*, 257-58
Hātmā, *vi.*, 325
Haṭṭā, *tk.*, 525 and *n*
Hēmachandra, *Jaina preceptor and au.*, 56, 80, 396
Hēmādri, *au.*, 73, 156*n*, 389*n*
Hēmanta, *season*, 543*n*
Hēmasiṁha, *pr.*, 139
Hērambapāla *alias* Vināyakapāla, *Pratīhāra ruler*, 342 and *n*
Herbert C. Tohwan, 172
Himālaya, *mo.*, 108, 340-41, 465, 541*n*, 616
Himālaya, *reg.*, 598
Himāṇa, *m.*, 595
Hindu art, 49
Hindu chief, 653*n*
Hindu, *community*, 536
Hinḍoriā, *lo.*, 526
Hīrāditya, *m.*, 424
Hiralal R.B., 95*n*, 107*n*, 110, 190, 360, 361*n*, 362*n*, 364*n*, 402, 439*n*, 443, 444 and *n*, 445*n*, 446*n*, 451 53 and 453*n*, 454*n*, 495-97, 521 and *n*, 522 and *n*, 523, 524*n*, 525 and *n*, 526-27 and *n*, 528*n*, 604, 633
Hirananda Sastri, 360*n*, 521, 596, 598*n*, 599*n*
Hiraṇya, *m.*, 424
Hoernle, 336
Hōlā, *fe.*, 314
Horniman, 409
Horniman Museum, 409
Hoshaṅgābād, *dt.*, 110 and *n*, 154, 159*n*, 169*n*, 171*n*, 613
Hoshaṅgābād, *tn.*, 155, 614
Hoyasaḷas, *dy.*, 80, 91-92, 95*n*, 96, 109, 649-50
Hoyasaḷa, *f.*, 76*n*
Hoyasaḷa ins., 91
Hṛishīkēśa, *m.*, 592
Hultzsch, 37, 39, 41*n*, 42*n*, 44*n*, 208, 371-72, 373*n*, 376, 378 and *n*, 379*n*, 380*n*, 473, 475*n*, 477*n*, 536*n*, 548, 550, 551*n*, 552*n*, 654
Hūṇa, *dy.*, 78
Hūṇa, *tribe.*, 16*n*, 20-21, 78, 196
Hūṇa-maṇḍala, *t.d.*, 19-20
Hūṇas, *peo.*, 20
Hyderabad, *erstwhile state*, 93, 649

I

i, initial, form of, 2, 18, 25, 28, 35, 49-50, 62, 75, 94, 102, 120, 123, 127, 130, 141, 147, 176, 185, 201, 211, 254, 278, 286, 296, 305, 312, 338, 347, 356, 377, 382, 395, 455, 473, 556, 592
ī, initial, long form of, 536
i, initial, short form of, 503, 536, 640
i, medial, form of, 46, 522
i, vowel, form of, 303, 447, 483, 499, 511, 523, 561, 616
ī, vowel, form of, 633
Ibno-ul-Asīr, *Muslim chronicler*, 378, 654
Ichchhādhara, *m.*, 540
Ichchhāvar, *vi.*, 438 and *n*, 440
Ichchhāvar grant, 401*n*, 402
Ichchhāvar copper-plate ins., of Paramardirēva, 443-44, 447
Ichchhinīkumārī, *fe.*, 330*n*

Ignōdā *s.a.* Ingnōda *s.a.* Ringnōd, *vi.*, 558
Ilhuka, *m.*, 119
Iltutmish, *Mamlūk Sultan of Delhi*, 188, 203, 206-07, 213-14, 562
Images —
Ambikā, 173
Aranātha, 118-19
Ashṭa-śakti, 515, 633
Bāiāji (Bālārkaji), 321*n*
Brahmā, 66, 241-42
Chāmuṇḍasvāmidēva, 145
Charchikā, 121*n*
Dēvī, 66
Gaṇēśa, 173
Hari, 512
Jaina-tīrthaṅkara, 60
Kṛishṇa, 173
Kshētrapāla, 173
Kuntalanātha, 118-19
Lakšhmaṇēśa, 272
Nakulīśa, 173
Nṛisiṁha, 405
Pārśvanātha, 105
Pārvatī, 66
Paṭṭanārāyaṇa, 272
Sambhavanātha, 456
Śāntinātha, 118-19, 456
Sun, 149
Trimūrti, 266*n*
Vishṇu, 66, 143*n*, 182*n*
Vṛishabhanātha, 313
Iṅguṇīpadra—sārdhasaptaśata-bhōga, *l.d.*, 103
Indasvāmin, *m.*, 558
India, *co.*, 167-68, 350, 421
India Office Library, 42*n*
Indore, *dt.*, 10, 14, 35, 37, 102, 146, 217
Indore, *ci.*, 26, 640
Indore, *erstwhile state*, 194
Indore museum, 45, 194, 197*n*
Indra III, *Rāshṭrakūṭa k.*, 336, 340*n*, 341
Indraratha, *k.*, 78
Indra-tanaya *s.a.* Arjuna, *epic Pāṇḍava pr.*, 542*n*
Iṅgaṇapadra, *vi.*, 557-58
Iṅgnōdā, *do.*, 556
Iṅgōriā, *do.*, 104*n*
Iṅguṇīpadra *s.a.* Ignōdā, *do.*, 104, 149
Ins., of Ajayapāla at Udaipur of V.S. 1229, 159
Ins., of Gaṇḍadēva, 381*n*
Insignia —
Gajalakshmī, 491
Garuḍa, 1, 8, 10-11, 18, 25*n*, 32, 35, 39, 42, 45, 51*n*, 62, 67, 103, 114, 127, 147, 148*n*, 151, 157, 161*n*, 176, 201, 211
Ins., of the Yajvapālas of Narwar, 561
Isanagar, *n., of a place*, 654
Isarahara—pañchēla, *vi.*, 421
Isaunī, *do.*, 652, 654
Īśvara, *m.*, 21-22, 591-92
Iṭalā, *vi.*, 470-71
Iṭāva *s.a.* Etāwah, *tn.*, 422
Iṭāva-pañchēla, *vi.*, 421

J

j, from of, 18, 32, 35, 55, 76, 90, 99, 115, 134, 138*n*, 145, 192, 211, 312, 325, 354, 392, 499, 504, 586, 600
Jābāli, *teacher of the Pāśupatas*, 324
Jabalpur, *dt.*, 95*n*, 107*n*, 110, 179, 217, 526
Jackson A.M.T., 320, 322*n*, 323 and *n*, 324*n*, 329, 331*n*
Jaddha, *off.*, 339
Jāḍū, *m.*, 424
Jagaddēva *s.a.* Jagdēva, *Paramāra pr.*, 90-92 and 92*n*, 93, 95 and *n*, 131, 140, 212, 641, 649 and *n*, 650-51
Jagaddhara, *m.*, 421, 506
Jagadēkamalla II, *Western Chāḷukya k.*, 439*n*
Jagadish Dube, 613
Jagadvīra, *min.*, 504-05
Jāgarshi, *m.*, 424
Jagasīha, *do.*, 424
Jagasiṁha *s.a.* Jagatsiṁha, *do.*, 512
Jagasvāmī *s.a.* Jagatsvāmin, *te.*, 329
Jagasvāmin *s.a.* Jagatsvāmin, *do.*, 323
Jagat-svāmin, *do.*, 321
Jagattuṅga, *Rāshṭrakūṭa k.*, 340*n*
Jagē, *m.*, 424
Jagpurā, *vi.*, 282
Jagū, *m.*, 424
Jāhaḍa, *do.*, 424, 130*n*, 456
Jahir Deo *s.a.* Chāhaḍa, *Chandēlla k.*, 562
Jāhula, *m.*, 421
Jain B.C., 141, 457*n*, 487*n*, 629, 631, 657
Jain L.P., 525*n*
Jaina, *community*, 112, 455
Jaina grants, 57
Jaina image, 61, 409, 632
Jaina, *te.*, 57, 60, 300, 302-03, 313, 411, 530, 536; 561, 631,
Jaināḍ, *vi.*, 93 and *n*
Jaināḍ ins., 649-50
Jaina temple ins., at Khajurāhō, 412
Jainism, *rel.*, 304*n*, 436, 530, 536, 563
Jaipāla, *m.*, 526, 637
Jaisalmer, *dt.*, 328*n*
Jaisalmer, *reg.*, 328
Jaitanābha, *m.*, 424
Jaitē, *do.*, 424
Jaitpur, *tn.*, 351
Jaitpur-Panwārī, *tk.*, 349, 358
Jaitrakarṇa *s.a.* Jaitrasiṁha, *Guhila k., of Mēwāḍ*, 272, 628
Jaitrasiṁha, *m.*, 163, 209*n*, 216, 563
Jaitrasiṁha, *off.*, 562
Jaitrasiṁha *s.a.* Jayavarman II, *k., of Dhārā*, 569
Jaitrasiṁha, *Chāhamāna k., of Raṇathambhōr*, 193 and *n*, 209
Jaitravarman, *k.*, 580*n*, 582*n*, 595
Jaitugi, *Yādava k.*, 162, 214
Jaitugi, *Paramāra k.*, 203, 214*n*
Jaitugidēva, *do.*, 191, 202, 214
Jaitujamhadēva, *feu.*, 595
Jajapēlla *s.a.* Yajvapāla, *dy.*, 587
Jājē, *m.*, 564
Jajjaka, *k.*, 327
Jājō, *m.*, 462
Jājūka, *k.*, 374-75 and 375*n*
Jājūka, *m.*, 512
Jājūka, *one of the descendants of Vāstu*,

(*Viśvakarman*), 517
Jāla, *off.*, 626
Jalhā, *m.*, 421
Jālhaṇa, *off.*, 246
Jālhaṇa, *m.*, 407, 424, 512
Jālhē, *do.*, 424
Jālhū, *do.*, 424
Jallāl Khōjā, *k.*, 526
Jālōr, *tn.*, 318, 320 and *n*, 322, 329
Jālōr, *dt.*, 330, 332*n*
Jālōr, *ca.*, 333, 628
Jāmaṭa, *m.*, 22
Jāmbavatī, *fe.*, 301
Jambūkēśvara, *te.*, 215
Jāmē, *m.*, 526
James Cambell, 320*n*
James Prinsep, 510 and *n*, 514*n*, 515*n*
Jamnā, *ri.*, 440
Jāmnēr, *stream*, 159
Jana, *m.*, 119
Janaha, *do.*, 659
janapada, country, 307, 310*n*, 357, 553, 653
Janārdana, *m.*, 181, 202
Jannaka, *off.*, 70
Jasadēva, *m.*, 181, 184*n*
Jasadhara, *do.*, 358
Jasahara, *do.*, 67
Jasanāśa, *do.*, 323
Jasarājapura, *tn.*, 532
Jāsaṭa, *off.*, 33
Jasē, *m.*, 564
Jāsēvō, *do.*, 661*n*
Jasō, *vi.*, 659
Jāsō, *m.*, 659
Jasōdhara, *do.*, 181, 183*n*, 632
Jasōrāja *s.a.* Yaśōrāja, *ch.*, 51-52
Jāsūka, *m.*, 531
Jāṭa, *do.*, 396
Jatuhaṭṭa *s.a.* Jauhaṭṭa, *lo.*, 663
Jāṭuka, *m.*, 659
Jaüdana, *do.*, 394
Jauṇādhara, *do.*, 517
Jauṇapāla, *do.*, 407, 564
Jāvala, *teacher of the Pāśupatas*, 323
Javalī, *a kind of silver ornament*, 583*n*
Jāwar, *tk.*, 32*n*
Jayachandra *s.a.* Jayānanda, *k.*, 63*n*
Jayadēva, *m.*, 136*n*
Jayadratha, *do.*, 531, 588
Jayadurga *s.a.* Ajyagaḍh, *fort*, 424, 511, 513, 518
Jayaguṇa, *m.*, 339
Jayakīrtti, *do.*, 301
Jayakumāra, *do.*, 350
Jayānanda, *do.*, 424
Jayanta, *min.*, 588
Jayapāla, *com.*, 464, 512
Jayapāla, *k.*, 561, 587
Jayapāla, *k.*, *of Pāla dy.*, 378
Jayapāla, *m.*, 383
Jayapura *s.a.* Ajayagaḍh, *fort*, 407, 437, 468, 500
Jayapuradurga *s.a.* Ajayagaḍh, *do.*, 632-36, 658
Jayarāja, *do.*, 663
Jāyasa, *ci.*, 531
Jayaśakti, *Chandēlla k.*, 339, 378, 384, 396, 440, 444, 522
Jāyasapura, *ci.*, 532
Jayaśarman, *m.*, 424
Jayasīha, *do.*, 424
Jayasiṁha, *au.*, 251, 598, 602*n*
Jayasiṁha II, *Chālukya k.*, *of Kalyāṇa*, 55-56
Jayasiṁha, *W. Chālukya k.*, 52
Jayasiṁha III, *Later W. Chālukya k.*, 79
Jayasiṁha, *k.*, *of Gūrjara dy.*, 421*n*
Jayasiṁha, *Kalachuri k.*, *of Tripurī*, 154, 465, 492
Jayasiṁha, *Paramāra k.*, *Bhinmāl*, 330
Jayasiṁha, *Paramāra k.*, *of Vāgaḍa*, 281
Jayasiṁha, *Rāshṭrakūṭa feu.*, 139
Jayasiṁhadēva II *s.a.* Jayavarman, *Paramāra k.*, 191-93 and 193*n*, 202*n*, 207-08, 209*n*, 212, 221*n*, 273, 622
Jayasiṁhadēva *s.a.* Jayasiṁha, *Paramāra k.*, *of Mālwā*, 62-63, 73, 91, 95, 104, 109, 213, 279-80, 310, 313, 613, 622
Jayasiṁha Siddharāja, *Chaulukya k.*, *of Gujarat*, 92*n*, 95, 131 and *n*, 132 and *n*, 135, 139, 163, 193*n*, 242, 313, 327, 397, 421, 508, 557
Jayaśrī *s.a.* Jayavarman, *Paramāra k.*, *of Mālwā*, 163*n*, 361
Jayasvāmin Jayatsiṁha, *Paramāra k.*, *of Bhinmāl*, 248
Jayavarmadēva, *Chandēlla k.*, 383, 385
Jayavarmadēva II, *Paramāra k.*, 202-03, 215
Jayavarman, *Chandēlla k.*, 413-14, 500, 501*n*, 505, 508
Jayavarman *s.a.* Ajayavarman, *Paramāra k.*, 130-32, 135-36, 138-39, 149, 153, 158-59, 214, 341*n*
Jayavarman II, *do.*, 188, 195-97, 209, 214*n*, 216
Jāyaswāl, *f.*, 563
Jējā *s.a.* Jayaśakti, *Chandēlla k.*, 378
Jējāka, *m.*, 321
Jējākabhukti *s.a.* Bundelkhand, *t.d.*, 335, 484, 588, 629
Jējjāka, *do.*, 335, 339
Jēla, *m.*, 321
Jēndurāja, *Chāhamāna k.*, *of Nāḍōl*, 324
Jēsavāla *s.a.* Jayaswāl, *f.*, 564
Jētana, *off.*, 499
Jētsī *s.a.* Jayatsiṁha, *Paramāra k.*, *of Bhinmāl*, 330*n*
Jēyavāla, *f.*, 563
jh, form of, 99, 278, 338
jha, form of, 649
Jhābuā, *dt.*, 5,
Jhālāwāḍ, *do.*, 69, 71, 74
Jhalla *s.a.* Bhalla, *m.*, 301
Jhālōḍi stone ins., of the time of Dhārāvarsha, 250, 264
Jhālōnī, *n.*, *of a tank*, 662
Jhālrāpāṭan, *tn.*, 69, 71, 119, 193
Jhālrāpāṭan stone ins., of the time of Udayāditya, 72, 119
Jhampaighaṭṭa *s.a.* Jhapaṭ ghāt, *n.*, *of a place*, 193
Jhānsī, *dt.*, 371, 375, 412, 418*n*, 440, 457, 459, 485, 489, 663
Jhānsī, *tn.*, 116, 351, 354, 397, 418*n*, 422-23
Jhānsī, *reg.*, 446, 448, 457, 459-60
Jhānsī-Gunā, *do.*, 341-42
Jhānsī-Sīpri, *do.*, 591
Jhārḍā, *vi.*, 79*n*
Jījū, *m.*, 365-66, 456
Jina, *te.*, 301,
Jinachandra, *m.*, 412
Jinamaṇḍana, *au.*, 238, 242, 261*n*

Jinanātha, *te.*, 347
Jinavijaya, *sage*, 254, 255*n*, 267 and *n*, 268*n*, 329
Jiṇ(n)ēs(ś)vara, *engr.*, 588
jña, form of, 357
Jōdhpur, *t.d.*, 257
Jōdhpur, *dt.*, 179, 258, 328*n*, 332
Jōdhpur, *tn.*, 332
Jōdhpur, *reg.*, 328
Jōgachandra, *m.*, 324
Jōgasvara *s.a.* Yōgēśvara, *min.*, 57
Jovian year, 228
Jumnā, *ri.*, 395
Jyōtirliṅga, one of the dvādaśa liṅgas, 84*n*
Jyōtisha, one of the Vēdāṅgas, 358*n*

K

k, form of, 10, 36, 39, 42, 50, 94, 107, 201, 225, 296, 305, 335, 347, 356, 358, 367, 382, 392, 400, 405, 407, 419-20, 437, 439, 463, 473, 529, 536, 556, 640
k, ligature, form of, 617
k, superscript, form of, 102, 377
Kābhuka, *m.*, 240
Kachchhapaghāta, *dy.*, 365, 530, 537-39, 550, 553-54, 558, 654
Kaḍahichchhakā *s.a.* Karcha *s.a.*
Kaḍacha, *vi.*, 25, 26*n*
Kadambapadraka, *do.*, 116 and *n*
Kadambapadraka grant of Naravarman of V.S. 1110, 44*n*, 102, 104
Kadambapadraka grant of Naravarman of V.S. 1167, 557, 640, 642
Kādambarī, *skt. wk.*, 144, 352*n*, 543*n*
Kaḍōd, *do.*, 217
Kādōhā *s.a.* Kōdōa, *vi.*, 484-85
Kadū, *m.*, 424
Kadvāhā *s.a.* Kadambaguha, *vi.*, 116*n*
Kailāsa, *mo.*, 78, 342, 520
Kaimūr, *range*, 402, 493
Kairā, *lo.*, 4, 5*n*, 8, 21
Kairā, *dt.*, 37
Kaiṭabha, *demon*, 219*n*
Kakaḍāha, *vi.*, 484-85
Kakaḍwā *s.a.* Kukurooa, *do.*, 485
Kākala, *Paramāra k.*, *of Ābū*, 625
Kākaladēva, *Paramāra k.*, *of Chandrāvatī*, 260-61, 262*n*
Kākali, *m.*, 598
Kakaradaha *s.a.* Kakardā, *vi.*, 74 and *n*, 421, 423
Kakka *s.a.* Kaṅkadēva, *Paramāra k.*, *of Vāgaḍa*, 288
Kakkapairāja, *m.*, 57
Kakrēḍī *s.a.* Karkarēḍī, *vi.*, 492
Kakustha, *myth. k.*, 383
Kāla *s.a.* Śiva, *te.*, 79*n*
Kalachuri, *dy.*, 34, 56, 63, 76*n*, 77, 79-80, 82, 91, 95, 109-110, 131, 154, 213, 340 and *n*, 341, 366, 378-79, 465, 474, 492-93 and 493*n*, 500, 531, 538, 658*n*
Kalachuri ins., of 1019 A.C., 412*n*
Kalakalēśvara *n.*, *of a tīrtha*, 55, 57
Kālamēgha, *n.*, *of a war horse*, 649, 651*n*
Kālañjara, *fort*, 340-42, 351, 357-58, 361-62, 366-69, 374-75, 378, 390-93, 396, 401-02, 405, 407, 421, 436, 440, 443-44, 448, 452-53, 459, 461, 470-71, 475, 478, 484, 488, 496-97, 500, 507-08, 510-11, 517-18, 523, 526, 535, 537
Kālañjara ins., of the time of Kīrttivarman, 366, 382
Kālañjara stone ins., of Madanavarman, 474
Kālañjara stone ins., of Vīravarman, 421*n*
Kaḷas Budrukh grant of Bhillama III, 518*n*
Kālējarā *s.a.* Kalagara, *vi.*, 267 and *n*
Kālhaṇavāḍa, *vi.*, 273-74
Kalhār, *Railway Station*, 208
Kali, *age*, 342
Kālidāsa, *au.*, 15*n*, 95, 108*n*, 219*n*, 271, 499, 550, 604
Kālidāsa, *gen.*, 649-50
Kālindī, *ri.*, 342
Kaliṅga, *co.*, 465
Kālīsindh, *ri.*, 72*n*, 562
Kaliyuga, *age*, 221*n*
Kallukā, *fe.*, 301
Kalpa, 'legendary measurement of time', 335, 346*n*
Kalpa 'one of the Vēdāṅgas', 358*n*
Kalpa-vṛiksha, 'wish-fullfilling tree', 288
Kālvaṇ, *vi.*, 29, 54, 57
Kālvaṇ plate ins., of the time of Bhōjadēva, 51*n*, 79*n*, 104*n*
Kālvaṇ plate ins., of Yaśōvarman, 29
Kalyāṇadēvī, *ch. q.*, *of Vīravarman*, 499-500
Kalyāṇī, *ca.*, 179*n*
Kāmadēva, *m.*, 544*n*
Kāmadēva, *te.*, 142*n*
Kamalādhara, *m.*, 218
Kamalākānta Pandit, 227, 510*n*
Kamalāsana, *m.*, 424
Kamalasiṁha, *do.*, 216
Kamale *s.a.* Gaṅgādhara, *do.*, 512 and *n*
Kamāl Maula, *n.*, *of a mosque*, 86
Kamaṇauḍā, *vi.*, 396
Kamaṇḍaludhara, *k.*, *of Dhārā*, 212
Kamarkhēḍī, *vi.*, 397
Kamaṭhaī, *m.*, 599*n*
Kamauli plate of V.S. 1190, 645*n*
Kāmē, *m.*, 424
Kamēd, *vi.*, 67
Kamhaṇauḍā *s.a.* Kāmarkhēḍi, *do.*, 397
Kaṁka, *m.*, 291*n*
Kāmlīkhēḍā, *vi.*, 116
Kāmrōd, *lo.*, 5
Kaṁsa, *demon*, 508
Kāṁṭal, *vi.*, 257
Kanāditya, *m.*, 424
Kanakasiṁha, *k.*, 212
Kanasāmi, *m.*, 424
Kanauj, *ca.*, 336, 342*n*
Kāñchī, *ci.*, 384-85
Kañchuka, *q.*, *of Chandēlla k.*, *Harsha*, 339, 384
Kāndū, *m.*, 424
Kane P.V., 214*n*
Kanha, *gen.*, 281, 310, 313
Kānhaḍa, *engr.*, 203, 216*n*
Kānhaḍa, *m.*, 181
Kānhaḍadēva *s.a.* Kṛishṇadēva III, *Paramāra k.*, *of Chandrāvatī*, 265
Kanhapa *s.a.* Kṛishṇapa, *Chandēlla k.*, 354
Kaṇhapaika, *off.*, 9, 12
Kaṅka *s.a.* Kaṅkadēva, *Paramāra k.*, *of Vāgaḍa*, 280 and *n*
Kaṅkadēva *s.a.* Chachcha, *do.*, 280, 288
Kaṇōpā, *vi.*, 21, 25
Kāṇṭal ins., dated V.S. 1274, 639

Kānyakubja *s.a.* Kanauj, *ca.*, 4, 21, 51-52, 378, 413, 530, 557, 654
Kāpaḍvanj, *vi.*, 5
Kāpaḍvanj grant of Śaka 832, 5
Kapilā *s.a.* Kolar, *ri.*, 168-69, 202-03 and 203*n*, 641-42
Kapilēśvara, *m.*, 424
Karcha, *vi.*, 26
Karērā, *tk.*, 568
Karērā Pargaṇa, *t.d.*, 561, 572, 586
Karhaḍ ins., of Kṛishṇa III, 3*n*
Karhaiyā, *vi.*, 423
Karhed, *vi.*, 628*n*
Karigavā, *t.d.*, 448
Karkarēḍi *s.a.* *Kakrēḍī*, *do.*, 492
Karki, *vi.*, 47
Karkō, *do.*; 197
Karmasīha *s.a.* Karmasiṁha, *m.*, 273
Karṇa, *epic pr.*, 340, 500, 545*n*, 553
Karṇa, *Chaulukya k.*, *of Gujarat*, 82, 94-95
Karṇa *s.a.* Lakshmīkaraṇa, *Kalachauri k.*, *of Tripurī*, 56, 63, 79-80, 82, 91, 95, 109*n*, 110, 112*n*, 362, 372, 378-79 and 379*n*, 413, 500, 508
Karṇa, *the ruler of Champā*, 357
Karnāl, *dt.*, 37
Karṇapūra, *au.*, 508*n*
Karṇasiṁha, *m.*, 563
Karṇāṭa, *reg.*, 290, 649
Karṇāṭaka Brāhmaṇa, *community*, 43
Karṇāṭas, *peo.*, 109, 112*n*, 288
Karṇṇāṭa, *co.*, 55, 57, 77-79, 327
Karpāsika *s.a.* Kapāsan, *vi.*, 73-74
Karsha, 'n., of a weight', 289 295*n*, 624, 625*n*
Kartripāla, *m.*, 464
Kārttikādi, system of reckoning, 62, 70, 119*n*, 128*n*, 134, 162, 167*n*, 177, 186*n*, 202-03, 207, 226, 228*n*, 233*n*, 240, 263, 306, 323, 629*n*
Kāruka *s.a.* Kāru, *m.*, 453
Kāsēśvara *s.a.* Kāyadrā, *vi.*, 244
Kashmir, 341 and *n*
Kāśī, *ci.*, 413-14, 471*n*, 570
Kāśīkā *s.a.* Vārāṇasī, *do.*, 350-51
Kāśirāja, *k.*, 471*n*
Kāśi-Viśvanātha, *te.*, 209
Kāśmīrī, *peo.*, 340
Kasrāvad, *tk.*, 217
Kāśyapa, *f.*, 463-64
Kātantra, *system of Skt. grammar*, 88*n*
Katare S.L., 81*n*, 138-39 and 139*n*, 140*n*, 144, 146*n*, 367-68 and 368*n*, 369 and *n*, 370*n*, 373, 375 and *n*, 376*n*, 487 and *n*, 488*n*, 489*n*
Kaṭhaṅhaḍ, *vi.*, 357-58
Kaṭuka, *m.*, 181
Kaṭuka, *com.*, 314
Kauśāmbi *s.a.* Kōsam, *tn.*, 512-13
Kauśāmyapura, *lo.*, 512-13
Kaustubha, *n.*, *of a gem*, 142, 288
Kauthēm grant of the Chālukya Vikramāditya, 326*n*, 333 and *n*
Kauṭilya, *au.*, 41*n*, 452
Kāvaḍa, *vi.*, 21
Kāvērī, *ri.*, 212, 216
Kāvida *s.a.* Kōvida, *off.*, 245
Kavīndravachanasamuchchaya, *wk.*, 125
Kavirahasya, *wk.*, 341*n*
Kavirāja Shyamaladas, 286
Kāvya, style, 371, 382, 473, 479, 537, 562, 619
Kāvyādarśa, *wk.*, 491, 494*n*
Kāvyālaṁkāra, *do.*, 111*n*
Kāvyaprakāśa, *do.*, 543
Kawadkar, 648
Kawardhā, *vi.*, 353*n*
Kāyadrā, *do.*, 74*n*, 243
Kāyadrā stone ins., of Dhārāvarsha, 238*n*, 246, 251, 269 and *n*
Kāyastha, *community*, 3, 197, 198*n*, 268-69, 289, 375, 379, 383-84, 440, 511-12, 516-18, 519*n*, 564, 598, 600, 602, 613
Kāyōtsarga, kind of posture, 629
Kēdāra *s.a.* Śiva, *te.*, 79
Kēdāra, *n.*, *of a place*, 598
Keith A.B., 12*n*, 76*n*
Kēkū, *m.*, 202
Kēlhaṇa, *Chāhamāna k.*, *of Nāḍōl*, 163, 250, 254, 261, 264*n*
Kēlhaṇa, *m.*, 181, 273, 330, 558
Ken, *ri.*, 342
Kēṇḍī, *vi.*, 414
Kērala, *co.*, 77-78
Kēśava, *m.*, 116, 173, 181, 273, 401, 424, 448, 511, 553-54
Kēśavaśarman, *do.*, 452
kh, form of, 2-3, 18, 25, 39, 42, 70, 99, 107, 158, 233, 278, 356, 361, 382, 463, 483, 511
kh, ligature, form of, 473
kh, subscript, form of, 107
Khaḍākhēḍī, *vi.*, 189
Khaḍupallikā, *lo.*, 21
Khaila-pāṭaka, *do.*, 110
Khajurāhō, *vi.*, 335, 337, 342, 347, 351, 366, 376, 378, 381, 409, 411-12, 456 and *n*, 632
Khajurāhō ins., of Dhaṅgadēva, 358, 397
Khajurāhō ins., of V.S. 1011, 456
Khajurāhō ins., of Yaśōvarman, 378, 653
Khajurāhō Jaina image ins., 366
Khalghāṭ *s.a.* Khalighaṭṭa, *n.*, *of a ford*, 280, 282
Khalji Sultans of Delhi, *dy.*, 213
Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya, *wk.*, 124*n*
Khaṇḍelwāl, *f.*, 119
Khandesh, *dt.*, 167*n*
Khaṇḍwā, *tn.*, 61*n*, 179
Khaṇḍwā, *dt.*, 191, 216
Khaṇḍwā, *tk.*, 604
Kharahī, *vi.*, 187*n*, 189 and *n*
Khargone, *tn.*, 89, 640, 643
Kharjā, *stream*, 12
Kharjūravāhaka *s.a.* Khajurāhō, *vi.*, 383, 385
Kharjūrikā, *do.*, 21-22
Khasas, *peo.*, 340
Khaṭauḍā-12, *vi.*, 421
Khatauḍā *s.a.* Khutourea, *do.*, 422
Khātēgāon parganā, *t.d.*, 160
Khēḍā, *lo.*, 21
Khēḍāpālikā, *do.*, 22
Khēṭaka-maṇḍala *s.a.* Kairā, *t.d.*, 4-5, 21-22
Khīmāūlī, *vi.*, 273
Khiriyā, *do.*, 189
Khōllēśvara, *off.*, 215
Khoṭṭiga *s.a.* Khoṭṭigadēva, *Rāshṭrakūṭa k.*, 3*n*, 77, 280, 282, 288
Khuraī, *tk.*, 398, 422

Khurda, *vi.*, 282*n*
Kielhorn F., 14-15 and 15*n*, 16 and *n*, 17*n*, 43, 61 and *n*, 62 and *n*, 63*n*, 64*n*, 65, 91, 104, 106-07 and 107*n*, 108 and *n*, 111*n*, 112*n*, 113*n*, 126*n*, 127-28, 129*n*, 130, 131*n*, 132 and *n*, 133*n*, 134-36 and 136*n*, 137*n*, 159, 163, 166, 171*n*, 172 and *n*, 173-74 and 174*n*, 175*n*, 176, 177*n*, 178*n*, 179 and *n*, 184*n*, 185, 186*n*, 187-88, 190-91, 192*n*, 200 and *n*, 203, 206*n*, 208, 227-28 and 228*n*, 229, 230*n*, 231*n*, 232*n*, 239, 286 and *n*, 288 and *n*, 295*n*, 321*n*, 329, 330*n*, 331*n*, 335, 336*n*, 337*n*, 338, 339*n*, 341*n*, 343*n*, 344*n*, 345*n*, 346*n*, 347, 348*n*, 349, 350*n*, 351*n*, 353-54, 355*n*, 356, 358, 359*n*, 360*n*, 371 and *n*, 372*n*, 373*n*, 381 and *n*, 382, 383*n*, 384 and *n*, 386*n*, 387*n*, 388*n*, 390*n*, 393, 395 and *n*, 396 and *n*, 397 and *n*, 398*n*, 399*n*, 401*n*, 409 and *n*, 410*n*, 411-13 and 413*n*, 414, 415*n*, 416*n*, 417*n*, 418*n*, 436-38, 440, 442, 450*n*, 461-62, 464 and *n*, 468, 473 and *n*, 474-75 and 475*n*, 476*n*, 477*n*, 479, 482*n*, 496*n*, 498-500 and 500*n*, 501*n*, 502*n*, 510, 512*n*, 515-16 and 516*n*, 517 and *n*, 519*n*, 520*n*, 528 and *n*, 529*n*, 530*n*, 532*n*, 533*n*, 534*n*, 535 and *n*, 536*n*, 539*n*, 540*n*, 542*n*, 543*n*, 544*n*, 546*n*, 547*n*, 548*n*, 553*n*, 554*n*, 600-01 and 601*n*, 622, 637
Kikkana, *m.*, 361
Kīlhaṇa, *do.*, 424
Kincaid Colonel, 157
Kinnara, '*myth. being*', 351*n*, 598*n*
Kīra, *tn.*, 342
Kirāḍi, *vi.*, 453
Kirāḍū, *do.*, 325 and *n*
Kirāḍū stone ins., of Sōmēśvara, 248
Kiraṇāditya, *m.*, 324
Kirāta, *tribe*, 339
Kirāṭakūpa *s.a.* Kirāḍū, *do.*, 327-28
Kirāyiḍa, *t.d.*, 452-53
Kirikaikā *s.a.* Karkī, *vi.*, 46-47
kīrtana s.a. kīrtti, 'temple', 281 and *n*, 314 and *n*, 316*n*, 354, 384, 456
Kīrtanē N.J., 10*n*, 11*n*, 12, 17*n*, 42 and *n*, 44 and *n*, 558 and *n*, 559*n*, 560*n*
Kīrtirāja, *m.*, 289, 294*n*, 518
Kīrtirāja, *k.*, *of Kachchhapaghāta dy.*, 538-39
Ḳīrtīratha Sūri, *do.*, 540
Kīrtivarman, *Chandēlla k.*, 116, 366, 368, 372-75, 378-79 and 379*n*, 391, 393, 396-97, 401, 405, 412-14, 474*n*, 500, 504-05, 508, 517-18, 531
Kīrttidurga *s.a.* Kīrtigiridurga, *fort*, 397, 601-02, 662-63
Kīrttigiri, *hill.*, 372
Kīrttirāja, *Chaulukya k.*, *of Gujarat*, 30, 56
Kīrttipāla, *m.*, 333
Kishore Singh Kanungo, 45
Kīṭhaṇa, *m.*, 424
Koḍacha, *vi.*, 26
Kōdrava, 'grain', 29
Kōdravē, 'millet', 450*n*
Kōhlā, *lo.*, 536*n*
Kōkā, *m.*, 424
Kōkaḍa *s.a.* Kīkaḍa, *vi.*, 522
Kōkala Gadelaka, *m.*, 558
Kōkalla I, *Kalachuri k.*, 336, 340*n*, 378
Kōkalla, *m.*, 456
Kōkāpur, *vi.*, 28, 30
Kōlāñch, *lo.*, 20*n*
Kōlār, *stream*, 643
Kōlavā, *vi.*, 402
Kōlavā-paṭṭalā, *t.d.*, 401-02
Kolte V.N., 648 and *n*, 649*n*, 651
Kōlvā *s.a.* Kōlavā, *vi.*, 402
Kōṅkaṇa, *co.*, 36-37 and 37*n*, 40, 52, 55-57, 244
Kōṅkaṇa-grahaṇa-vijaya, n., of a festival, 36-37, 40
Kōrār, *vi.*, 407
Kōrtiā, *do.*, 437, 468
Kōsala, *co.*, 78, 340, 384
Kōsala S., *t.d.*, 78
Kōśavardhana *s.a.* Shērgaḍh, *fort*, 72*n*, 73, 118-19
Kōṭā, *lo.*, 19
Kōṭā, *dt.*, 71, 74, 118, 192-93
Kōṭā, *erstwhile state*, 72
Kōṭā Buddhist ins., of the Sāmanta—Dēvadatta, 551*n*
Kōṭhī Bazār, *lo.*, 614
Kōṭiā, *vi.*, 407
Kōṭikā, 'a load of cloth', 289
Kōṭitīrtha, *lo.*, 362, 407
Kōṭṭa, 'city wall', 318
Koṭṭapāla, guardian of the fort, 492
Kōvida *s.a.* Kāvida, *off.*, 246
Kratha, *co.*, 384
krī, form of, 356
Krishṇa, *m.*, 181, 218, 424, 540
Krishṇa, *Chandēlla k.*, 5*n*, 422
Krishṇa, *Yādava k.*, 191, 203
Krishṇa II, *Paramāra k.*, *of Chandrāvatī*, 238
Krishṇa II, *do.*, 3, 5, 340*n*
Krishṇa III, *do.*, 3*n*, 122*n*, 341
Krishṇadēva, *s.a.* Krishṇarāja, *do.*, 260-61, 268, 272
Krishṇaganj, *vi.*, 274
Krishnamacharlu C.R., 93, 96*n*, 97*n*, 98*n*
Krishṇa Mishra, *au.*, 379
Krishnan K.G., 144
Krishṇapa, *m.*, 354
Krishṇarāja, *Rāshṭrakūṭa k.*, 341*n*
Krishṇarāja, *s.a.* Vappaiparāja, *Paramāra k.*, *of Chandrāvatī*, 4, 11, 19, 25, 228, 260, 269, 323
Krishṇarāja, *Paramāra k.*, *of Bhinmāl*, 320-22, 324, 326-27, 330
Krishṇarāja, *Paramāra k.*, *of Ābū*, 624-25
Krishṇaśarman, *m.*, 424
Kṛittidāra, a kind of ornament, 541
Kṛityasiṁha, *m.*, 564
ksh, subscript, form of, 468
Kshamamāthuna *s.a.* Māthuna, *lo.*, 319
Kshatriya, *community*, 52*n*, 215, 217*n*, 233, 235*n*, 275*n*, 407, 437, 468, 500, 501*n*, 598
Kshēmamāthuna, *lo.*, 318
Kshēmasiṁha, *m.*, 563
Kshēmvarāja, *feu.*, 158
Kshīrasvāmin, *m.*, 152
Kshīrasvāmin, *commentator*, 464
Kshitipāla, *Pratīhāra k.*, 342*n*
Kshitipāladēva, *Chandēlla k.*, 336 and *n*
Kshmāsaṁkaṭa, *m.*, 563
Kudalkar J.S., 50, 53*n*
Kuḍava, system of weight, 154
Kujrow *s.a.* Khajurāhō, *vi.*, 337*n*
Kukāsakya(?) *f.*, 558

Kūkē, *m.*, 424
Kūkēka, *m.*, 531
Kukshī, *tk.*, 179*n*
Kukshī, *tn.*, 241
Kula, 'temple', 546*n*
Kulabhūshaṇa, *m.*, 531
Kulachandra, *do.*, 659
Kuladhara, *do.*, 152, 180, 424, 564
Kulāditya, *do.*, 424
Kulāñcha, *vi.*, 20-21
Kula parvatas, *'seven mountain ranges'*, 466*n*
Kulē, *do.*, 424
Kulēśarman, *do.*, 488
Kūlhaṇa, *do.*, 218, 424
Kumāra, *f.*, 393
Kumāra, *m.*, 181, 518, 563
Kumārapāla, *Chaulukya k.*, 139, 159, 238, 240, 242 and *n*, 244 and *n*, 251, 260-61, 347, 641
Kumārapālacharita, *wk.*, 238
Kumārapālaprabandha, *do.*, 242, 261*n*
Kumārasambhava, *do.*, 67*n*, 550, 551*n*
Kumāraśarman, *m.*, 424
Kumarasiṁha *s.a.* Kumārasiṁha, *do.*, 512
Kumbhāramuli, *vi.*, 246
Kumbhārōṭaka, *do.*, 3, 5
Kumbhaṭī, *do.*, 361-62 and 362*n*
Kumhaḍāüdā, *do.*, 216-17
Kuṇḍaṇa, *m.*, 424
Kuṇḍēśvara, *lo.*, 651
Kuñjavijapāla, *m.*, 152
Kuntala, *co.*, 92, 384
Kunu, *tributory*, 592 and *n*
Kuptakā, *lo.*, 207
Kurus, *peo.*, 340-41 and 341*n*
Kurvai, *vi.*, 208
Kurvaikēthōrā, *tk.*, 208
Kuśa, *son of sage Kāśyapa*, 512
Kusumapāla, *m.*, 180
Kūṭaka, tax on salt, 294*n*
Kuvilāra *s.a.* Kolar *s.a.* Khōlar, *ri.*, 103-04 and 104*n*, 169, 643

L

l, form of, 279, 338, 371, 464, 586
Lāḍa, *community*, 641
Ladüaḍa, *fe.*, 536
Laghuchandravāṭikā, *n.*, *of a garden*, 347
Laghu-Vaiṅgaṇapadra *s.a.* Bēgandī, *vi.*, 127-28
Lāhaḍa, *m.*, 178, 180, 368*n*, 393, 475, 659
Lahaṁpa, *engr.*, 234
Lāhinī, *q.*, *of Vigraharāja of Vaṭapura*, 228-29 and 229*n*, 230*n*, 231*n*
Lahore fortress, 79
Lahuvaḍā, *fe.*, 592
Lakhamīdēvi, *Chandēlla q.*, 401
Lākhaṇa, *m.*, 424
Lākhaṇāditya, *do.*, 424
Lakhaṇapāla, *Pratīhāra k.*, 269
Lakhaṇapura, *vi.*, 217*n*
Lakhangaōn, *do.*, 217
Lākhērī, *Railway Station*, 193
Lākhū, *m.*, 410, 424
Lākshā, *off.*, 265
Lakshavarman *s.a.* Yaśōvarman, *Chandēlla k.*, 339, 341
Lakshmadēva, *Paramāra k.*, *of Mālwa*, 68, 84, 91 and *n*, 95, 108, 110, 113*n*, 500
Lakshmaṇa, *Kalachuri k.*, 77
Lakshmaṇa, *m.*, 272, 464, 531
Lakshmaṇa, *epic Ikshvāku pr.*, 272
Lakshmaṇa, *Chāhamāna k.*, 288*n*
Lakshmaṇa, *Kachchhapaghāta k.*, 537
Lakshmaṇajī, *te.*, 337
Lakshmaṇarāja II, *Kalachuri k.*, 341
Lakshmaṇasēna, *k.*, *of Bengal*, 125
Lakshmaṇasiṁha, *m.*, 563
Lakshmi, *fe.*, 424
Lakshmīdhara, *m.*, 110, 152, 218, 475
Lakshmīdhara, *off.*, 505, 629
Lakshmī Karṇa *s.a.* Karṇa, *Kalachuri k.*, 372, 378
Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa, *te.*, 73
Lakshmīpurā, *lo.*, 487
Lakshmīvarmadēva, *do.*, 138
Lakshmīvarman, *Paramāra k.*, 30, 132, 134-36, 139-40, 143, 145, 154, 158-59 and 159*n*, 613
Lālā Bhavānī Shankar, 66
Lālē, *do.*, 424
Lalipur, *tk.*, 418*n*
Lalitadēva, *m.*, 627
Lalitādēvī, *fe.*, 627, 628*n*
Lalitpur, *tn.*, 116, 371, 375, 423, 457
Lalitpur, *dt.*, 353*n*, 423
Lalitpur, *subdivision*, 353, 371, 459, 485, 489
Lallāka, *t.d.*, 29
Lallāka, *m.*, 314
Lalluka, *do.*, 119, 314
Laṁkā, *co.*, 310, 616
Language —
  Dēśajā, 550*n*
  English, 106, 107*n*, 114
  German, 106-07 and 107*n*
  Kanarese, 95*n*
  Māgadhī, 550*n*
  Marāṭhī, 450*n*
  Paiśāchī, 550*n*
  Prākrit, 29, 55, 87, 122*n*, 196, 218, 224, 248 358, 378, 394, 396, 417, 550, 553, 601, 657
  Sanskrit, 2, 11, 18, 25, 28-29, 32, 36, 40, 43, 46, 49, 51, 55, 60, 65, 67-68, 70, 72, 76, 83, 87, 89-90, 94, 99, 102, 106-07, 115, 121, 122*n*, 123, 127, 130, 134, 138, 141, 145, 147, 153, 158, 162, 166, 168, 172, 176, 182, 186, 190, 192, 195, 201, 208, 211, 224-25, 227, 233, 237, 240, 242, 245, 248-49, 251, 253-54, 256-57, 260, 263, 265, 271, 279, 287, 297, 300, 303, 305, 310, 312, 318, 320, 323, 325, 329, 332, 335, 338, 347, 350, 354, 357, 361, 365, 367, 371, 374, 377, 379, 382, 391-93, 396, 400, 405, 407, 409-11, 413, 420, 436-37, 440, 443, 447, 452, 455, 458, 461, 464, 468, 470, 473, 479, 483, 488, 491, 496, 499, 503-04, 507, 510-11, 516, 522, 529, 537, 549-50, 553, 556, 561, 569, 578, 587, 592, 595, 597, 600, 604, 611, 613-14, 616-17, 619, 622, 624, 627, 629-31, 633-34, 636-37, 640, 647, 649, 652, 657
  Sanskrit (corrupt), 207, 269, 526
  Sanskrit mixed with local dialect, 243
  Śaurasēni, 550
Lāra, *caste*, 67

Lasha(kha)mādēvī, *ch.*, *q.*, 553
Lashamaṇa, *m.*, 553, 558
Lashamaṇasīha *s.a.* Lakshmaṇasiṁha, *m.*, 257, 258*n*
Lashaṇapura, *vi.*, 216-17
Lāshū, *m.*, 202, 391
Lassen, 106
Lāṭa, *co.*, 5, 19-22, 30, 55-57, 77-78, 215, 261, 301, 532
Lāṭa-Vāgaṭa, *n.*, *of a gaṇa*, 531
Later Chālukya, *dy.*, 214, 649
Laṭiās, *n.*, *of a community*, 421
Lauvā, *vi.*, 448
Lavaṇaprasāda, *min.*, 261
Lāvaṇyadēvī, *q.*, 571*n*
Lāvas, *l.m.*, 470
Lēkhapaddhati, *wk.*, 252*n*, 255*n*
Lele K.K., 66, 67*n*, 83, 84*n*, 86-87 and 87*n*, 88 and *n*, 175, 200, 617, 618*n*, 619, 620, 621*n*
Līhā, *m.*, 21
Līhāditya, *do.*, 22
Līlāvatī, *wk.*, 41*n*
Līmadēva, *m.*, 202
Limbarāja, *k.*, 279, 281, 288
Liṅgiā, *m.*, 421
Lōchana, *do.*, 430*n*
Loḍhas, *n.*, *of a agricultural community*, 597*n*
Lōhaḍa, *do.*, 424-25
Lōhāṇī, *vi.*, 485
Lōhapa, *m.*, 21
Lohārā, *vi.*, 203*n*
Lohara, *co.*, 341*n*
Lōhasihāṇī, *vi.*, 484
Lōhasihāṇī, *t.d.*, 485
Lōhaṭa, *m.*, 22, 180, 598
Lōhaṭa, *off.*, 588, 598*n*, 602
Lōhiṇa, *m.*, 21
Lōkānanda, *do.*, 21, 25
Lōlārka, *min.*, 95-96
Lōliga, *de.*, 70*n*
Lōlika, *m.*, 425
Lōṇā, *fe.*, 602
Lōṇābhidhā, *q.*, 571*n*
London, 10, 24*n*, 42*n*, 49 and *n*, 409
lr., form of, 356
Luard C.E., 16*n*
Lubdhaka, *n.*, *of a f.*, 597 and *n*
Lucknow, *ci.*, 354, 418-19
Lūṇapasāka, *m.*, 188
Lunar, *race*, 464

M

m, form of, 70, 303, 339, 413, 420, 504, 529, 536, 587, 657
Madana, *royal preceptor and com.*, 163, 167, 169, 178*n*
Madanapāla, *gen.*, 440
Madanapāla, *m.*, 181
Madanapura *s.a.* Madanpur, *vi.*, 421-23, 456, 465
Madanaratna, *wk.*, 73
Madana-sāgar *s.a.* *Bahī Tāj*, *n.*, *of a lake*, 438
Madanasiṁha, *off.*, 207
Madanavarman *s.a.* Madana *s.a.* Madanavarmadēva, *Chandēlla k.*, 116, 131, 159, 391-93, 396-97, 401-02, 407, 409-10, 412-14, 420-21 and 421*n*, 423, 427*n*, 438, 444, 448, 456, 465, 467*n*, 471, 474-75, 479, 493, 496, 500, 505, 506*n*, 508, 629, 638, 658
Madanavarman's Bhārat-kalā-Bhavan grant, 421
Madanēśasāgarapura *s.a.* Ahār, *vi.*, 457
Madāūlī, *do.*, 273-74
Maddhuka, *t.d.*, 25, 26*n*
Mādhava, *off.*, 5, 505
Mādhava, *m.*, 181, 217, 234-35, 321, 425, 464, 512, 564, 659
Mādhava, *au.*, 121, 339
Mādhavaśarman, *m.*, 202, 641
Mādhū, *do.*, 425
Madhu, *do.*, 22, 181, 540
Madhu, *demon*, 219*n*
Madhūka, *n.*, *of a tree*, 352*n*, 396
Madhuka, *m.*, 425
Madhukaṇṭha, *do.*, 181
Madhumathana, *do.*, 22
Madhupālika, *lo.*, 21
Madhupurā, *vi.*, 26*n*
Madhumatī-700, *do.*, 641
Madhumati, *t.d.*, 643
Madhumatinagara, *lo.*, 643
Madhusūdana, *m.*, 152, 180, 235, 425, 549-50, 611
Madhusūdana, *te.*, 250
Madhuvarasa, *gen.*, 649
Madhyadēśa, *co.*, 19-21, 115-16, 179-80 and 180*n*
Madhya Pradesh, *state*, 5, 10, 14, 16, 18, 20, 24, 31-32, 34-35, 42-43, 45, 49, 60-61, 65, 75, 83, 86, 89, 94-95, 98, 102, 105, 110, 116, 119-20, 122, 128, 138-39, 141, 144-45, 146*n*, 152, 157, 159-60, 162-63, 166*n*, 168-69, 171, 175-76, 179, 185, 187, 190, 194, 200, 206, 208-09, 217, 241, 335, 337, 342, 347, 353, 362, 385, 399, 406, 411, 418, 423, 436, 455, 458, 468-69, 483, 485, 487, 489, 493, 497, 499, 503-04, 515, 518, 525, 527-28, 535, 539, 548, 553-54, 561, 564, 568, 572, 577, 586, 591, 594, 600, 604, 611, 615, 617, 622, 629, 631, 633-34, 636, 640, 643, 646, 651, 657 and *n*, 662
Maḍilapura, *tn.*, 409
Magadha, *co.*, 19-21
Māgavāḍīgrāma *s.a.* Māgiwāḍa, *vi.*, 246
Māgha, *m.*, 425
Mahābhārata, *wk.*, 388*n*
Mahāchakra, *vi.*, 531
Mahādēva, *governor*, 131
Mahādēva, *Yādava k.*, 215
Mahādēva, *m.*, 425
Mahādēva Siddhēśvara, *te.*, 320*n*
Mahādēvī, *fe.*, 115, 642
Mahāditya, *m.*, 181
Mahādvādaśaka, *t.d.*, 134-36, 148-49, 159
Mahāgaṇa, *m.*, 412
Mahāīka, *off.*, 15
Mahākāla, *te.*, 12, 79*n*, 83-84, 87, 89, 188, 203, 280, 615
Mahākālapura *s.a.* Ujjain, *tn.*, 166-67
Mahākshapaṭala, *off.*, 642
Mahamūṇa, *m.*, 273
Mahaṇa, *do.*, 148, 152, 306
Mahāṇanda, *do.*, 425
Mahaṇasiṁha, *do.*, 208
Mahāpurā *s.a.* Mōhīpura, *t.d.*, 643
Mahārāja, *m.*, 425, 598
Mahārāja, *engr.*, 474-75, 588 and *n*
Mahārājā, *f.*, 627-28

Mahārāshṭra, *state*, 89, 648
Maha(hā)ruṇḍā, *n., of a f., deity*, 587
Mahāśama, *m.*, 659
Mahāsāṇa, *do.*, 425
Mahāśarman, *do.*, 425
Mahasōṇa, *do.*, 554
Mahasū(?), *m.*, 425
Mahasvāmin, *m.*, 235
Mahauḍī, *vi.*, 32*n*, 51
Mahauḍī copper-plate ins., of Bhōjadēva, 36, 40, 56, 62
Mahāvala *s.a.* Mahābala, *m.*, 558
Mahāvanasthāna, *lo.*, 179-80
Mahāvīracharita, *wk.*, 294*n*
Mahē, *m.*, 659,
Mahēndrapāla, *k.*, 336
Mahēndu, *m.*, 95
Mahēśvara, *do.*, 218, 374-75, and 375*n*, 379, 425, 440, 500, 512, 517 and *n*
Māhēśvara-sūtras, *wk.*, 84
Mahēvā *s.a.* Mahilapura, *vi.*, 409
Māhī, *ri.*, 3-5, 626
Mahīchandra, *m.*, 412, 531
Mahīdēva, *do.*, 576*n*
Mahīdhara, *do.*, 181, 258, 372, 393, 407, 425, 659
Mahīdhara, *ch., min.*, 379
Mahidpur, *t.d.*, 79*n*
Mahilapura, *vi.*, 409
Mahilla, *m.*, 119
Mahilū, *do.*, 425
Mahindasvāmin, *do.*, 425
Māhiṇīdēvī, *fe.*, 595
Mahīpāla, *com.*, 65, 612
Mahipāla, *Pratīhāra k., of Chandrāvatī*, 228, 230*n*, 260
Mahīpāla *s.a.* Kshitipāla, *Pratīhāra k.*, 336, 342*n*
Mahīpāla, *ch. min.*, 414
Mahīpāla, *m.*, 425, 517
Mahīpāla, *off.*, 505
Mahīpāla *s.a.* Dēvarāja, *Paramāra k., of Bhinmāl*, 321
Mahīpāla, *k., of Kachchhapaghāta dy.*, 520*n*, 537-38, 550, 557-58
Mahīpati, *m.*, 613
Mahirasvāmin, *do.*, 103
Mahishabuddhika, *vi.*, 57-58
Mahishāsura, *demon*, 272
Māhishmati *s.a.* Mahēshwar, *tn.*, 177, 179, 199*n*
Mahisinēhapattala, *t.d.*, 401
Mahisinēha-vishaya, *do.*, 401
Mahmūd, *Sultān of Gaznī*, 79, 378, 530, 654
Mahmud Gaznavī, *governor*, 110
Mahmūd Ghorī, *Muslim ruler*, 179
Mahōbā, *tk.*, 337*n*
Mahōbā, *tn.*, 365, 376 and *n*, 402, 410, 413, 435-36, 443, 453, 462, 484, 523*n*, 538
Mahōbā copper-plate ins., of Paramardidēva, 448, 483, 525
Mahōbā Jaina image ins., 421*n*
Mahōbā stone ins., of Kīrttivarman, 358, 419
Mahōbā stone ins., of V.S. 1240, 473-74, 475*n*, 512, 654
Mahōtsavanagara *s.a.* Mahōbā, *tn.*, 376
Mahū *s.a.* Mhow, *do.*, 26
Mahüaḍa-pratijāgaraṇka, *t.d.*, 177, 179-80, 203
Mahudahā, *vi.*, 641, 643
Māhudala, *do.*, 57
Mahudapathaka, *t.d.*, 202
Māhula, *m.*, 409, 539 and *n*
Mahula, *do.*, 22, 425
Mahula-grāma, *vi.*, 402
Māidēva, *m.*, 218
Maināka, *mo.*, 221*n*
Maisey F., 392-93, 394*n*, 405, 461, 478 and *n*, 479*n*, 480*n*, 481*n*, 482*n*, 507 and *n*, 508*n*, 509*n*, 510*n*
Majumdar A.C., 273
Majumdar M.R., 27
Majumdar R.C., 341*n*, 384*n*
Makara, *Zodiacal sign*, 443
Makāval, *vi.*, 638-39,
Makāval stone ins., 263
Mākhalapāṭaka, *vi.*, 110 and *n*
Māklā, *do.*, 79*n*
Maktulā *s.a.* Mathēlā, *do.*, 62-63
Makundapur, *do.*, 493
Malabar, *lo.*, 95*n*
Mālādhara, *min.*, 203
Mālādhara, *m.*, 425, 517, 659
Malahāra, *lo.*, 95*n*
Malaka, *m.*, 540,
Malapa *s.a.* Malaha, *n., of a hill tribe*, 95*n*
Mālāpura, *vi.*, 104
Mālāpuraka, *do.*, 103-04
Mālatīmādhava, *wk.*, 76*n*, 143*n*
Mālava *s.a.* Mālavā, *co.*, 1, 3*n*, 4*n*, 5, 8-9, 11-12, 15-16, 18*n*, 19, 21, 29, 35-37, 38*n*, 39, 42*n*, 44-45, 55-56, 63, 68, 70*n*, 71, 73, 75-78, 79*n*, 83, 90-91, 92*n*, 94-95, 103-04, 108, 109*n*, 110, 112*n*, 116, 119, 127, 131-32, 135, 139*n*, 144, 148 and *n*, 154, 159, 161*n*, 178*n*, 179, 184*n*, 185*n*, 188, 191, 194-95, 202, 203*n*, 208, 211, 213, 214*n*, 215-16, 224*n*, 227, 234, 242, 246, 255*n*, 260-61, 273, 279, 281-82, 290, 313, 327, 397, 406, 413-14, 508, 538, 556, 562-63, 614, 643
Mālavā *s.a.* Mālwa, *reg.*, 289, 314, 326, 539, 557*n*, 570, 616, 641, 647
Mālava Eastern, *co.*, 480
Mālavanadī, *ri.*, 342, 397
Mālavā plateau., *t.d.*, 20
Mālavas, *peo.*, 340, 500
Mālavikāgnimitra, *wk.*, 289
Malaya, *mo.*, 616
Malayadēva, *ch.*, 595
Malayagiri, *mo.*, 78
Malayasiṁha, *k.*, 464
Malayasiṁha, *off.*, 492-93
Malayavarman, *do.*, 492
Malayavarman, *feu.*, 596*n*
Mālēka, *m.*, 512
Malha, *do.*, 273
Malhai, *fe.*, 526
Malhākadēva, *Paramāra k.*, 622
Mālhaṇa, *m.*, 425
Mālhē, *do.*, 425
Mālhū, *do.*, 425
Malik Nusrat-ud-dīn Jayasāi, *gen., of Sultān Illtutmish*, 562
Mālinī, *ri.*, 558

Mālkhēd, *ca., of the Rāshṭrakūṭas*, 3, 104
Mallār ins., of the Chēdi year 919, 512*n*
Mallār Plates of Mahāśivagupta, 110, 362*n*
Mallar stone ins., of the Kalachuri Jājalladēva,
Mallikārjuna, *sage*, 195-96
Mallikārjuna, *Śilāhāra k., of North Koṅkaṇa*, 241*n*, 251
Mallinātha, *commentator*, 299*n*
Māluḥ, *m.*, 100
Mālūṇe, *do.*, 153
Mālū(lhū?)-Śarman, *do.*, 158
Mālyē, *do.*, 554
Mān, *stream.*, 12
Manā *s.a.* Menā *s.a.* Meni, *ri.*, 50-52
Manāditya, *m.*, 425
Maṇagā, *fe.*, 601
mānaka, l.m., 289
Maṇathala, *engr.*, 49
Manāwar, *tk.*, 12
Manāwarpargaṇa, *t.d.*, 169
Maṇḍaladraha, *vi.*, 281
Maṇḍalēśa, *te.*, 288
Maṇḍalēśvara, *do.*, 282
Maṇḍalēśvara Mahādēva *s.a.* Maṇḍlēsar, *te.*, 278
Maṇḍalīka, *Paramāra k., of Vāgaḍa*, 279-81, 290, 313
Maṇḍamadēva *s.a.* Maṇḍalīka, *do.*, 281, 288, 290, 297, 305-06, 310
Maṇḍanēśvara Mahādēva, *te.*, 309
Maṇḍapa *s.a.* Māṇḍū, *fort*, 216
Maṇḍapa-durga *s.a.* Māṇḍū, *do.*, 162-63, 193, 202-03, 212, 215, 619
Maṇḍapikā, *tn.*, 5*n*
Mandār, *vi.*, 225*n*, 627
Mandara, *mytho. mo.*, 288
Mandārikāpargaṇa, *t.d.*, 116
Maṇḍāvaḍa, *vi.*, 269
Maṇḍāūra *s.a.* Maḍaura *s.a.* Madaora, *do.*, 488-89
Māndhātā *s.a.* Oṁkā Māndhātā, *tn.*, 15, 26n, 61 and *n*, 63, 104, 154*n*, 155*n*, 176, 179*n*, 182*n*, 200, 203*n*, 212, 215-16, 219*n*, 538, 604, 643
Māndhātā copper plate ins., of Dēvapāla, 186, 188, 191*n*, 195, 202-03, 213, 219*n*, 351
Māndhātā copper-plate ins., of Jayavarman, 136*n*, 149, 163, 188, 195, 203, 206*n*, 209, 216*n*, 351, 616, 642
Māndhātā copper plate ins., of Jayavarman dated (Vikrama) 1317, 211
Māndhātā fort, 216
Māndhātā grant of Jayasiṁha, 73, 76, 79
Māndhātā ins., of V.S. 1331 of Jayavarman II, 15
Maṇḍilapura *s.a.* Maḍilapura, *tn.*, 409
Maṇḍōdarī, *Rāvaṇa's wife*, 164*n*
Mandsaur, *dt.*, 16, 20-21, 179, 194, 536*n*, 587
Maṇḍsaur pillar ins., of Yaśōdharman, 20
Māṇḍū, *tn.*, 5*n*, 617-18
Māṇḍu, *fort*, 164
Maṅgalarāja, *k., of Kachchhapaghāta dy.*, 537
Maṇichandra, *m.*, 549-50
māṇikā, wt. measure, 154
Maṇikaṇṭha, *com.*, 539
Manikarṇikāghaṭṭa, *lo.*, 470
Manōharthanā, *tk.*, 73
Manōratha, *m.*, 425, 549-50, 659
Manu, *au.*, 375, 415*n*
Manu, *m.*, 425
Manusmriti, *wk.*, 92*n*, 93*n*
Mānyakhēṭa, *ca.*, 26*n*, 46, 280
Maradū, *m.*, 564
Marāṭhawāḍā, *reg.*, 648
Mardura, *m.*, 564
Mārkaṇḍa, *do.*, 181
Mārkaṇḍa-śarman, *do.*, 33
Mārkaṇḍēya, *do.*, 180
Mārkkaṇḍa, *do.*, 659
Marshall, 208*n*, 529*n*
Martha, *m.*, 119
Martin W., 349, 356
Maru-maṇḍala, *t.d.*, 326
Mārwāḍ, *reg.*, 318
māshas, n., of a wt., 444*n*
Mathura, *dt.*, 179
Mathurā, *tn.*, 180, 303-04, 314, 588
Māthura, *f.*, 121, 314, 564, 598, 600
Māthura Kāyastha, *do.*, 549, 570, 601
Mathuralal, 72
Mātriśarman, *com.*, 229
Mattamayūra, *clan*, 116*n*
Matvāka, *m.*, 319
Mau *s.a.* Mhau, *tn.*, 412
Mau stone ins., of Madanavarman, 356, 474
Mauganj, *tk.*, 493
Māuka, *m.*, 119
Māyamōdaka, *vi.*, 131-32
Mēdapāṭa *s.a.* Mēwāḍ, *reg.*, 305-07
Mēghadūta, *wk.*, 15*n*, 37*n*, 47*n*, 108*n*, 124*n*, 293*n*, 604
Mēlaradēvī, *q.*, 333
Melvillo W.R., 528
Mērutuṅga, *au.*, 15, 56, 63*n*, 78, 80, 261
Metres —
Anushṭubh, 12, 16, 22, 26, 34, 36, 38, 40-41, 44, 47, 53, 58, 63, 74, 80, 82-85, 87, 92, 96, 100, 103, 108, 111, 117, 119, 121, 123, 125, 129-30, 132, 135, 142-43, 150, 155, 160, 162-64, 166, 168-69, 174, 177, 181, 195, 198*n*, 204, 218, 229, 233, 235, 243, 255, 257-58 and 258*n*, 262, 274, 290, 298, 301, 303, 307, 311, 315, 318-19, 328, 334, 336*n*, 337*n*, 348, 351, 359, 361, 363 and *n*, 365-66, 369, 371-72, 373*n*, 380, 385, 393, 398, 402, 415, 427, 440-41, 445, 449, 453, 457, 459-60, 465, 471, 476, 482*n*, 485, 489, 493, 497, 501, 502*n*, 504-05, 509*n*, 513, 519, 523, 531-32, 542, 551, 554, 559, 564, 578, 589, 593, 602, 611-12, 617, 625, 629, 632, 637, 643, 647, 660
Āryā, 218, 229, 231*n*, 255*n*, 274, 282, 290, 298, 303, 307, 315, 322, 334, 337*n*, 351, 369 and *n*, 385, 415, 457, 465, 476, 551, 589, 593, 598
Āryāgīti, 602
Atitōṭaka, 549, 551
Aupachchhandasika, 413, 415, 589
Bhujaṅgaprayāta, 274, 549, 551
Drutavilambita, 229, 290, 301, 307, 380, 513, 542, 551
Gīti, 218, 311, 315, 337*n*, 369*n*, 602
Hariṇī, 218, 315, 380, 382, 385
Indravajrā, 12, 16, 22, 26, 34, 38, 41, 44, 47, 53, 63, 74, 80, 100, 117, 129, 155, 160, 204, 229, 274, 290, 311, 375, 380, 504-05, 509*n*, 513, 519, 542, 551, 559, 589, 593, 598, 602, 616, 643
Indravaṁśā, 174*n*, 564, 593, 602

Mālinī, 111, 218, 229, 274, 282, 290, 301, 303, 311, 315, 348, 361, 380, 402, 415, 427, 445, 449, 453, 476, 482*n*, 493, 507, 508*n*, 509*n*, 513, 519, 532, 564, 589, 616, 619-20

Mandākrāntā, 80, 96, 143, 290, 307, 315, 337*n*, 361, 380, 385, 415, 542, 551, 564, 589, 604, 616, 620*n*, 625, 647

Pādākulaka, 600, 602

Paṁkti, 587

Pañchachāmara, 108, 111

Pṛithvī, 108, 111, 307, 315, 349, 551

Pushpitāgrā, 16, 22, 26, 34, 38, 41, 44, 47, 63, 117, 129, 160, 164, 169, 181, 204, 218, 380, 415, 476, 643

Rathōddhatā, 108, 111, 143, 287, 290, 298, 307, 337*n*, 382, 385, 457, 476, 509*n*, 564, 589, 593, 619-20

Śālinī, 12, 16, 22, 26, 34, 38, 41, 44, 47, 53, 63, 74, 80, 92, 117, 129, 136, 150, 160, 169, 174, 181, 204, 218, 274, 282, 402, 427, 441, 453, 564, 567*n*, 598, 643

Śārdūlavikrīḍita, 12, 16, 22, 26, 49, 80, 85, 92, 96, 100, 111, 119, 143, 195, 198*n*, 199*n*, 204, 210, 218, 229, 255, 262, 274, 282, 290, 298, 301, 307, 311, 315, 334, 336*n*, 337*n*, 351, 359, 363, 380, 385, 393, 402, 415, 427, 457, 465, 476, 480, 481*n*, 482*n*, 501, 507, 509*n*, 513, 519, 532, 542, 564, 589, 593, 602, 616, 619-20, 625, 647

Śikhariṇī, 143, 218, 315, 385, 415, 465, 532, 542, 593, 616, 647

Sragdharā, 58, 80, 81*n*, 82, 96, 100, 111, 143, 195, 198*n*, 199*n*, 218, 229, 290, 307, 311, 315, 337*n*, 380, 385, 415, 480-81, 482*n*, 509*n*, 510*n*, 513, 532, 543, 593, 602, 616, 620*n*, 649-50

Svāgatā, 274, 290, 337*n*, 413, 476, 564

Tōṭaka, 282, 307

Upagīti, 218, 337*n*

Upajāti, 58, 61, 80, 96, 100, 111, 174, 218, 229, 262, 274, 282, 290, 303, 315, 337*n*, 375, 380, 415, 476, 501, 509*n*, 510*n*, 513, 519, 532, 542, 551, 564, 589, 593, 598, 602, 616

Upēndravajrā, 100, 218, 229, 315*n*, 476, 509*n*, 513, 542, 551, 616

Vaṁśastha, 111, 174*n*, 229, 385, 551, 589, 593

Vaṁśasthavila, 513

Vasantatilakā, 12, 16, 22, 26, 34, 38, 41, 44, 47, 53, 60-61, 63, 74, 80, 105, 111, 117, 121, 129, 132, 136, 143, 150, 155, 160, 164, 169, 181, 204, 218, 255, 274, 282, 290, 298, 307, 328, 363, 369, 372, 375, 380, 385, 415, 457, 465, 476, 482*n*, 513, 519, 532, 542, 551, 559, 564, 589, 593, 598, 618*n*, 625, 632

Viyōginī, 513

Mēwāḍ, *reg.*, 314, 628*n*

Mhaisaḍā, *vi.*, 192-93

Mhow, *tn.*, 358

Mihirakula, *Hūṇa k.*, 20

Mīlū, *m.*, 425

Mīmāṁsā, *system of Indian philosophy*, 361, 538

Minhajud-dīn, *m.*, 562

Mirashi V.V., 37*n*, 59*n*, 63, 89, 90*n*, 92*n*, 93*n*, 109*n*, 110, 112*n*, 116, 191, 295*n*, 351 and *n*, 378, 379*n*, 412, 463 and *n*, 464 and *n*, 465 and *n*, 466*n*, 467*n*, 490 and *n*, 491, 493*n*, 495*n*

Mishra V., 626

Miśra, *cp.*, 216, 218

Mithila, *co.*, 340

Mithilas, *peo.*, 340

Mitra S.K., 340 and *n*, 403*n*, 414, 474*n*, 497, 525*n*, 538

Mitrānanda, *m.*, 21

Mlēchchha, *community*, 213, 588

Mōd, *vi.*, 180

Mōḍāsa, *lo.*, 5

Mōdāsā *s.a.* Mōhaḍavāsaka *s.a.* Mohaḍāsa, *tn.*, 27, 28*n*, 30, 51

Mōḍasa copper-plate ins., of the time of Bhōjadēva, 27 and *n*, 51 and *n*, 56, 78-79

Mōḍi *s.a.* Maudī, *vi.*, 194-95, 197

Mōḍi stone ins., of the time of Jayavarmadēva (II), 191, 193, 616

Mōhaḍavāsaka, *tn.*, 3, 5, 30

Mōhaḍavāsaka, *t.d.*, 28*n*, 29

Mōhadiyā, *vi.*, 643

Mohammedan, *community*, 523, 530, 638

Mōhana, *m.*, 273

Mōhḍāsa *s.a.* Mōdāsa, *lo.*, 5

Mōhōḍ, *vi.*, 179

Mōkalvāḍi, *do.*, 110

Mōkhalapāṭaka, *do.*, 108

Mōkhara, *do.*, 110

Mōmaladēvī, *fe.*, 128

Months —

Āgrahāyaṇa *s.a.* Mārgaśīrsha, 202

Āshāḍha, 19, 62, 99 and *n*, 166, 333, 436-37, 464, 557

Āśvina *s.a.* Āsōja *s.a.* Āsōya, 33, 254, 256, 271, 326, 330, 475, 496, 537

Bhādrapada, 11, 36, 99*n*, 103, 168, 177, 212, 251, 488, 522, 530

Chaitra, 16, 19*n*, 36*n*, 47, 55, 73, 90, 141, 226*n*, 289, 372, 401, 453, 578, 632, 637, 641, 658

Jyēshṭha, 29, 131, 202, 225, 242-43, 266-67, 271, 322-23, 392, 406, 468, 491, 624

Kārttika, 15, 19, 33, 47, 115, 134, 148, 186*n*, 233, 246, 350, 393, 448, 479, 553, 592, 597, 601

Māgha, 3, 25, 36, 43, 51*n*, 115, 195, 238, 240, 257, 258*n*, 263, 264*n*, 297, 318, 319*n*, 321, 368, 396, 412, 420, 443, 504, 549

Mārga *s.a.* Mārgaśīrsha, 51, 128, 173, 188, 265*n*, 266*n*, 362, 397*n*, 407, 456

Pausha, 115, 153*n*, 257*n*, 269, 587, 595, 614, 641

Phālguṇa, 162, 257, 288, 310, 471, 629-30 and 630*n*

Śrāvaṇa *s.a.* Nabha, 33, 134, 228 and *n*, 263, 440, 528, 622, 636, 653

Vaiśākha, 65, 70, 119, 153, 158, 166, 207-08, 249, 313, 348, 349*n*, 357, 383, 409, 421, 462, 484, 499, 512, 633

Months reckoning —

Amānta, 3, 128*n*, 141-42, 153*n*, 195*n*, 226, 228, 233*n*, 240, 265, 306*n*, 401, 420, 624, 626, 631

Pūrṇimānta, 43, 128*n*, 141-42, 153*n*, 167, 195*n*, 225*n*, 226, 233*n*, 306*n*, 323, 406-07, 409, 421, 484, 553, 587, 604*n*, 631, 633

Moordala, *vi.*, 274

Mōrenā, *dt.*, 538-39

Mortakkā, *Railway station*, 61*n*

Mount Ābū ins., of V.S. 1265, 263
Mount Ābū ins., of V.S. 1287, 240, 263
Mount Ābū Vimala temple ins., 228, 238*n*, 242*n*, 244
Mount Arbuda *s.a.* Ābū, *tn.*, 239, 272, 288, 297, 306, 326
Mōwākhēḍā, *vi.*, 132
Mudrārākshasa, *wk.*, 224*n*
Mughals, *dy.*, 16
Muhammad of Ghōri, *Muslim ruler*, 246
Mukhyādēśa, *off.*, 149
Muktāpallī *s.a.* Mohadi, *vi.*, 57
Muktāvasu, *do.*, 162, 164, 168*n*
Mūladēva, *k.*, *of Kachchhapaghāta dy.*, 538, 549*n*
Mūlarāja, *k.*, *of Chaulūkya dy.*, *of Aṇahilapāṭaka*, 5, 16, 30, 78, 159, 163, 244, 246, 251, 260
Mūlasthāna, *m.*, 21
Mūmadēva, *engr.*, 273
Muṁjāla, *m.*, 22
Mundair, *vi.*, 116
Muṅgthalā, *do.*, 250, 252*n*
Muni Jinavijayaji, *m.*, 8
Muñja *s.a.* Vākpatirāja *s.a.* Muñjadēva, *Paramāra k.*, 56, 78*n*, 109, 214*n*, 280, 558, 616
Muṇōli (Belgāon) Canarese ins., of Krishṇa, dated in Śaka 1174, 203*n*
Munthala, *vi.*, 319
Mural, *co.*, 78
Murāri, *te.*, 141-42
Musalmans, *community*, 530
Muslims, *do.*, 79, 163, 203, 207, 246, 248, 475, 480, 484, 488, 500
mūṭaka, 'a measure or head-load', 289, 295*n*
Mūta Nēṇsī, *au.*, 314
Mutāüsha, *do.*, 448-49
Mutāütha, *vi.*, 452-53
Mutāvasu, *lo.*, 179
Mutāvathu *s.a.* Muktāvasthu, *do.*, 180, 183*n*
Mutgi (Bijāpur) ins., dated 1189 A.C., 179*n*, 214*n*, 246*n*, 614

N

n, form of, 18, 32, 42, 70, 90, 279, 309, 325, 338-39, 347, 350, 354, 356, 382, 395, 413, 473, 504, 529, 549, 556, 652
ṇ, form of, 28, 32, 99, 278, 287, 365, 371, 393, 458, 470, 479, 586, 592, 649
ṅ, form of, 2, 72, 83, 90, 94, 107, 115, 141, 278, 338, 350, 361, 367, 374, 377, 400, 419, 439, 443, 447, 458, 473, 487, 516, 536, 617, 652
ṇ, subscript, form of, 39, 62, 90, 94, 158, 176, 259, 297, 332, 338, 354, 487, 600
ṇ, subscript resembles *l*, 624
n, superscript, form of, 536, 561
ñ, superscript, form of, 2, 11, 233
ṇa, form of, 503
Nādaśiva, *m.*, 492
Nāḍōl, *t.d.*, 330
Nāḍōl, *ca.*, 333
Nādūka, *m.*, 401
Nāga, *dy.*, 94
Nāga, *m.*, 229
Nāgadaha, *vi.*, 216
Nāgadēva, *m.*, 181, 562-63
Nāgahrada, *t.d.*, 34
Nāgahrada *s.a.* Nāgjhirī, *n.*, 43
Nāgahrada-paśchima-pathaka, *t.d.*, 43
Nāgaṇa, *m.*, 563
nagara, 'community', 59*n*
Nāgara, *f.*, 300-01, 314
Nagarkot, *lo.*, 79
Nāgaśarman, *m.*, 425
Nāgaṭa, *off.*, 255
Nagavān, *vi.*, 203
Nāgdā, *do.*, 44, 217
Nāgēlā-talāv, *n.*, *of a tank*, 282
Nagna-taḍāga, *do.*, 281-82
Nāgōd, *vi.*, 658-59
Nāgōd, *erstwhile state*, 657
Nāgōd, *th.*, 657*n*
Nagpur, *ci.*, 279
Nagpur Central Museum, 107, 110 and *n*, 200
Nagpur Museum Stone ins., of Naravarman, 63, 68, 500
Nagpur *praśasti*, 76-79, 84, 91, 95*n*, 104
Nagu S.N., 102
Nāhila, *m.*, 425
Nainsi, *au.*, 628*n*
Naishadhīya-charitra, *wk.*, 108, 219*n*, 416*n*, 466*n*, 515*n*, 520*n*
Nakshatra-
Maitra, *i.e.*, *Anurādhā*, 212
Mrigaśira, 228 and *n*
Pūrvāshāḍhā, 202
Pushya, 522
Rēvatī, 368
Rōhiṇī, 352*n*
Viśākhā, 158
Nala, *k.*, 515*n*
Nalagiri *s.a.* Narwar, *fort*, 587-88
Nalapura *s.a.* Narwar, *ca.*, *of the Yajvapālās*, 553, 564, 586, 601
Nālataḍāgā s.a. Nār or Nāl, vi., 36-37
Nālchhā, *lo.*, 37
Nāmadēva, *m.*, 425
Nāṇā, *vi.*, 232*n*, 247-48, 264-65 and 265*n*
Nānā, *min.*, 511-12
Nānadēva, *m.*, 632
Nānā Dwārā, *n.*, *of a bathing ghat*, 50
Nānāka, *engr.*, 310
Nānakalāgara, *vi.*, 268
Nanakchand, 194
Nandā, *k.*, *of Kālañjar*, 378, 654
Nandana, *au.*, 384
Nandandēō *s.a.* Nandadēō *s.a.* Nandinī, *vi.*, 440
Nandāvana *s.a.* Nandavēṇa pattalā, *t.d.*, 401 and *n*, 402, 440
Nandin, *one of the Śiva Gaṇas*, 138, 544*n*
Nandinī, *vi.*, 440
Nāndipura *s.a.* Nāndoḍ, *do.*, 21-22, 499-500
Nandivardhanagiri, *n.*, *of a hill*, 196
Nāndoḍ, *vi.*, 21
Nānēka, *m.*, 659
Nānika, *do.*, 463*n*
Nannā, *do.*, 289, 653
Nannuka, *Chandēlla k.*, 339, 377, 383, 463*n*
Nānū, *m.*, 554
Nanyaurā *s.a.* Nānyaur, *vi.*, 356
Nanyaurā copper plate ins., of Dhaṅgadēva, 349, 358, and *n*, 361*n*, 378, 384 and *n*, 385, 652

Nanyaurā grant of Dēvavarman, 350
nāpita-nālā, 'barber's canal', 555
Nar *s.a.* Nāl., *vi.*, 37
Narainī, *tk.*, 461, 478, 507
Narasiṁha, *m.*, 178, 180-81, 425, 553
Narasiṁha, *au.*, 327
Naravarman *s.a.* Naravarmadēva, *Paramāra k., of Mālava*, 68, 84 and *n*, 91 and *n*, 89-99 and 99*n*, 100, 102-06, 108 and *n*, 114-16, 119, 121, 127, 130-31, 134, 148, 153, 162, 174, 177, 203, 208, 213, 327, 397, 414, 500, 557, 613, 616, 640-42, 649
Nārāyaṇa, *m.*, 115, 152, 180-81, 218, 306, 425, 564, 659
Nārāyaṇa, *com.*, 192, 194*n*, 310
Nārāyaṇa, *Chandēlla k.*, 377
Nārāyaṇa, *te.*, 414
Nārāyaṇaśarman, *m.*, 401
Narmadā, *ri.*, 10*n*, 11-12, 21, 26*n*, 50-52, 61, 63, 104*n*, 128, 154 and *n*, 155*n*, 169 and *n*, 174*n*, 176, 179 and *n*, 180, 200 and *n*, 203 and *n*, 209, 212, 282, 288, 290, 388*n*, 642-43
Narmadapur *s.a.* Nēmāwar, *tn.*, 159 and *n*, 642 and *n*
Narmadapura-Pratijāgaraṇaka, *t.d.*, 158
Narmadā stuti, *wk.*, 604
Narōttama, *m.*, 425
Narwal, *vi.*, 18, 19*n*, 21, 24*n*, 26
Narwar *s.a.* Nalapura, *ca.*, *of the Yajvapāla's*, 203, 553-54, 561-63, 568, 570, 572, 577, 579, 586 and *n*, 587*n*, 588, 595, 600-02
Narwar ins., of V.S. 1338, 601
Narwar ins., of V.S. 1339, 597*n*, 598
Nāsala, *m.*, 564
Nāsik, *dt.*, 54, 57-58
Nāsiruddīn, *Sultan of Delhi*, 203, 562, 628
Nāṭa, *m.*, 425
Naṭapāṭaka, *vi.*, 282
Nāṭāvāḍā, *do.*, 282
Nāṭē, *m.*, 425
Nāṭiyā, *vi.*, 216
Naṭṭāpāṭaka, *do.*, 281
Naugāva, *do.*, 440-41
Naugāwān, *Railway Station*. 203
Naugrahaṇa, *feu.*, 488
Navagāmava, *vi.*, 202-03, 441
Navarāshṭramaṇḍala, *t.d.*, 361-62, 402*n*
Navasāhasāṅkacharita, *wk.*, 4*n*, 12 and *n*, 76-79, 196, 280*n*
Navasara *s.a.* Nausar, *fort*, 327-28
Navasārī, *tn.*, 5*n*
Nāvuladēvī, *fe.*, 595
Nawēgāon, *tn.*, 203
Nayachandra, *au.*, 471*n*
Nāyaka, *m.*, 592
Nāyaka, *f.n.*, 641
Nayanandin, *au.*, 30*n*
Nayanasiṁha, *m.*, 563
Neemuch, *lo.*, 587
Nēmaka, *dy.*, 82
Nēmāwar, *reg.*, 159
Nēmāwar, *tn.*, 159*n*, 160
Nēmichandra, *Jaina monk*, 61, 106
Nēnaiyaka, *m.*, 22
Nēpāḍ, *vi.*, 37
Nepal, *co.*, 341*n*
Nichhāvar *s.a.* Ichchhāvar, *vi.*, 438
Nījāsa, *m.*, 121
Nīlagiri, *fort*, 154
Nīlagiri-maṇḍala, *t.d.*, 153-54, 160
Nīlakaṇṭha, *te.*, 367 and *n*, 368, 390, 392, 405, 478, 507
Nīlakaṇṭha, *m.*, 425
Nīlakaṇṭhadēva, *te.*, 265
Nīlakaṇṭha Janārdana Kīrtanē, 10, 556
Nīlakaṇṭha Mahādēva, *te.*, 247, 264
Nīlakaṇṭhēśvara, *do.*, 65
Nīlgaḍh, *lo.*, 155*n*
Nimaj, *ri.*, 73
Nimbadēva, *m.*, 425
Nimbāditya, *te.*, 94, 96
Nimbaratha, *m.*, 425
Nimvāka, *do.*, 655*n*
Nīnā Dīkshita, *do.*, 3
Nīraḍavarma, *do.*, 255
Nirjara-kūpa, *n.*, *of a well*, 499
nirukta, *wk.*, 358*n*
nivartana, *l.m.*, 40, 41*n*, 57, 115, 117*n*, 127*n*, 129*n*
Nizamuddīn, *n.*, *of a Muslim chronicler*, 378, 654
ṇṇ, form of, 303, 305, 367, 382, 395, 439, 499, 511, 549, 640
ṇṇ, conjunct, subscript form of, 561
Nōchaka, *m.*, 225
Nōlaka, *do.*, 467*n*
Nōlambavāḍī, *ca.*, 650
Nōnā, *m.*, 463*n*
Nōnē, *do.*, 464, 467*n*
Nōnsar *s.a.* Nausar, *fort*, 328*n*
Nowgong, *tn.*, 418,
Nṛisiṁha, *m.*, 405
Nṛivarman, *Yajvapāla k.*, 562*n*, 563, 569-70, 587-88, 590*n*, 601
Nuḍimala, *m.*, 273
Nyāsa, *do.*, 319
Nyāya, *a system of philosophy*, 414, 519*n*, 539
Nyāyapadra *s.a.* Nēpāḍ, *t.d.*, 36-37

O

o, medial, form of, 29, 338
Ojha G.H., 39, 69, 227 and *n*, 237, 245, 249, 256 and *n*, 259, 260*n*, 266, 268-69, 278 and *n*, 296, 300, 302, 305, 309, 333*n*, 557, 559*n*
Ojha R.G., 45, 47 and *n*, 48*n*, 601*n*
Ōṁkāra Māndhātā, *lo.*, 121*n*, 169, 209
Ōṁkārēśvara, *te.*, 216
Orchhā, *erstwhile state*, 375*n*
Orissa, *State*, 79*n*
Orthography —
ā, medial, sometimes appearing as *pṛishṭhamātrā* of the adjoining letter, 511
ai and *au*, *mātrā* sometimes used as *pṛishṭha-mātrā*, 616
anusvāra, use of, before a vowel, 19
anusvāra, use of, to denote final *m*, 325, 329, 383, 420, 443, 447, 474, 499, 511, 619, 641, 647, 652
anusvāra, use of, to denote *n*, 400
anusvāra, use of, wrongly at the end of a stich, 440, 455

anusvāra, use of, as nasal, 279, 287, 305, 313, 488, 529, 556, 569, 587, 597, 600, 624
anusvāra, use of, except *n*, 383
anusvāra, representing class nasals, except *ṇ* and *n*, 368
anusvāra, wrong use of, 592
anusvāra, wrong use of, to dental and the labial nasal, 556
anusvāra and *parasavarṇa*, use of, 377, 479
anusvāra and *visarga*, signs omitted, 658
avagraha, use of, 11, 15, 19, 62, 76, 90, 99, 127, 130, 177, 195, 202, 211, 271, 329, 396, 413, 499, 504, 511, 516, 587
avagraha and *jihvāmūlīya*, use of, 313
avagraha and *prishṭhamātrā*, use of, 310
b, use of, for *v*, 107, 134, 201, 251, 377, 382, 393, 396, 522, 597, 619, 658
b, use of, for *v* and *vice versa*, 640
ch, confounded with *v*, 491
chh, use of, for *ch*, 537
chh, use of, for *ts*, 43
consonant, doubling of, following *r*, 279, 297, 303, 313, 325, 332, 339, 347, 354, 357, 361, 371, 374, 377, 396, 400, 411, 413, 443, 447, 452, 458, 464, 474, 479, 488, 503-04, 522, 569, 587, 592, 600, 641, 647, 649
Consonant, doubling of, following superscript *r*, 516
Consonant, doubling of, following and preceding *r*, 287, 382, 652
Consonant, doubling of preceding *r*, 339, 631
Consonant reduplicated, 11, 15, 19, 28, 32, 36, 40, 46, 49, 55, 62, 65, 70, 72, 76, 83, 90, 94, 99, 103, 107, 115, 121, 123, 127, 130, 134, 138, 142, 145, 148, 158, 162, 172, 177, 195, 201, 211, 228, 233, 243, 260, 271, 335, 350, 365, 393, 470, 488, 496, 556
daṇḍa, use of, superflous, 420
daṇḍa, use of, to denote abbreviated form, 459
daṇḍa, use of, to separate the names of the *pravaras*, 440
daṇḍa, use of, to be confounded with the sign of a *mātrā*, 459, 562, 600, 641
daṇḍa, use of, to appear as a medial *ā*, 537
daṇḍa, use of, the redundant chisel stroke making it difficult to distinguish, 368
dental nasal and *anusvāra*, use of, 511
dipthongs denoted by the *prishṭha-mātrā*, 374
ē, medial, denoted both by the *prishṭha*-and *ūrdhva-mātrās*, 354, 371, 627
gh, use of, for *h*, 192, 622
h, use of, for *gh*, 549
j, use of, for *jj*, 474, 496, 504, 522, 569
j, use of, for *y*, 99, 368, 452, 526, 553, 632
jō, use of, for *yaḥ*, 243
jō, use of, for *yō*, 192
jihvāmūlīya, use of, 108
jihvāmūlīya, use of, for lingual sibilant, 537
jihvāmūlīya and *upadhmānīya*, use of, 516
kāka-pāda, use of, 287, 297, 511, 516-17, 537, 556, 587
m, use of, 470, 537
m, wrong use of, for *anusvāra*, 332, 400, 409, 483, 511, 537, 562
m, doubling of, following *r*, 391-92
m and *t*, doubling of, following *r*, 526
mātrā, showing the medial dipthong, more often at the back than above, 368
mātrā, detached from the letter, appearing as *daṇḍa*, 361
mātrās of the dipthongs marked, 437, 647
mātrā, sign detached, 652
mātrā, of *ē* is marked by a vertical before the letter and not above, 658
mātrā, vertical stroke and the *daṇḍa* are sometimes not distinguished, 447
ṇ resembles *l*, 526
n, use of, for *anusvāra*, 350, 413
n, use of, for *ṇ*, 43, 361, 459, 464, 496
n, use of, for *ṇ* and *vice versa*, 447, 522
n, use of, for *anusvāra*, before *s*, 474
ō, medial, denoted by *prishṭha-mātrā* and *ūrdhva-mātrā*, 371
Parasavarṇa, use of, for *anusvāra*, 549
prishṭhamātrā, use of, 297, 300, 303, 305, 420, 440, 445, 464, 474, 491, 504, 516, 529, 562, 569, 624, 626, 629, 636, 640, 652
Prishṭha-mātrā, use of, for medial dipthong, 279, 287, 332
prishṭha and the *ūrdhva mātrās* use of, 313, 479,549
prishṭha and the *ūrdhva mātrās*, use of, for medial dipthong, 522, 556, 587, 600
prishṭha-mātrā confounded with *daṇḍa* and *vice versa*, 488
prishṭha-mātrā and *ūrdhva mātrās*, use of, for dipthongs, 649
r, reduplication of, 300, 368, 420, 437, 440, 455, 483, 529, 537, 549, 597, 619, 624, 629, 658
r, subscript, reduplication of, 562.
r, superscript, reduplication of, 511
ri, use of, for vowel *ṛi*, 400
ṛī, *mātrā*, use of, to *ri*, 339, 447
s, use of, for *ś*, 19, 28, 32, 36, 40, 43, 46, 51, 55, 62, 65, 72, 76, 83, 94, 99, 103, 106, 121, 130, 142, 147, 158, 177, 192, 201, 211, 228, 233, 237, 243, 256, 271, 287, 297, 300, 303, 305, 310, 325, 332, 338., 347, 357, 361, 365, 367, 371, 374, 377, 383, 393, 396, 400, 407, 409, 411, 440, 452, 458, 474, 511, 529, 549, 556, 569, 577, 619, 626, 629, 632, 641
s, use of, for *sh*, 138
ś, use of, for *s*, 40, 46, 256, 470, 474, 479, 503, 529, 537, 652, 658
s, use of, for *ś* and *vice versa*, 279, 313, 443, 455, 464, 483, 488, 496, 499, 522, 562, 587, 592, 597, 600, 647
ś, use of, for *s*, and *vice versa*, 420, 447, 516,
ś and *s*, use of, not correctly, 491
sandhi, not observed, 313, 374, 393, 470, 597, 619,
sh, use of, for *kh*, 173, 186, 188, 207, 211, 267, 310, 347, 410, 499, 504, 516, 562
sha, use of, for *kha*, 614
t, doubling of, 300, 371
t and *n*, final consonant, appear in their full form, 374
upadhmānīya, use of, for *visarga*, 15
ūrdhva-mātrās, use of, 468, 511, 636
v, use of, for *b*, 9, 11, 15, 18, 28, 32, 36, 40, 43.

46, 51, 55, 62, 72, 76, 83, 90, 94, 99, 103, 115, 121, 123, 127, 130, 138, 142, 145, 147, 158, 172, 177, 195, 211, 225, 233, 237, 243, 245, 260, 279, 287, 297, 300, 303, 305, 310, 313, 325, 338, 347, 350, 357, 361, 367, 371, 374, 400, 413, 420, 440, 443, 447, 452, 458, 464, 470, 474, 479, 483, 488, 491, 496, 499, 504, 511, 516, 529, 537, 549, 556, 562, 569, 587, 592, 600, 624, 626, 647, 652
visarga sign, wrongly omitted, 347
visarga, changed to *s*, 522
visarga, use of, for *sh*, 619
visarga, use of, superflous, 652
v, use of, for *j*, 207, 627
Osian, *tn.*, 258, 328*n*,

P

p, form of, 8, 32, 94, 99, 332, 338, 350, 371, 374, 377, 382, 420, 447, 463, 479, 516, 561, 592, 657
pa, form of, 361
Pachhār, *vi.*, 446, 448-49 and 449*n*, 453, 466*n*
Pachhār plate dated in 1176 A.C., 154
Pachmarī, *vi.*, 169*n*
Pachōr, *tn.*, 643
Pāḍalyā, *vi.*, 128
Pādās, *l.m.*, 401
padavidya *s.a.* grammar, 384
Padhāvalī, *vi.*, 539*n*
Padma, *m.*, 479, 539, 597
Padmā, *fe.*, 563
Padma *s.a.* Padamanātha, *te.*, 539
Padmadharaśarman, *m.*, 471
Padmagupta, *au.*, 12*n*, 76 and *n*, 78, 280, 326*n*
Padmākara, *m.*, 425
Padmanābha, *do.*, 181, 217, 235, 425, 428*n*, 553
Padmanātha, *te.*, 536-37
Padmapāla, *k.*, *of Kachchhapaghāta dy.*, 537-38, 549-50
Padmasiṁha, *m.*, 216, 512, 563
Padmasvāmin, *do.*, 181, 425
Padmāvatī, *q.*, 94-96
Padmāvatī, *fe.*, 391
Padmāvati, *lo.*, 592
Pādōnalaksha, *t.d.*, 563-64, 569-70
Padrūkhēḍā, *vi.*, 624
Padumadharaśarman, *m.*, 459
Padumē, *do.*, 425
Pagārā, *vi.*, 169*n*
Pagārā pratijāgaraṇaka, *t.d.*, 168-69
Pāhila, *m.*, 365-66, 456
Pāhilla *s.a.* Pāhila, *do.*, 347-48 and 348*n*, 412
Pāhilla, *k.*, 366
Pāhillavāṭikā, *n.*, *of a garden*, 347
Pāhuka, *m.*, 314
Pāhula, *do.*, 152
Paisani, *ri.*, 471
Paitānī, *tk.*, 438
Paiṭhaṇ grant dated in 1272 A.C., 215*n*
Pajjūna, *m.*, 425
Pāla, *dy.*, 340
pala, n., of a wt., 444, 624, 625*n*
Palasavāḍā *s.a.* Paṭasavāḍa *s.a.* Savada, *vi.*, 153-54, 155*n*, 156*n*
Palāsavāha, *lo.*, 563-64
Palhadēva *s.a.* Palhaja, *m.*, 660-02
Pāḷhaka, *do.*, 152
Pālhaṇa, *engr.*, 413*n*, 422 and *n*, 439 and *n*, 440, 444, 448, 452-53 and 453*n*, 459, 471*n*, 526, 659
Pālhaṇadēva *s.a.* Prahlādana, *a member of the Paramāra house of Chandrāvatī*, 243, 250
Palhaṇadēvavarman, *m.*, 215
Pālhē, *do.*, 425
Pālhū, *do.*, 425
Pālī, *dt.*, 232, 247, 264
Pāmēka, *m.*, 659
Pāṁśula-Khēṭaka *s.a.* Pānāhēḍā, *vi.*, 279, 281-82
Paṁvīṭha, *t.d.*, 192-93
Pānāchhī, *vi.*, 281-82
Pānāhēḍā *s.a.* Pāṁśula-Khēṭaka, *do.*, 278 and *n*, 279, 280*n*, 288, 290*n*, 310*n*, 313
Pānāhēḍa ins., of V.S. 1116, 288, 313*n*
Paṇaka, *l.m.*, 289
Pānāsī, *vi.*, 282
Pañchāitala-Vāṭikā, *n.*, *of a garden*, 347-48
Pāñchajanya, *conch of Vishṇu*, 100
Pañchakalpin, *ep.*, 181, 184*n*
Pañchakrōśī-yātrā, *lo.*, 43
Pañchakula, administrative body, 184*n*
Pañchamahāl, *lo.*, 643
Pañchamkhapaṭṭaṇa, *do.*, 186, 187*n*, 188
Pāñchāmla-taru-vāṭikā, *n.*, *of a garden*, 348
Pañchapāṭhin, *tit.*, 218, 223*n*
Pañchaūra *s.a.* Pachōr, *tn.*, 643
Pañchaura, *t.d.*, 641
Pañchbibi Thānā, *lo.*, 20
Pañchchīhila, *m.*, 554
Pañchōlī, *tit.*, 223*n*
Pāṇḍavas, *race*, 538
Paṇḍoorī, *vi.*, 624
Pāṇḍya, *dy.*, 649-50
Paṇikabhadra, *lo.*, 401
Paṇikavaḍa, *vi.*, 654
Pāṇini, *au.*, 88, 97*n*, 298*n*, 348*n*, 387*n*, 451, 453, 537*n*, 544 and *n*, 594*n*
Pāṇini, *m.*, 425
Pāṇiuli, *t.d.*, 484
Pāṇiulih *s.a.* Pannā, *tn.*, 485
paṅka-vaṇik, trader, 453
Pannā, *dt.*, 374, 406, 436, 468, 499, 503-04, 515, 518, 527, 631, 633
Pannā, *tn.*, 485, 634, 636
Pāṇōnī (lī ?) — 350, *vi.*, 641
Pāṇōnī(li) *s.a.* Pānwā *s.a.* Pānya, *do.*, 643
Panvār, *lo.*, 493
Panwar, *vi.*, 413
Panwārī-Jaitpur, *tk.*, 356
Pāpā, *m.*, 425
Pāpāka, *do.*, 314
Pāpaka, *do.*, 564
Pāpaṭa, *do.*, 456
Pāpē, *do.*, 452, 484
Pāpē, *gen.*, 484
Papyāka *s.a.* Palyāka, *m.*, 301
Paramahidā, *do.*, 330
Paramanātha *s.a.* Śiva, *te.*, 384
Paramāra, *dy.*, 1, 3, 8-9, 11, 15-16, 18, 20, 26, 29-30, 32-33, 36-37, 39-43, 45 and *n*, 46, 51 and *n*, 52, 55-56, 60-63, 65, 67-68, 70, 72-73, 74*n*, 75-77, 79, 82, 84, 91-92, 96, 98-100, 102-03, 106, 108-09, 111, 114-16, 119, 125, 127-28, 131-32, 134-36, 143,

145-46, 148-49, 153-55, 158-59, 162-63, 168, 173, 177, 179, 185-86, 188, 192-93, 194-97, 203, 207-09, 211-17, 230, 234, 242, 244, 279-82, 287-88, 297, 301, 303, 306, 310, 313-14, 318, 320-21, 324-26, 330, 333, 340, 378, 396-97, 414, 421, 466, 474, 500, 508, 538, 557, 570, 613-14, 616, 622, 626, 628, 640-42, 649
Paramāra *s.a.* Pramāra, *legendary founder of the Paramāra f.*, 76, 90, 94, 109, 196, 198*n*, 212, 228, 230*n*, 258, 272, 306
Paramāras of Ābū, *dy.*, 212, 238, 242, 253, 265-67
Paramāras of Bhinmāl, *do.*, 248*n*
Paramāras of Chandrāvatī, *do.*, 228, 233-34, 240, 242, 245, 248, 251-52, 260, 263, 271
Paramāras of Mālava, *do.*, 260, 333
Paramāras of Sirōhi, *do.*, 77
Paramardin *s.a.* Paramardidēva, *Chandēlla k.*, 154, 396*n*, 402, 420-21, 423, 436-37, 439*n*, 440, 443-44, 447-48, 449*n*, 452, 456, 459-62, 465 and *n*, 468, 470-71 and 471*n*, 474 and *n*, 475 and *n*, 477*n*, 479 and *n*, 480, 482*n*, 484, 496, 500, 505, 508, 517-18, 523, 630, 637-38, 658
Parang *s.a.* Pārā, *ri.*, 529*n*
Parāśara, *m.*, 425
Parāśara-smṛiti, *wk.*, 113*n*
Paravāḍa, *f.*, 564
Parbhaṇī, *dt.*, 648, 649*n*
Parēyī-grāma, *vi.*, 401-02
Pārijātaharaṇa, *wk.*, 508*n*
Pārijātamañjarī, *do.*, 220*n*
Parimala, *au.*, 333 and *n*
Pariṇāha, *m.*, 425
Parita, *gen.*, 570
Pārliā, *vi.*, 217*n*
Parṇā, *ri.*, 260-61
Partābgadh, *tn.*, 5*n*
Partābgadh ins., *of* Mahēndrapāla II, 5*n*
Partābgadh ins., V.S. 1003, 295*n*
Pārtha *s.a.* Arjuna, *epic Pāṇḍava pr.*, 546*n*
Pārthaparākramavyāyōga, *wk.*, 246*n*
Parva s.a. Parwas, 'part of measuring rod', 103, 125, 127*n*
Pārvatī, *ri.*, 152*n*
Parwān, *do.*, 72*n*, 73
Pāsala, *m.*, 407
Paśchima-pathaka, *t.d.*, 26
Pāshāṇapallī, *vi.*, 539
Paśuṇi-vishaya, *t.d.*, 470-71
Pāśupatas, *sect*, 323-24, 368, 370*n*
Pāṭaliputra *s.a.* Patnā, *ci.*, 401-02, 459 and *n*, 460, 471
Pāṭan, *vi.*, 526
Pāṭanārāyaṇa, *te.*, 623
Patha, *lo.*, 422
Pathak, 614
Pathaka, *t.d.*, 25*n*
Pāṭhaka, *ep.*, 180, 184*n*, 202, 218, 223*n*
Paṭhārī, *vi.*, 128*n*, 208-09, 622
Paṭhārī stone ins., of the time of Jayasiṁha II, 188
Paṭihā *s.a.* Paṭisā *vi.*, 658
Pāṭīkshētra, *do.*, 624
Patil D.R., 646
Paṭisā, *t.d.*, 658
Patnā *s.a.* Pāṭaliputra, *ci.*, 402, 460
Paṭṭa-hradā, n., of a kuṇḍa, 634
Pattalā, 'territorial division', 492-93
Pattana, 'township', 119, 189
Paṭṭanada, *ri.*, 272-73
Paṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa, *te.*, 261, 271
Paṭṭa-śāla, 'tent-house', 62, 64*n*
Paṭṭikā, 'a share', 625*n*
Pāṭuka *s.a.* Pratāpasiṁha, *Paramāra k., of Ābū*, 628
Patwardhan S.S., 487
Pauṇḍarika, *lo.*, 21
Paurapāṭa, *f.*, 564, 567*n*
Pavanāha, *m.*, 641, 644*n*
Pavitra, *do.*, 181
Pavitraka, n., of a festival, 289, 624
Pawāyā, *lo.*, 592
Payā, *m.*, 368
Pēḍavī, *vi.*, 217*n*
Peṇṭā, *do.*, 193
Pet, *n.*. *of a hill*, 375*n*
ph, form of, 3, 32, 338, 350, 357, 536
Phīliṇi, *vi.*, 251-52
Phōḍiva, *do.*, 444
Phulahalī, *do.*, 243-44
Phulēr, *do.*, 244
Pichchōre, *t.d.*, 662
Piḍviḍi, *vi.*, 162-63, 164*n*, 217*n*
Pilikhiṇi-pañchēla, *do.*, 421
Piṇḍwāḍā, *tn.*, 227, 237, 253, 254*n*, 257, 259
Piṇḍwāḍā, *tk.*, 249, 256, 267, 269-70, 274*n*
Piṅgalā, *ri.*, 558
Piṅgala sūtra, *wk.*, 315*n*
Pipalahā *s.a.* Piplōndurga, *vi.*, 401-02
Pipalāhīka, *do.*, 374-75, 517-18
Pipliānagar, do., 152, 164n, 166n, 614
Pipliānagar copper plate ins., of Arjunavarman, 130, 136, 166
Pipliānagar copper plate ins., of *Mahākumāra* Harischandra, 135, 148-49, 152, 159
Piplōn-durga, *vi.*, 402
Pipparikā, *lo.*, 11-12
Pīprī, *do.*, 12
Pipriā, *vi.*, 139
Pīr Muhammad Shāh, *n., of a Dargāh*, 376
Piśācha-dēva, *holy place*, 12
Piśāchadēva-tīrtha, *do.*, 11
Pītādri *s.a.* Pīta-Śaila *s.a.* Pet hills, *n. of a hill*, 375, 518
Pīta parvata, *mo.*, 379
Pītaśaila-vishaya, *t.d.*, 154
Pītavāsa, *m.*, 21
Pīthana, *off.*, 139
Pīthana, *m.*, 425
Pīthana, *vi.*, 570
Pīthū, *m.*, 425
Pīthuka, *do.*, 425
Pittalahāra, 'brazior', 440
Pītuka, *m.*, 659
Poona, *ci.*, 50
Poonāsā, *vi.*, 63
Prabandhachintāmaṇi, *wk.*, 15, 56, 63*n*, 77, 79-80, 92, 109
Prabhā, *fe.*, 475
Prabhākara, *m.*, 425, 540
Prabhāsa, *ch. min.*, 414
Prabhāvakacharita, *wk.*, 174*n*
Prabōdhachandrōdaya, *do.*, 379
Prachaṇḍa, *ch.*, 5

Pradyumna, *m.*, 218, 235, 275*n*, 420*n*, 429*n*
Prāgvāṭa, *f.*, 228
Prahlādana *s.a.* Prahlādanadēva, *a member of the Chandrāvatī Paramāra dy.*, 250*n*, 263
Prānnāth, *m.*, 349
Prāntija, *tk.*, 1, 5
Prasāda, n., of one of the guṇas in poetry, 108
Praśasti, 4*n*, 20, 76-80, 82-84, 108, 110, 122, 195, 233 and *n*, 271, 273, 279-81, 284*n*, 287, 289, 297, 301, 314*n*, 316*n*, 326 and *n*, 327, 335, 339, 341, 383-84, 413, 463-65, 474-75, 479, 499-500, 508, 512, 531, 552*n*, 562-64, 572*n*, 587-88, 592, 594*n*, 598, 600, 602, 616
Prastha, *l.m.*, 48*n*, 154, 444 and *n*, 448, 455*n*
Pratāpasiṁha, *Paramāra k.*, *of Chandrāvatī*, 268-69, 271-72, 628
Pratāpavarman, *Chandēlla k.*, 508
Pratihāra, *dy.*, 4, 5*n*, 52, 79, 336, 340-41, 342*n*, 378, 384*n*, 526, 557, 653
Pratijāgaraṇaka s.a. Parganā, 'territorial division', 104, 116, 641, 643
Pravaras —
Aghamarshaṇa-Viśvāmitra-Kauśika, 36
Āṅgirasa-Ambarīsha-Yauvanāśva, 401, 459
Āṅgirasa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāradvāja, 202, 350, 358, 396
Ātrēya-Ārchananasa-Śyavāśva, 46, 361, 440
Bhāradvāja-Āṅgirasa-Bārhaspatya, 103
Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āpnavāna-Aurva-Jāmadagnya, 202
Gargga-Sainya-Āṅgirasa, 158
Gautama-Āṅgirasa-Autathya, 202
Gautama-Āṅgirasa-Āyasya, 401
Kaśyapa-Avatsēra-Naidhruva, 163, 448
Kātyāyana-Kapila-Viśvāmitra, 115
Kauṇḍinya-Vasiṣṭha-Maitrāvaruṇi, 641
Śāṅkṛitya-Āṅgirasa-Gaurīvṛitta, 444 and *n*, 446
Vatsa-Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āpnuvana-Jāmadagnya, 452
Vatsa-Bhārgava-Chyavana-Aurvva-Jāmadagnya, 488
Prayāga, *ci.*, 598, 602
Price, 413
Prince of Wales Museum, 54
Prithu, *myth. k.*, 78*n*, 383, 500, 542*n*
Prithūdaka, *commentator*, 124*n*
Prithvīdhara, *m.*, 181, 406, 425, 440, 512
Prithvīdhara, *engr.*, 422
Prithvīdhara, *off.*, 439, 444 and *n*
Prithvīpāla, *k.*, 557-58
Prithvipāladēva *s.a.* Bhartṛipada, *do.*, 557
Prithvīrāja III, *Chāhamāna k.*, *of Ajmer*, 246, 330, 423, 462, 465, 470, 480
Prithvīrāja-rāsō, *wk.*, 654*n*
Prithvīrāja-Vijaya, *do.*, 136*n*
Prithvīvarman, *Chandēlla k.*, 391, 396, 401, 413, 421, 440, 444, 448, 459, 500, 501*n*, 505, 508
Pujārīpālī (Bastar dt.,) Stone ins., of Gōpāladēva, 121*n*
Pulindas, *peo.*, 517
Punāsā, *vi.*, 26*n*, 643
Puṇḍra, *reg.*, 179*n*
Punjab, *state*, 37, 110, 179
Pūnī, *m.*, 119
Pūṇṇapathaka-pattana, *vi.*, 26*n*
Puṇyābhra-sarit, *ri.*, 25
Puppā *s.a.* Pushpā, *fe.*, 384
Purāṇas, *wk.*, 361, 374, 519*n*, 592
Purāṇas —
Agnipurāṇa, 543*n*
Brahmapurāṇa, 508
Kālikāpurāṇa, 416*n*
Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa, 103*n*, 341*n*, 343*n*, 466*n*
Padmapurāṇa, 76*n*
Saurapurāṇa, 96*n*
Skandapurāṇa, 37n
Vishṇupurāṇa, 508n, 542n
Puran Chand Nahar, 267, 325 and *n*, 326*n*, 328*n*, 329*n*
Pūrṇā, *ri.*, 63, 272-73
Pūrṇa, *t.d.*, 25*n*
Pūrṇachaṇḍa, *min.*, 319
Pūrṇapāla, *Paramāra k.*, *of Chandrāvatī*, 225, 228*n*, 230*n*, 233-34, 238, 260-61, 321
Pūrṇa-pathaka, *t.d.*, 25, 641, 643
Pūrṇa-pathaka-maṇḍala *s.a.* Poonāsā, *do.*, 62-63
Pūrṇṇa, *vi.*, 26*n*
Purushōttama, *m.*, 21, 180-81, 425, 540, 659
Purushōttama, *min.*, 474-75
Purushōthama, *off.*, 128
Pūrushū, *m.*, 218
Pūrva-pathaka, *t.d.*, 25-26
Pusad, *tk.*, 89
Pūthama, *m.*, 258

Q

Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak, *Sultan of Slave dy.*, 163,475, 484
Quick, 409

R

r, form of, 2, 36, 46, 55, 70, 83, 99, 102, 107, 120, 127, 145, 225, 332, 338, 347, 350, 354, 356, 361, 365, 367, 371, 374, 377, 382, 391-93, 396, 400, 405-06, 410-11, 419, 437, 439, 443, 447, 452, 458, 461, 464, 470, 473, 483, 487, 499, 503-04, 537, 549, 561, 586, 595, 624, 649
r, subscript, form of, 39, 76, 123, 297, 310, 312, 338, 354, 355*n*, 371, 411, 419, 452, 455, 464, 522, 537, 561, 633, 636
r, superscript, form of, 447, 522
ra, form of, 32, 338, 630
Rābhala *s.a.* Rāsala, *m.*, 396
Rāḍājī, *n.*, *of a place of worship*, 613
Rāḍha, *co.*, 220*n*, 384-85
Rāḍhaghaṭikā *s.a.* Ghaṭika *s.a.* Ghaṭiyā, *vi.*, 68
Radha Kumud Mookerji, 463*n*
Rāḍhi Brāhmaṇas, *community*, 20*n*
Rādupati, *k.*, 4*n*
Rāghava, *m.*, 425
Raghu, *Myth. Ikshvāku k.*, 95, 233
Raghunāth Sastri, 214*n*
Raghuvaṁśa, *wk.*, 13*n*, 95, 124*n*, 220*n*, 376*n*, 543*n*, 545*n*
Rāhatgaḍh, *hill-fort*, 190-91
Rāhatgaḍh stone ins., 569*n*
Rāhila, *Chandēlla k.*, 336, 339, 378, 384
Rāhu, *demon*, 122, 124 and *n*, 545*n*
Raidhē, *m.*, 425
Raikōura, *vi.*, 489
Rai Krishṇadāsajī, 399, 458, 469

Rāipuryā, *vi.*, 21
Raisen, *dt.*, 60, 105, 155
Raiyana, *vi.*, 298*n*
Rāja – Brahmapurī, *lo.*, 131
Rājadēva, *feu.*, 117*n*, 642
Rājadēva, *m.*, 393
Rājādhirāja, *Chōla k.*, 649
Rājādhyaksha, 'royal preceptor', 29
Rājagaḍh, *dt.*, 119, 643
Rājaguru, *do.*, 163, 167, 169, 492
Rājakadraha, *lo.*, 531-32
Rājakīya-grāma, *vi.*, 21-22
Rājalladēvī, *fe.*, 563
Rājā of Rēwā, 490*n*
Rājapāla, *m.*, 440, 448, 453, 558
Rajapati, *m.*, 505
Rājapura, *tk.*, 128
Rājapura, *t.d.*, 357
Rājapura, *vi.*, 358
Rājarāja II, *alias*, Kulōttuṅga, *Chōla k.*, 94
Rājaśayana *s.a.* Raisēn, *tn.*, 136
Rājaśayana-bhōga, *t.d.*, 134, 136*n*
Rājasiṁha, *m.*, 563
Rājasiṁha, *feu.*, 248
Rājasthān, *state*, 5, 39-40, 69, 71-72, 74, 118-19, 192, 225, 226*n*, 227, 229, 232, 237, 243, 245, 247, 249 and *n*, 252*n*, 253-54, 255*n*, 256-58, 262, 264, 266-67, 269, 271, 277*n*, 278-79, 286-87, 289, 300, 302, 305, 309, 312, 320, 328*n*, 329, 332, 557, 588, 613, 623, 626-28, 638, 643
Rajasthan *W.*, 250, 325
Rājavāsinī, *the royal residence of Paramardin*, 638
Rājē, *m.*, 180, 425
Rājēndra Chōḷa, *Chōla k.*, 649
Rajendralal Mitra, 14, 347 and *n*, 535-36 and 536*n*, 542*n*, 548
Rājōr ins., of Mathanadēva, 295*n*
Rājpur, *lo.*, 640, 642-43
Rājpurā *s.a.* Rājōr, *vi.*, 532
Rājputānā Museum, 39 and *n*, 69, 227*n*, 243, 245, 249, 256-57, 259, 266, 269
Rājputs, *peo.*, 201, 578
Rājyadēva, *feu.*, 115-16
Rājyapāla, *off.*, 240
Rājyapāla, *Pāla k.*, 340
Rājyapāla, *Pratihāra k.*, 378, 530
Rālā, *vi.*, 139
Rālā-maṇḍala, *t.d.*, 5*n*, 140
Rālēgaōn, *vi.*, 140
Rālha, *m.*, 421
Rālha, *fe.*, 592
Rālhaṇa, *m.*, 406, 456
Rālhē, *do.*, 425
Rālhū, *do.*, 425
Rāma *s.a.* Rāmachandra, *epic Ikshvāku k.*, 90, 164*n*, 212, 233, 272
Rāma, *m.*, 106, 139, 180, 368 and *n*, 369, 394, 425, 553
Rāma, *au.*, 384, 539
Rāma, *engr.*, 499
Rāmachandra, *m.*, 154, 425
Rāmachandra, *Yādava k.*, 214-15 and 215*n*
Rāmadēva, *Paramāra k.*, *of Chandrāvatī*, 238, 260-61
Rāmadēva, *m.*, 321*n*
Rāmadēva, *Paramāra k.*, *of Ābū*, 624-25
Rāmakarṇa, *m.*, 232-33
Ramaṇī-pū *s.a.* Ramaṇīpura, *tn.*, 372
Ramaṇīpura, *do.*, 372
Rāmāyaṇa, *wk.*, 221*n*
Rambhāmañjari, *do.*, 471*n*
Rāmēśvara, *te.*, 79
Rāmēśvara, *m.*, 180-81, 540,
Rāmgaḍh, *tn.*, 328*n*
Ramsharma, 208, 209*n*, 622*n*, 623*n*
Rāmvan, *vi.*, 657
Raṇadhavala, *feu.*, 640-42
Raṇāditya, *m.*, 21
Rāṇaka, *off.*, 29
Raṇamau, *vi.*, 357-58
Raṇapāla, *m.*, 152
Raṇasiṁha, *do.*, 208
Raṇasiṁha, *Paramāra k.*, *of Chandrāvatī*, 261
Raṇasuā, *vi.*, 396-97
Raṇathambhōr, *do.*, 570
Rānevās, *do.*, 21
Rānī Sāwargāon, *do.*, 648
Rānōd, *tn.*, 116 and *n*, 493*n*
Rānōd ins., of the Mattamayūra ascetics, 116 and *n*
Rantidēva, *k.*, 47*n*
Rāsagati, *fe.*, 550
Rāsala, *m.*, 152, 425
Rāsala, *off.*, 492
Rāsamālā, *wk.*, 78*n*, 92*n*, 330, 642
Rāsēṇaka — maṇḍala, *t.d.*, 298 and *n*
Rāshṭrakūṭa, *dy.*, 4-5, 18 and *n*, 76*n*, 77, 122*n*, 139, 257, 280, 282, 288, 336, 340-41 and 341*n*
Rasin *s.a.* Rāsin, *tn.*, 637
Rāṭa, *off.*, 215
Ratana *s.a.* Ratna, *engr.*, 592
Ratana *s.a.* Ratna, *m.*, 425, 444
Ratangarh, *lo.*, 587*n*
Ratangarh Khedī, *tn.*, 587
Ratanpur stone ins., of the Kalachuri year 1207, 512*n*
Ratansingh Saindhava, *m.*, 32
Rathāṅgapāṇi, ep., of Vishṇu, 474
Rathasaptamī, an auspicious tithi, 226*n*
Rāṭhōḍ, *clan*, 257
Ratlām, *tn.*, 19, 203, 217, 558
Ratlām, *dt.*, 104
Ratlām — Mandsaur road, 558
Ratna, *m.*, 540 and *n*
Ratna, *vi.*, 587*n*
Ratnagiri, *n.*, *of a hill*, 587 and *n*, 588
Ratnākara, *m.*, 592
Ratnapāla, *do.*, 456
Ratnapāla, *com.*, 499
Ratnasiṁha, *m.*, 512, 563
Ratnēśvara, *do.*, 425
Raum(Rāma)pāla, *m.*, 52
Rāütā *s.a.* Mahirāütā, *vi.*, 197, 200*n*
Rāvaṇa, *k.*, *of Laṅkā*, 221, 272, 316*n*
Rāvaṇa, *m.*, 425
Rāvatpurā, *vi.*, 197
Raverty, 562*n*
Ravija, *m.*, 663
Rawkōra, *vi.*, 488
Rawlinson, 330*n*
Ray H.C., 136*n*, 193*n*, 194*n*, 214*n*, 243*n*, 273, 313, 470*n*, 474*n*, 530-31, 654
Rayādhara, *m.*, 659

Reḍvā, *vi.*, 624
Reodhar, *tk.*, 225 and *n*, 266, 624, 638-39
Reodhar, *tn.*, 245-46 and 246*n*, 627
Rēvā *s.a.* Narmadā, *ri.*, 103-04, 110, 159, 168, 179, 202-03, 216, 280, 282, 641-42
Rewā, *erstwhile state*, 402, 413
Rēwā, *dt.*, 490-93 and 493*n*
Rēwā, *tn.*, 657 and *n*
Rēwā, *reg.*, 492
Rēwā stone ins., 379
Rēwā stone ins., of Vijayasiṁha, 464 and *n*, 492
ṛi, form of, 640
ṛi, initial, form of, 211, 529
ṛi, medial, form of, 437
Rice, 650*n*
Ṛiddhapur plates of Prabhāvatī Gupta, 546*n*
Rīlhē, *m.*, 425
Rīlhū, *do.*, 425
Riṅgnōd, *vi.*, 556
Riṅgnōdā *s.a.* Ignōdā *s.a.* Ignōda, *do.*, 556*n*
Rīsaḍa, *m.*, 425
Ṛishi, *do.*, 181, 235, 425, 531
Rishikēśa, *do.*, 425
Ṛishiputra, *do.*, 661*n*
Risiula, *do.*, 21
Rīsū, *do.*, 425
Risuitā, *do.*, 659
Rōḍadā, *lo.*, 5*n*
Rōḍapa, *do.*, 5*n*
Rode V.P., 107, 176, 487
Rōhēḍā, *tn.*, 273-74 and 274*n*
Rohelkhand, *dt.*, 12
Rōhērā, *Railway Station*, 243*n*
Rōhērā *s.a.* Rōhēḍā, *tn.*, 259 and *n*
Rōhērā copper plate ins., of the Paramāras of Chandrāvatī, 321 and *n*
Rōhēṭaka-sthāna *s.a.* Rōhēḍa, *vi.*, 269-70
Rōhtāsgaḍh rock ins., of V.S. 1279, 464*n*
Rōpi *s.a.* Rōpsi, *vi.*, 318, 326*n*
Rōpi plate ins., of Dēvarāja, 1002 A.C., 326
Rudra, *te.*, 79
Rudra, *m.*, 425, 592
Rudrāditya, *off.*, 16, 20
Rudrāditya, *min.*, 78
Rudrāditya, *m.*, 613
Rudrasvāmin, *m.*, 235
Rudrāvantī, *vi.*, 624
rūpakāra, 'artisan', 203, 339, 393, 410, 456

S

s, form of, 3, 39, 70, 99, 134, 279, 300, 303, 335, 338, 347, 354, 357, 361, 374, 382, 391-92, 395, 405, 463, 504, 516, 522, 529, 561, 569, 587, 597, 631
ś, form of, 18, 25, 28, 32, 35, 46, 51, 90, 102, 123, 172, 287, 350, 377, 443, 468, 470, 473, 616, 652
ś, ligature, form of, 382
s, superscript, form of, 504
Śābara, *m.*, 21
Śabaras, *peo.*, 384, 517
Sābarkāṅthā, *dt.*, 27-28, 30
Sābarmatī, *ri.*, 30
Śabdachandrikā, *wk.*, 348
Śabdakalpadruma, *do.*, 124*n*, 348, 593
Sabhamma, *m.*, 582*n*
sabhāstāra, 'a member of an assembly' (?), 592
Sābhū, *m.*, 425
Sabuktigīn, *ruler of Ghaznī*, 378
Śachaliyā, *vi.*, 322
Śachi, *consort of lord Indra*, 357
sachiva, 'minister', 414
Sadaḍī ins., of V.S. 1251, 330
Sādāka, *m.*, 272
Sāddhā, *do.*, 599*n*
Sāḍha, *gen.*, 52
Sāḍhā, *m.*, 558, 659
Sāḍhadēva, *do.* 563
Sādhāra, *fe.*, 289
Sādhāraṇa, *m.*, 181, 218, 235
Sadhuram, 259, 260*n*
Sadrā, *vi.*, 265
Sadūktikarṇāmṛita, *wk.*, 125 and *n*
Sāgar, *tn.*, 145*n*, 487, 497*n*
Sāgar, *dt.*, 398, 418*n*, 422, 485
Sāgar plate of Trailōkyavarman, 485, 657-58
Sagara, *legendary k.*, 388*n*
Sāgaranandin, *m.*, 61
Sāgararāṇaka, *gen.*, 215
Sagauḍō, *vi.*, 452-53
Sages —
  Agastya, 124, 222*n*, 500
  Akshapāda *s.a.* Gautama, 414
  Aṅgirasa, 414
  Atri, 339, 343*n*, 383
  Bharadwāja, 428*n*
  Bharata, 310, 311*n*
  Chandrātrēya, 339, 383
  Dadhīchi, 592
  Gautama, 272, 414, 416*n*, 530
  Kāśyapa, 374, 512, 635
  Maṇḍuka, 196
  Marīchi, 339, 383
  Sārasvata, 592
  Upamanyu, 272
  Vaśistha, 76*n*, 84, 90, 94, 109, 196, 212, 228, 258, 260, 272, 277, 279, 288, 306, 326, 333, 531, 617, 624
  Viśvāmitra, 90, 94, 280, 288
  Vyāsa, 57, 545*n*, 617
Sāgonī, *Railway Station*, 525*n*
Sagwāḍā, *tk.*, 229
Sagwāḍā, *tn.*, 626
Sahadēva, *m.*, 564
Sahaja, *do.*, 300-01
Sahajā, *q.*, 281
Sahajā, *fe.*, 598
Sahajē, *m.*, 425
Sahajūśarman, *do.*, 401
Sahāraṇa, *do.*, 401, 425
Sahāraṇa, *off.*, 459
Sāhasa, *do.*, 314
Sāhasamallāṅka, *k.*, 464
Sāhasāṅka *s.a.* Vikramāditya, *do.*, 464 and *n*
Sahasrabāhu, 'thousand-armed', 536
Sahasrakūṭa, 'multiple-peaked temple', 456, 457*n*
Sahasrārjuna, *legendary k.*, 199*n*
Sahasra-vilōchana *s.a.* Indra, *god*, 544*n*
Sāhavāhana *s.a.* Sātavāhana, *dy.*, 52
Sāhī, *do.*, 653

Sāhi Kīra, *k.*, 342
Sāhila, *m.*, 522
Sāhilavāḍā *s.a.* Selwāḍā, *vi.*, 246
Saindhavadēva parva, n., of a festival, 70*n*
Śaiva, *cult*, 95, 368, 370*n*, 492, 494*n*, 537, 558
Śaiva, *te.*, 226
Śaivism, *sect*, 324, 368
Sajaḍa, *off.*, 269
Sājaṇa, *engr.*, 558
Śājāpur, *tk.*, 217
Sajjana, *m.*, 235*n*
Śākambharī, *province*, 326
Śākambharī, *dy.*, 563
Śākapura, *lo.*, 215, 217
Śakapura-pratijāgaraṇaka, *t.d.*, 162-63, 164*n*
Sakāruka-paṅka-vaṇig-vāstavya, *f.*, 452
Śākhā —
Āśvalāyana, 25, 43, 103, 180, 202
Bahvṛicha, 21-22, 46, 361
Chhāndōgya, 21-22, 440, 452
Kaṭha, 180
Kauthuma, 22, 180, 218 and *n*,
Mādhyandinī, 36, 115, 180, 202, 218 and *n*, 273
Rāṇāyanī, 180
Ṛigvēda, 217
Sāmavēda, 180
Saṇī, 641
Śāṅkhāyana, 180, 183*n*
Vājasanēya, 33, 158, 161*n*, 163, 350, 444, 448, 459, 488, 644*n*
Vājimādhyandina, 21-22, 40, 180
Sakora, *vi.*, 240
Śaktikumāra, *Guhila k.*, 16
Śakunāditya, *m.*, 425
Salaiyā ins., 526
Salakha, *m.*, 330 and *n*
Salakhaṇa, *off.*, 169
Salakhaṇadēvī, *q.*, 269
Salakhaṇasiṁha, *m.*, 218
Salakhaṇē, *do.*, 425
Salakshaṇa, *n.*, *of a sage*, 539 and *n*
Sālhaṇa, *m.*, 425
Sālhē, *do.*, 412, 425, 456
Salkanpur, *vi.*, 163-64
Sallaksaṇa, *m.*, 459
Sallakshaṇa, *gen.*, 215*n*
Sallakshaṇa, *min.*, 474
Sallakshaṇa, *k.*, 492
Sallakshaṇasiṁha, *m.*, 224*n*, 564
Sallakshaṇavarman, *Chandēlla k.*, 116, 379, 381*n*, 397, 413-14, 492, 500, 505, 557
Sallakshaṇa-Vilāsapura, *vi.*, 459
Salyā, *do.*, 322
Sāmadhara, *m.*, 592
Samarasiṁha, *Guhila k.*, *of Mēvāḍ*, 269, 273, 314, 330
Sāmbāditya *s.a.* sun, 601
Śambara, *demon*, 275*n*, 544*n*
Śambhu, *te.*, 70, 173, 600, 602
Saṁgama, *m.*, 425
Saṁgamakhēṭakamaṇḍala *s.a.* Sānkhēḍa, *reg.*, 51-52
Saṁgamanagara *s.a.* Sungane, *ca.*, 58
Saṁgamnēr grant of the Yādava Bhillama II, 78*n*, 214*n*
Saṁgrāmarāja, *k.*, *of Badarī*, 229
Śamī, *n.*, *of a tree*, 601
Śamīsthala, *n.*, *of a place*, 601-02
Saṁkāliya - 12, *vi.*, 438*n*
Samrani, *vi.*, 319
Sāṁṭata (? Sāṁbhaṭa), *m.*, 425
Samuddhara, *do.*, 181
Samuddharaṇa, *do.*, 218
Saṁvāka, *t.d.*, 29
Sanābha, *m.*, 512
Sanatkumāra, *do.*, 626
Sandairāo, *vi.*, 265*n*
Saṅga, *off.*, 215*n*, 222*n*
Saṅgāma, *tn.*, 57
Saṅgarudra, *m.*, 235
Saṅgūr (Dhārwār) ins., of 1265 A.C., 215
Sānhi, *m.*, 396
sāṅkā, *n.*, *of a bird*, 482*n*
Saṅkaliā, *lo.*, 407, 469*n*
Saṅkara, *m.*, 21
Śaṅkara, *philosopher*, 51
Śāṅkara — Vāṭikā, *n.*, *of a garden*, 347
Sānkhēḍa, *tk.*, 50, 52
Sāntana, *m.*, 468
Sāntanu, *do.*, 387*n*
Śantaśiva, *n.*, *of an ascetic*, 491-92
Śanti, *m.*, 119
Śāntināṭha, *te.*, 456
Śāntis —
bhūtas, 644*n*
brahman, 644*n*
dēvas, 644*n*
grahas, 644*n*
pitṛis, 644*n*
Śāntishēṇa, *a Jaina sage*, 531
Sānumatī *s.a.* Bhānumatī, *fe.*, 207
Sapādalaksha, *co.*, 179
Saptaśatī, *wk.*, 322
Saptāśīti, *lo.*, 216
Sarad, *m.*, 564 and *n*
Śaradasiṁha, *k.*, *of Kachchhapaghāta dy.*, 553
Sārama, *m.*, 225
Sārasvata Brāhmaṇas, *community*, 592, 593*n*
Sarasvatī, *ri.*, 116, 229, 592
Sarasvatī, *te.*, 234*n*
Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, *n.*, *of a wk.*, 125
Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, *n.*, *of Bhōja's palace*, 49
Sarasvatīpattana *s.a.* Surwāya, *lo.*, 592
Sarasvatī-sthāna, *do.*, 179-80
Śaratsiṁha *s.a.* Śaradasiṁha, *k.*, *of Kachchhapa-ghāta dy.*, 555*n*
Sarayū, *ri.*, 616
Śarmāditya, *m.*, 425
Sarvadēva, *do.*, 235, 321
Śarvadēva, *do.*, 22
Sarvadhara, *do.*, 425
sarvajña, 'an epithet of Śiva', 325-26
Sarvajña *s.a.* Jina, 567
Sarvāṇanda, *m.*, 21, 25
Sarvasukhiyā Kōṭhi, *lo.*, 69
Sāsā *s.a.* Sāsa, *m.*, 273
Sās-Bahū, *te.*, 535, 550*n*
Śāstrī B.G., 106
Sastri Bisheswarnath, 270, 272*n*, 275*n*, 276*n*, 277*n*
Sastri H.K., 435*n*
Sastri K.A.N., 650*n*
Sastri K.N., 83, 84*n*, 85*n*, 86-87, 88*n*, 89

Satājuṇā, *vi.*, 177, 179-80
Sāṭaka, *m.*, 659
Śatānanda, *do.*, 425
Sātavāhana, *dy.*, 52
Saṭhē, *m.*, 410, 554
Satnā, *tn.*, 657 and *n*
sattra, 'charitable feeding hall', 538
Satyabhāmā, *ch. q.*, 653, 655*n*
Satyarāja, *Paramāra k., of Vāgaḍa*, 280-81
Satyarāja, *m.*, 288
Satyāśraya, *Chālukya k., of Kalyāṇa*, 55
Satyātma, *m.*, 624
Saubhāgyadēvī, *q.*, 237-38
Saubhāgyadēvī, *fe.*, 588
Saugor *s.a.* Sāgar, *tn.*, 190-91
Saulkika, *off.*, 57, 59*n*
Saumatika, *engr.*, 99
sauradharma, 'the worship of the sun', 321
Saurāshṭra, *reg.*, 4, 327, 414, 598
Sausar *s.a.* Sonasara, *lo.*, 423
Sāvaḍa Vṛiddha *s.a.* Baḍī Anal, *vi.*, 256
Sāvaīrisōlc, *lo.*, 167*n*
Savanā, *q.*, 570
Sāvanta, *m.*, 484
Sāvathika *s.a.* Śrāvasti, *co.*, 19-22
Savda, *vi.*, 167*n*
Sāwargāon *s.a.* Rānī Sawargaon, *do.*, 648, 649*n*
Saxena S.S., 157
Śayanapāṭaka, *vi.*, 29-30
Sēdlā, *do.*, 265
Sehore, *dt.*, 32, 152*n*, 157*n*, 166
Sehōre, *tn.*, 166*n*, 168
Sehore copper-plate ins., of Arjunavarman, 173, 179, 642
Selhuka *s.a.* Satane, *tn.*, 57
Sēlluka, *do.*, 57
Sēmbalapura, *vi.*, 15-16
Sēmlia, *do.*, 16
Sēmrā, *do.*, 418, 525*n*
Sēmra grant of Paramardin, 357*n*, 398, 409, 439-40, 443-44, 446*n*, 447, 451*n*, 452*n*, 458, 460*n*, 470, 472*n*, 483, 485, 488-89, 658
Sen P.C., 651
Se(sai)ndhadēva, *m.*, 70
Seondhā, *fort*, 497
Seonī-Mālwā, *tk.*, 155*n*
Sēsai, *vi.*, 594-95
Sēsayigrāma *s.a.* Sajee, *do.*, 421-22
Śeshanāga, *n.*, *of a celebrated serpent*, 124
Seṭ-Maheṭ ins., of V.S. 1276, 512*n*
Sēvarāja, *m.*, 492
sh, form of, 99, 279, 374, 420
Shāhbād, *tk.*, 193
Shāhgaḍh, *vi.*, 418*n*
Shāhī, *dy.*, 79
Shājāpur, *dt.*, 19*n*, 79*n*, 152, 162, 166*n*
Shāmgaḍh, *Railway Station*, 19
Sharma O.P., 237*n*, 256, 296, 300, 312
Shastri H.P., 27, 28*n*, 30*n*, 31*n*
Shastri V.N., 245, 247*n*
Shaṭṭhabha, *m.*, 540
Shenvād *s.a.* Śayanapāṭaka, *vi.*, 30
Shērgaḍh, *tn.*, 70-74, 118-19, 193
Shērgaḍh, *fort*, 118
Shērgaḍh stone ins., of Udayādītya, 68, 70
Shēr Shāh, *Ruler of Sūr dy.*, 73
Shētāka *s.a.* Khētāka *s.a.* Khētā, *off.*, 267
Shīmaulī, *vi.*, 274
Shinvāḍ, *do.*, 28
Shiralkar A.M., 648 and *n*
Shivaram Murthy, 49*n*
Shivpurī, *dt.*, 116, 179, 493*n*, 528, 553, 564, 572, 586
Shivpurī, *ci.*, 529, 587*n*
Shivpurī, *tn.*, 532
shn, form of, 439
Shrivastava V.N., 441*n*, 446*n*
Shujalpur, *tk.*, 152, 166*n*
Shujālpur, *vi.*, 217
Shujālpur parganā, *t.d.*, 162
Shukdeo Bihari Mishra, 483
Siddēśvara, *n.*, *of a sacred place*, 176
Siddēśvara Mahādēva, *te.*, 518
Siddhaliṅgas, 368
Siddham, 3, 11, 29, 36, 61*n*, 186, 208, 350, 357, 366, 377, 448, 459, 480, 504, 587, 632, 640, 647, 658
Siddhanātha *s.a.* Siddhēśvara, *te.*, 642
Siddhas, *n.*, *of a type of celestial beings*, 375
Siddēśvarakshētra, *n.*, *of a sacred place*, 642*n*
Sīḍha, *m.*, 452
Sīḍha *s.a.* Sīḍhala, *do.*, 632
Sīdhana, *do.*, 425
Sīgāradēvī *s.a.* Śriṅgāradēvī, *q.*, 263-64
Sign-manual —
- Arjunavarman *s.a.* Arjunavarmadēva, *k.*, 167, 169
- Bhōjadēva, *do.*, 33, 35, 39, 43, 45
- Dēvapāla, *do.*, 178
- Hariśchandra, *do.*, 147, 149, 154
- Jayasiṁha, *do.*, 62
- Jayavarman II, *do.*, 201
- Naravarman, *do.*, 114, 116, 640-41
- Paramardidēva, *do.*, 444, 448, 453, 459
- Sīyaka, *do.*, 2, 4, 8
- Trailōkyavarman, *do.*, 488, 657-58
- Udayāditya, *do.*, 73
- Udayavarman, *do.*, 158
- Vākpatirājadēva, *do.*, 10, 12, 16, 20
- Vatsarāja *s.a.* Vachchharāja, *do.*, 29
- Vidyādharadēva, *do.*, 652-53
- Yaśōvarman, *do.*, 127-28

Sīhaḍa, *Guhila k., of Mēwāḍ*, 314
Sīhaḍa, *m.*, 425
Sīhaḍa, *off.*, 468, 469*n*
Sīhaḍa, *feu.*, 488
Sīhaḍoṇi, *vi.*, 488 and *n*
Sihadōuni *s.a.* Siyādōṇi *s.a.* Sirōn khurd, *vi.*, 489
Sīhakā, *lo.*, 5
Sihaṭa, *m.*, 21
Sihora, *tk.*, 95*n*
Sihuna, *m.*, 564
Sikā, *lo.*, 5
Sikatā, *ri.*, 588
Sikatanimagā *s.a.* Saikataṭatinī, *do.*, 588
Śikshā, *one of the vedāṅgas*, 358*n*
Śilāhāra, *dy.*, 37, 251
Śilākūṭa, *'mason'*, 531
Sīlaṇa, *m.*, 425, 592
Sīlāśrī, *do.*, 119
Silberrad, 446*n*
Sīlē, *m.*, 152, 425, 554
Śīlikā, *fe.*, 314

Silimpur stone ins., 179*n*
śilpin, 'artisan', 139, 448
Silū, *m.*, 218, 425
Simcox A.H.A., 54
Siṁha, *engr.*, 384
Siṁha, *Lāṭa ruler*, 213
Siṁha, *m.*, 153
Siṁhakaṇṭha, *do.*, 181
Siṁhala, *co.*, 384
Siṁhana, *Yādava k., of Dēvagiri*, 215
Siṁhapānīya *s.a.* Suhāniya, *tn.*, 538-39
Siṁhavāja, *m.*, 539 and *n*
Siṁhikā, *mother of Rāhu*, 352*n*
Simla Paṇḍit, 498
Sindh, *reg.*, 56, 288, 496-97
Sindh, *ri.*, 578-79
Sindhurāja, *Paramāra k.*, 12*n*, 29, 33, 40, 43, 46, 55-56, 62, 72, 78, 103-04, 109, 115, 196, 202, 213, 220*n*, 280, 333, 641
Sindhurāja, *k., of Maru-maṇḍala*, 326
Sindhurāja, *k., of Sindh*, 288 and *n*, 313 and *n*
Sindhurāja Bhōjadēva, *Paramāra k.*, 613
Sindhurājapura, *tn.*, 327-28
Sindhurājēśvara, *te.*, 333
Siṁghaṇa, *Yādava k., of Dēvagiri*, 169*n*, 196, 214*n*
Siṅgōrgaḍh, *lo.*, 526
Sinha S.N., 305
Siprā, *ri.*, 167
Siprā, *vi.*, 558
Sīprī *s.a.* Shivpurī, *dt.*, 561, 568, 586, 594, 596, 600
Sīprī, *tk.*, 591
Sirālyā, *vi.*, 760
Sircar D.C., 3*n*, 15, 20*n*, 27, 28*n*, 29, 31 and *n*, 32-33 and 33*n*, 34*n*, 51*n*, 60-61, 84, 87, 105, 106*n*, 118-19, 120*n*, 122-23, 124*n*, 125 and *n*, 178*n*, 206-07, 210, 212*n*, 213, 214*n*, 215*n*, 216*n*, 217, 218*n*, 219*n*, 220*n*, 223*n*, 290, 341-42, 365-66 and 366*n*, 368*n*, 369, 370*n*, 399 and *n*, 401*n*, 402, 403*n*, 404*n*, 412 and *n*, 456, 458-59, 469, 471 and *n*, 472*n*, 474*n*, 488*n*, 490*n*, 562, 568, 569*n*, 570, 571*n*, 572 and *n*, 576*n*, 577*n*, 578, 579*n*, 580*n*, 581*n*, 582*n*, 583*n*, 584*n*, 585*n*, 586, 587*n*, 588, 590*n*, 594, 595*n*, 596*n*, 597, 598*n*, 599*n*, 600-01, 602*n*, 603*n*, 653*n*, 662-63 and 663*n*
Sīrī, *m.*, 425
Sirōhī, *dt.*, 225, 226*n*, 227, 229, 237, 244, 246, 249, 250*n*, 252, 254, 256-57, 259, 266, 269, 271, 274, 623, 627, 638
Sirōhī, *erstwhile state*, 232, 243, 245, 267
Sirōhī, *tn.*, 248, 253, 254*n*, 262, 324
Sirōhī, *reg.*, 238
Sirpur ins., 546*n*
Sīruka, *engr.* 492
Śiśupālavadha, *wk.*, 98*n*, 124*n*, 299*n*, 317, 416*n*, 417*n*,
Sītā, *epic. pr.*, 164*n*, 272
Sitāmaū, *tn.*, 16
Siu, *m.*, 425
Siūkā, *fe.*, 314
Śiva, *te.*, 57, 73*n*, 75, 90, 185, 187, 189, 215, 239*n*, 253, 257, 262, 266, 288, 325, 328*n*, 329, 474 and *n*, 475, 499, 538-39, 611-13, 622, 626, 643, 646
Śivadēva, *m.*, 49
Śivāditya, *do.*, 425
Śivagupta, *k.*, 341
Śivakūpa, *lo.*, 327 and *n*, 328
Śiva-liṅga, 73*n*, 578, 614*n*
Śiva Mahimna stōtra, *wk.*, 604*n*
Śivanābha, *au.*, 569*n*, 587-88, 602
Śivanāga, *min.*, 414
Śivānanda, *m.*, 235
Śivanātha, *n., of a shrine*, 5
Śivapāla, *engr.* 229
Śiva Pārvatīstōtra, *wk.*, 604*n*
Śivarāja, *m.*, 602
Śivasiṁha, *min.*, 243,
Śivataḍāga, *n., of a tank*, 12
Śivi, *m.*, 384
Śivi, *myth. k.*, 387*n*
Siwasanī, *vi.*, 136*n*
Siyā, *fe.*, 598
Siyaḍōṇi *s.a.* Sihaḍōṇi, *vi.*, 488 and *n*
Sīyaka *s.a.* Sīyakadēva, *Paramāra k., of Mālava*, 3 and *n*, 4 and *n*, 5, 8-9, 11-12, 18*n*, 19-20, 25, 29-30, 33, 40, 43, 46, 51, 55-56, 77, 100 and *n*, 109, 112*n*, 244, 280-81 and 281*n*, 288
Sīyaka II, *do.*, 109, 196, 213, 280
Sīyaka, *vi.*, 588
Sīyaka *s.a.* Harshadēva, *Chandēlla k.*, 340
Skanda, *gen.*, 370
Smar-ārāti *s.a.* Śiva, *god*, 550
Smararipu *s.a.* Śiva, *te.*, 279
Smith V.A., 349, 356, 379*n*, 435*n*, 438, 440, 463*n*, 496, 500*n*, 654
Smṛiti Kaustubha, *wk.*, 73*n*
Sobhag Singh, 210
Śōbhaya, *m.*, 226*n*
Śōbhita, *do.*, 273
Sōchchharāja, *Paramāra k., of Bhinmāl*, 327
Sōdēra, *vi.*, 265
Sōḍhaka, *m.*, 235
Sōḍhala, *do.*, 632
Sōhāgpur parganā, *t.d.*, 154-55
Sōhaṇa *s.a.* Śōbhaṇa, *m.*, 268
Sohika, *do.*, 51
Sōla, *do.*, 425
Sōlaj, *vi.*, 314*n*
Sōlhaṇa, *k.*, 393
Sōluṇa, *m.*, 393
Sōma, *do.*, 564*n*
Sōma, *au.*, 592
Sōmadatta, *m.*, 425
Sōmadēva, *do.*, 152, 163, 425, 558, 563
Sōmadhara, *do.*, 591
Sōmamiśra, *com.*, 592
Sōmanātha *s.a.* Śiva, *te.*, 79
Sōmanātha, *te.*, 598
Sōmasiṁha, *Paramāra k., of Chandrāvatī*, 263-65, 267*n*, 269, 272, 628, 639
Sōmarāja, *engr.*, 474-75 and 475*n*, 588*n*
Sōmarāja, *m.*, 425, 564, 598
Sōmasaubhāgya, *wk.*, 263
Sōmavaṁśīs, *dy.*, 341
Sōmavati-tīrtha, *n., of a holy place*, 166-67
Sōmē, *m.*, 425, 659
Sōmēka, *do.*, 401, 452
Sōmēśa *s.a.* Sōmēśvara, *n., of a holy place*, 598
Sōmēśarman, *m.*, 401
Sōmēśvara, *Paramāra k., of Bhinmal*, 248, 325*n*, 326-27
Sōmēśvara, *m.*, 46*n*, 181, 361, 425

Sōmēśvara, *Chāhamāna k., of Ajmer*, 246
Sōmēśvara, *Nāga ruler*, 94
Sōmēśvara I, *W. Chālukya k.*, 63, 91, 109, 649
Sōmēśvara II, *do.*, 91, 109, 154
Sōnaḍa, *m.*, 425
Sōnasara, *vi.*, 420, 423
Sōṇḍala, *m.*, 152
Sōndhī, *fort*, 497
Sōngirā Chāhamānas, *dy.*, 330, 639
Soni R.P., 27-28
Sōnpur, *tn.*, 628*n*
Sopura, *vi.*, 21-22
Sopuryā, *do.*, 21
Sōśvarabhaṭṭa, *m.*, 46
Sōtā *s.a.* Śōbhā, *do.*, 152
Sōte, *do.*, 425
Śravaṇabhadra, *lo.*, 21-22, 33-34
Śravaṇabhadra, *f.*, 51-52
Śreshṭhin, community, 106, 246, 295, 324, 409, 412, 531, 558, 564
Śrēshṭhi-Varishṭha, ep., 456
Śrī, *fe.*, 563
Śrīdēva, *m.*, 235
Śrīdhara, *do.*, 22, 148, 152, 191, 235*n*, 281, 289, 297*n*, 319, 414, 425, 522, 540, 563 and *n*
Śrīdhara, *off.*, 505
Śrīharsha, *au.*, 108, 219*n*, 271
Śrīharsha, *k., of Dhārā*, 212
Śrīharsha, *Chandēlla k.*, 384
Śrījaya, *n., of a royal treasury*, 641
Śrīkaṇṭha, *com.*, 216
Śrīkaṇṭha, *m.*, 217
Śrīkara, *do.*, 425
Śrīkīrtti, *do.*, 301
Śrīmāla *s.a.* Bhinmāl, *tn.*, 318-19, 321-24, 330
Śrīmūrti *s.a.* Vāsudēva, *the royal preceptor*, 368 and *n*
Śṛiṅgapura, *lo.*, 115-16
Śṛiṅgāradēvī, *q.*, 250, 254-55, 261, 262*n*, 264*n*, 639
Śṛiṅgārasiṁha, *m.*, 563
Śṛiṅgavāra, *m.*, 65
Śṛiṅgavāsa, *do.*, 612
Śrīnidhi, *do.*, 92
Śrīnivāsa, *do.*, 22, 90, 92, 425
Śrīpāla, *do.*, 119, 401, 425, 500
Śrīpati, *do.*, 33, 661*n*
Śrīsēna, *do.*, 303
Śrīvāḍa, *lo.*, 43-44
Śrīvastava, *f.*, 512 and *n*
Srivastava H.L., 510 and *n*, 512*n*, 514*n*, 515*n*
Srivastava S.P., 651
Śrīvatsa, *m.*, 218
Śrīvīra, *do.*, 437
Śrutadēvī, *the goddess of eloquence or learning*, 530
Stamāka, *m.*, 314*n*
Stambha, *do.*, 100
Steward, 510
Sthalī *s.a.* Vāgaḍa, *province*, 40, 287, 306-07, 310 and *n*, 313-14
Sthāṇēśvara, *m.*, 180
Sthāṇvīśvara, *lo.*, 36-37
Sthiradēva, *engr.*, 612
Sthirakāya, *k.*, 212
Śubhāditya, *m.*, 425
Śubhākara, *do.*, 425
Śubhākara, *k.*, 425
Śubhaṁkara, *m.*, 425
Śubhānanda, *do.*, 448, 453
Subhāshitaratnasandōha, *wk.*, 78
Subhāshitasandōha, *do.*, 25*n*
Subhaṭa, *off.*, 516
Subhaṭa, *m.*, 517-18
Subhaṭa *s.a.* Suhaḍadēva, *do.*, 633
Subhaṭavarman, *Paramāra k., of Mālava*, 162, 177, 213, 215, 246, 260-61, 619, 621*n*
Subrahmanyam R., 93 and *n*, 96*n*
Subrahmanya Sastri P.P., 604*n*
Sūḍalī-vishaya, *t.d.*, 396-98
Sūḍha, *m.*, 396, 401, 425
Sudi stone ins., dated Śaka 996, 109*n*
Śūdraka, *ch.*, 82
Suhaḍa *s.a.* Sudhaṭa, *ch. min.*, 633-34, 636
Suhaḍa, *m.*, 515*n*
Suhaḍadēva, *do.*, 636
Suhai, *do.*, 511
Suhavāsa, *tn.*, 357
Suhāniyā, *do.*, 538-39
Sūhila, *m.*, 512
Sukhanandji, 227
Sukhavāsa, *k.*, 358
Śukra, *the preceptor of the demons*, 357
Śukrāchārya, *n., of a poet*, 594*n*
Sukṛita-kīrtti-kallōlini, *wk.*, 251
Sukthankar V.S., 89, 225, 253, 266, 627, 638
Sulhaṇa, *gen.*, 116
Sūlhaṇa, *m.*, 425, 452, 659
Sultāns of Delhi, *dy.*, 601
Sultānpur, *vi.*, 217
Suma, *m.*, 512
Sūmāka, *engr.*, 314
Sumānaka, *m.*, 659
Sūmasīha *s.a.* Sōmasiṁha, *Paramāra k., of Chandrāvatī*, 266
Sumati, *m.*, 289,
Sumēru, *mo.*, 544*n*
Sun, *te.*, 93*n*, 225, 228-29
Sundarsī, *vi.*, 79*n*
Sūndhā, *vi.*, 628
Sūndhā ins., of the reign of Chāchigadēva, 324, 628
Sundīra, *te.*, 79
Sūpaḷa, *m.*, 121, 425, 452*n*
Sūpaṭbāōḍī, *n., of a well*, 596*n*
Sūpraṭa, *m.*, 407
Supratishṭhā, n., of a metrial group, 587
Sūr, *dy.*, 73
Śūra, *m.*, 180
Surabhi, *n., of a celestial cow*, 238, 246, 636
Surāditya, *m.*, 21
Śūrāditya, *feu.*, 51-52
Śūrapāla, *k.*, 558
Surapāla, *m.*, 637
Surarāja, *k.*, 326
Śūrasēna, *f.*, 365
Suraśrī, *m.*, 588
Sūrat, *dt.*, 58
Śūravīra, *Paramāra k.*, 91
Suri C.L., 262-63 and 263*n*
Surōttama, *m.*, 425
Sūrpaṭa, *do.*, 531
Surwāyā, *vi.*, 179, 591-92, 596
Surwāyā ins., 600, 602

Sūrya, *te.*, 320
Sūrya Nārāyaṇa Vyās, 615
Sūryapāla, *member of the Kachchhapaghāta dy.*, 538
Sūryaravi, *m.*, 319
Sūrya-siddhānta, *wk.*, 124*n*
Sūryāśrama, *tn.*, 119
Sutherland J.C.C., 381
Suvarṇavarsha *s.a.* Gōvinda IV, *Rāshtrakūṭa k.*, 18
Suvāsaṇī *s.a.* Siwāsni, *vi.*, 134, 136
sva, form of, 503
Svāṁbhū, *m.*, 425
Svāmi, *do.*, 630*n*
Svapaṭa, *do.*, 452
Svayaṁtapa, *do.*, 22
Śvētāmbara, *Jaina sect*, 57, 59*n*
Swamikannu Pillai, 33
Śyāma, *m.*, 570

T

t, form of, 28, 32, 39, 42, 70, 72, 90, 102, 190, 278, 297, 300, 325, 338, 350, 356, 365, 377, 395, 470, 504, 522, 529, 556, 586-87, 597, 652, 657
t, subscript, form of, 303, 586
t, superscript, form of, 62, 127, 395, 463, 536, 561, 562*n*
Tabaqāt-i-Nāsirī, *wk.*, 562*n*
Tāḍakā, *demoness*, 545*n*
taḍāra, 'a piece of land', 11-12, 13*n*
Tailapa, *Chālukya k.*, *of Kalyāṇ*, 5, 16*n*, 55, 77-78 and 78*n*, 214*n*
Tailikānvaya, 'oilman's lineage', 70
Taju, *m.*, 564
Takali, *lo.*, 179
Ṭakārī, *vi.*, 179-80, 202-03, 216-18, 351, 358, 398
Ṭakāryā, *do.*, 179
Ṭakkārī, *do.*, 351
Ṭakkārikā, *do.*, 351, 517-18
tala-haṭṭikā, 'a market on the-low lands', 153
Talapāṭaka *s.a.* Talwāḍa, *vi.*, 314
tālapatra, 'ear-ornament', 547*n*
Tālhū, *m.*, 425
Tālyākhēḍī, *vi.*, 217
Ṭaṅkaka, 'a stamped coin of silver', 100*n*
Ṭāṇṭa-12, *vi.*, 421
Taṇukōṭṭa *s.a.* Tanōt, *n.*, *of a fort*, 327-28
Taptī, *ri.*, 30, 63
Tāraka, *demon*, 562
Tarānā, *tk.*, 104*n*
Tārāpur, *tn.*, 87*n*
Tarhaoni, *n.*, *of a gate*, 636
Tārīkh-i-tiruz Shāhi, *wk.*, 562*n*
Tarjāon, *n.*, *of a gate*, 633
Tarkārika *s.a.* Tarkārikā, *vi.*, 179*n*, 350-51, 358, 384-85
Tarnōd, *do.*, 217
Taulakapurā, *do.*, 217
Tawā, *do.*, 643
Tawney, *au.*, 79*n*, 92*n*, 109
Tēāla, *m.*, 437
Tehri, *vi.*, 488*n*
Tējōvarma, *feu.*, 139
Ṭēṇī, *lo.*, 216-18
Teōṅthar, *tk.*, 402, 413-14
Teōnthar, *tn.*, 402
Tev, Tēva or Teō, *n.*, *of a stream*, 642
th, form of, 39, 70, 72, 123, 145, 201, 227, 257, 297, 356, 372, 382, 405, 410, 549, 556
ṭh, form of, 405
ṭh, subscript, form of, 549
th, subscript, form of, 72, 107, 195, 211, 278, 305, 309, 371, 395, 400, 529, 586, 600
Ṭhaä (Ṭhaā ?) *m.*, 554
Ṭhākardā, *vi.*, 557-58
Thākhāṭa, *f.*, 321
Thākur Das Jain, 399, 469
Thalī *s.a.* Sthalī, *t.d.*, 40-41, 314
Ṭhānā ins., dated in 1272 A.C., 214-15
Thānesar *s.a.* Sthaṇvīśvara, *lo.*, 37
Thāneswar, *do.*, 79
Thānu, *m.*, 425
Thaṭṭhasika, *do.*, 36
The fragmentary Mau ins., of Madanavarman, 471*n*
Thedū, *m.*, 425
Ṭhikkārikā *s.a.* Ṭhīkrī, *vi.*, 128
Thīkrī, *do.*, 179
Thomas F.W., 125
Ṭiharī *s.a.* Tehri Bāṇapur, *vi.*, 488-89
Tihuṇapāla *s.a.* Tribhuvanapāla, *k.*, 440, 557*n*, 558
Tihuṇapāla, *m.*, 448
Tihuṇapāladēva, *k.*, 557
Tihuṇēka, *m.*, 540 and *n*
Tīkama, *do.*, 425
Tikamgaḍh, *dt.*, 379
Tikamgaḍh, *tn.*, 399, 455, 458, 469, 489, 518, 651
Tikava, *m.*, 425
Tilhaṇa, *engr.*, 531
Tīlhēka, *m.*, 540
Tilakamañjari, *skt. wk.*, 49, 77, 252*n*
Tilakaprabhāsūri, *com.*, 255
Tilakavāḍa, *lo.*, 21, 34, 50, 52
Tilakavāḍa grant of Bhōja, 21, 34, 56, 79
Tilāvad, *vi.*, 217
Tīlhū, *m.*, 426
Tiṇisapadra, *vi.*, 15-16
Tinsuā, *do.*, 497
Tintiri *s.a.* Teōnthar, *tn.*, 402
Tintiri-pattalā, *t.d.*, 401
Tirhāwan, *n.*, *of a gate*, 515
Tīthi —
ratha-sapthamī, 322
tṛitīyā, 358
Tīrthaṅkaras —
Ādidēva *s.a.* Ṛishabhadēva, 562
Ādinātha, 411
Chandraprabha, 530
Jinōttama *s.a.* Śāntinātha, 620
Mahāvīra *s.a.* Jina, 254, 255*n*, 336, 530, 562, 632
Nēminātha, 409-10
Padmaprabhanātha, 536
Pārśvanātha, 105, 267, 562
Ṛishabhasvāmin, 530
Saṁbhavanātha, 411 and *n*
Śāntinātha, 255*n*, 365-66, 455, 530, 629, 631-32
Suvratadēva, 55, 57
Ṛishabhēndranātha, 303
Vṛishabhadēva *s.a.* Ṛishabhanātha, 301
Title —
Āchārya, 258
Adhirāja, 341

Agnihōtrin, 21, 148, 152, 158, 178, 180-81, 183*n*, 184*n*, 202, 205*n*, 431*n*
Arahat, 456
Avasthi, 401, 659
Bhaṭṭa, 33, 252*n*, 384*n*
Bhaṭṭāraka, 244-45, 258, 491-92
Bhaṭṭārikā, 15
Chaturvēda, 180-81, 183*n*, 202, 205*n*, 216-18, 223*n*, 448
Chau, *i.e.*, *Chaturvēdin*, 422*n*, 553
Dīkshita, 3, 19, 21, 25, 115, 178, 180-81, 202, 205*n*, 216-18, 223*n*, 401, 406, 433*n*, 592, 659, 660*n*
Dvivēda s.a. Dvivēdin, 115, 152, 158, 180-81, 183*n*, 202, 205*n*, 216-18, 223*n*, 422*n*, 430*n*, 444, 448, 450*n*, 659
Gajapati, 492
Kumāra, 595
Mahākumāra, 30, 134-36, 138, 142-43, 145-46, 148-49, 153-54, 158-59, 159*n*, 173, 188, 580*n*, 595, 597, 614
Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara, 237-38, 240, 243-44 and 244*n*, 256, 641
Mahāmaṇḍalīka, 115-16, 117*n*, 139, 493, 642
Mahā-nṛipa, 280
Mahārāja, 15, 127-28, 134-35, 169, 178, 188, 201, 225, 326, 391, 393, 475*n*, 522-23, 527
Mahārājādhirāja, 3, 3*n*, 11, 15, 25, 29, 36, 40, 43, 46, 62, 68, 72, 103, 115, 121, 130-31, 134-36, 148-49, 153, 173, 188, 191-93, 202-03, 233-34, 238, 243-44 and 244*n*, 265, 267, 318, 320-21, 323-24, 326, 330, 341, 351, 354, 357, 396, 401, 420-21, 440, 444, 448, 452, 459, 470, 484, 491, 496, 523, 530-31, 553, 557, 595, 622, 641, 652
Mahārāja-kula, 273
Mahārājapaṇḍita, 180
Mahārājaputra, 29-30, 139, 248, 330, 526, 653
Mahārāṇaka, 30
Mahārāüta, 628
Mahāsāmanta, 319
Maṇḍalīka, 158, 161*n*, 197, 242, 492-93
Māṇḍalikāsuraśambhu, 245
Maṇḍalikēśvaraśambhu, 245, 252*n*
Paṇḍita, 659, 660*n*
Paramabhaṭṭāraka, 3, 11, 15, 25, 29, 33, 36, 40, 43, 46, 62, 68, 72, 103, 115, 130-31, 134-35, 148-49, 153, 173, 188, 351, 357, 396, 401, 420-21, 440, 444, 448, 452, 459, 470, 484, 491, 496, 526, 553, 557 and *n*, 595, 641, 652
Paramēśvara, 3, 11, 15, 25, 29, 33, 36, 40, 43, 46, 61-62, 68, 72, 103, 115, 121, 130-31, 134-35, 148-49, 153, 173, 351, 357, 396, 401, 420-21, 440, 444, 448, 452, 459, 470, 484, 491, 496, 523, 553, 557, 595, 641, 652
Rājādhirāja, 61
Rājan, 180
Rāṇā, 257
Rāṇaka, 30, 55, 57, 58*n*, 139, 448, 491-92, 502*n*, 579*n*, 597
Rāüta, 191, 215, 250, 267, 407, 437, 468, 484, 485*n*, 488, 496, 502*n*, 582*n*, 585*n*, 595, 596*n*, 626-27
Rāwals, 628*n*
Sāhaṇī (*Sādhanika*), 248
Sāhi, 523
Sāmanta, 55, 57
samrāṭ, 579*n*
Śrōtriya, 180-81, 659, 660*n*
Ṭhakkura, 29, 116, 119, 121 and *n*, 152, 180-81, 183*n*, 192, 197, 207 and *n*, 368, 401, 405-07, 408*n*, 422, 438*n*, 440, 444, 459, 460*n*, 469*n*, 472*n*, 492, 503, 511, 517, 522, 524*n*, 622, 633, 636, 659
Ti, 659
Tripāṭhi, 152, 641, 660*n*
Trīvēda s.a. *Trivēdin*, 180-81, 183*n*, 216, 218, 223*n*, 430*n*, 454
Upādhyāya, 659, 660*n*
Vijñānika, 314
Yājñika, 181, 184*n*
Yajurvēdin, 358
Yuvarāja, 595
Titrōd, *vi.*, 16
Tīvaka, *m.*, 448
Tod colonel, 126, 129, 133
Toggala, *gen.*, 78-79
Ṭōlā, *vi.*, 217
Tōlāpauha, *lo.*, 216-17 and 217*n*, 218
Tōpkhānā, 'a shed for artillery', 332
Trailōkyamalla *s.a.* Trailōkyamalladēva, *Chandēlla k.*, 491-92
Trailōkyavarman *s.a.* Trailōkyavarmadēva, *do.*, 423, 484-85, 488, 492-93, 496, 500, 504-05, 508, 517-18, 523, 630-32, 657-58
Trailōkyavarman, *Paramāra k.*, 135, 141-43, 145-46, 148-49
Tribhuvanapāla *s.a.* Tihuṇapāla, *k.*, 557
Trilōchana, *m.*, 181, 425
Trilōchana, *gen.*, 379
Tripathi R.S., 336, 340, 654
Tripura, *demon*, 96*n*, 219*n*
Tripuri *s.a.* Tēwar, *Kalachuri ca.*, 77, 95, 110, 154, 179-80, 465 and *n*, 531
Trivikrama, *m.*, 420*n*
tsa, form of, 503
tulādāna, n., of a dāna, 196, 389*n*, 537
tulā-purusha, *do.*, 389*n*
Ṭulyā, *vi.*, 217
tūmbā, 'container of the size of a gourd', 289, 295*n*
Ṭumnī, *vi.*, 217
Ṭumuṭumā, *do.*, 496-97
Turushkas, *peo.*, 78-79, 110, 484, 500, 651
Tyōnthar, *tk.*, 493

U

u, form of, 46, 225, 287, 338
ū, form of, 629
u, initial, form of, 130, 437, 592
ū, long, form of, 592
u, medial, form of, 28, 256, 278, 297, 411, 468, 595
ū, medial, form of, 127, 305, 310, 325, 338, 350, 393
ū, medial long, form of, 529, 586
u, medial short, form of, 382, 529, 556, 586
u, short, form of, 640
u, vowel, form of, 407
Ubhuvōsaha, *vi.*, 167 and *n*
Uchchangi, *n.*, *of a fortress*, 650
Udai *s.a.* Udayī, *m.*, 180, 564

Udaipur, *ci.*, 4*n*, 20, 65*n*, 71, 75, 81-82, 91*n*, 98, 173*n*, 185-89, 191*n*, 208, 279, 611, 613, 622, 646
Udaipur copper plate ins., of the time of Dēvapāla, 207, 209
Udaipur *Praśasti*, 56, 63, 65, 81, 91, 104, 109 and *n*, 196 and *n*, 212, 280, 288, 517*n*, 646
Udaipur stone ins., of the time of Udayāditya, 70
Udana, *off.*, 393
Udāri ins., dated in 1276 A.C., 214-15
Udayachandra, *m.*, 412, 457
Udayāditya *s.a.* Udayādityadēva, *Paramāra k.*, 63, 64*n*, 65, 68, 70-71, 73, 76, 79-80, 82, 84, 89-91 and 91*n*, 94-95, 99 and *n*, 100, 103-04, 109-10, 115, 130, 134, 153, 161*n*, 162 and *n*, 177, 193, 208, 213, 313, 397, 508, 611-13, 616, 641-42, 649
Udayanābha, *do.*, 426
Udayapura, *n.*, *of a place*, 611
Udayarāja, *Paramāra k.*, *of Bhinmāl*, 327
Udayarāja, *writer*, 531
Udayasiṁha, *Chāhamāna k.*, *of Jālōr*, 272, 330
Udayasiṁha, *Paramāra k.*, 628
Udayasiṁha, *m.*, 563
Udayavarman, *Paramāra k.*, 135, 145, 148, 158 and *n*, 159, 173*n*, 214*n*, 614
Udayēśvaradēva, *te.*, 66, 646
Uddharaṇa, *m.*, 218, 235
Ūdhara(va ?), *do.*, 180
Ūhaḍa, *m.*, 426
Ūhēṇa, *do.*, 401*n*
Ujjain *s.a.* Ujjayanī, *tn.*, 4-5 and 5*n*, 11-12, 14-15, 18-19 and 19*n*, 25-26 and 26*n*, 34, 36 and *n*, 42-44, 46 and *n*, 47, 48*n*, 83, 87, 110, 116, 126-27, 129, 131, 133, 167, 188, 203, 280, 557 and *n*, 615
Ujjain, *dt.*, 20-21, 24 and *n*, 31, 33, 67-68, 79*n*, 102, 104*n*, 217
Ujjain, *reg.*, 104*n*
Ujjain, *t.d.*, 47
Ujjain copper plate ins., of Bhōjadēva, 34, 36*n*, 40, 47*n*
Ujjain copper plate ins., of Jayavarman, 147
Ujjain copper plate ins., of *Mahākumāra* Lakshmīvarman, 139, 148-49, 159 and *n*
Ujjain copper plate ins., of Yaśōvarman, 104
Ujjain stone ins., of Chalukya Jayasiṁha of V.S. 1195, 242
Ujjayinī-paśchima-pathaka, *t.d.*, 44
Ukāvad, *vi.*, 136
Uldan, *n.*, *of a place*, 422
Uldana, *s.a.* Oldana-Khurd, *vi.*, 422
Uldaṇa, *do.*, 421
Ūlhaṇa, *engr.*, 396, 401
Ūlhē, *m.*, 426
Uljama *s.a.* Umaratha, *vi.*, 157*n*
Uljamūm, *do.*, 157, 159*n*
Umā, *te.*, 602
Umarata *s.a.* Umaratham, *vi.*, 189
Umavarāchara, *do.*, 21
Ūn, *do.*, 79*n*, 89
Ūnā ins., 644*n*
Unda *s.a.* Undra, *vi.*, 255
Undapura, *lo.*, 173-74
Unḍwā, *do.*, 174*n*
United Province, 21
Ūn Sarpabhadha ins., 89
Upādhyāya, *sur. n.*, 3, 178, 181, 184*n*, 216, 218, 223*n*, 234
Upādhyāya Lalla, *n.*, *of a nāgara br.*, 3
Upāḍī, *vi.*, 116
Upari-hāḍā maṇḍala, *t.d.*, 191
upari-kara, tax, 33, 165*n*
Upēndra, *Paramāra k.*, 109
Upēndrapura-maṇḍala, *t.d.*, 116
Upēndrarāja *s.a.* Krishṇarāja, *Paramāra k.*, 77
Urmila Prasad Shukla, 657
Ūsala *s.a.* Dūsala, *m.*, 326
Usārā, *vi.*, 21
Ushā, *fe.*, 537
usharavāha, 'dry land', 350, 352*n*
ūsharavāha-Pratibaddha, 'bounded by a barren spot', 351
Uthavaṇaka, *vi.*, 134, 136, 137*n*
Utpala, *commentator*, 124*n*
Utpalarāja, *Paramāra k.*, *of Chandrāvatī*, 228, 260
Utsavalal Purani, 27
Uttara, *epic pr.*, 546*n*
Uttarāditya, *m.*, 426
Uttara-kula(ru ?), *co.*, 19
Uttara kula, *do.*, 21
Uttarakurudēśa, *do.*, 21
Uttara-paṭṭaka, *t.d.*, 142*n*, 143
Uttara Pradesh, *state*, 52, 342, 349, 351, 353*n*, 356, 360, 365, 367, 369, 371, 375-76, 390, 392, 395, 405, 410, 412, 435, 438, 440, 443-44, 446, 448, 451, 461-62, 473, 478, 484, 495, 507, 518 and *n*, 521, 598
Uttarāyaṇa, Saṅkrānti, 43
Uttarāyaṇō, *vi.*, 167*n*
Utthapanaka, *vi.*, 289-90
Utthūṇaka *s.a.* Arthūṇa, *do.*, 313-14
Uttōhapanaka *s.a.* Arthūṇa, *do.*, 310 and *n*

V

v, form of, 18, 55, 76, 90, 102, 107, 134, 278-79, 310, 325, 335, 338, 347, 350, 354, 356, 361, 374, 395, 405, 419, 439, 443, 447, 452, 463, 468, 470, 473, 487, 499, 504, 511, 529, 586, 597, 617, 626
va, form of, 630-31, 640, 652, 657
Vāchaspati, *min.*, 4*n*, 5*n*
Vāchaspati, *Preceptor of the gods*, 357
Vāchaspatya, *wk.*, 593*n*
Vachchala, *m.*, 46
Vāchchha, *do.*, 426
Vachchharāja, *do.*, 426
Vāchchhila, *do.*, 426
Vāchchhū, *do.*, 426
Vāchchhuka, *do.*, 152
Vaḍajānātha *s.a.* Vajraṭasvāmin, *de.*, 196 and *n*
Vaḍaüda, *vi.*, 134, 136, 137*n*, 202-03
Vaḍavāḍa, *do.*, 484
Vaḍavāri *s.a.* Beḍwāḍā, *do.*, 421, 485, 489
Vaḍavāri *s.a.* Varbhavarī, *do.*, 518
Vaḍavāri, *dt.*, 421-23, 488
Vaddiga, *Rāshṭrakūṭa k.*, 30, 139
vādha(pa), 'the area of land granted', 445*n*
Vaḍnagar, *lo.*, 5
Vaḍnagar *praśasti* of the reign of Kumārapāla, 139, 242*n*
Vaḍōvypattana *s.a.* Baḍōh, *vi.*, 209
Vāgaḍa, *t.d.*, 40, 279, 281-82
Vāgaḍa, *province*, 78, 249*n*, 288, 290, 295*n*, 297, 301,

307, 310 and *n*, 313-14, 557, 626
Vāgaṭa *s.a.* Vāgaḍa, *do.*, 532
Vāghadēva, *pr.*, 526
Vaghāḍī, *vi.*,216-17
Vāghadōra *s.a.* Vāgaḍa, *province*, 290
Vāghēla, *dy.*, 191, 203, 273
Vāhaḍa, *m.*, 243
Vāhaṭa, *do.*, 324
Vāhaḍa s.a. Chāhaḍa, off., 492
Vāhaḍavarman, *pr.*, 492
Vāhalā, *stream*, 358
Vāhīya, *n.*, *of a br. sub-caste*, 29
V(B)ahula, *m.*, 564
Vaidya V.V., 112*n*
Vaijā, *m.*, 257
Vaijū, *do.*, 218
Vairabhraïka, *do.*, 310
Vairāgya śataka, *wk.*, 364*n*
Vairisiṁha *s.a.* Vairisiṁhadēva, *Paramāra k.*, 4-5, 11, 19, 25, 68, 77, 279-82
Vairisiṁha II, *do.*, 109, 196, 213, 281 and *n*, 282, 288
Vajayara *s.a.* Uijayarāja, *m.*, 243
Vajpeyi K.D., 190
Vajradēman, *k.*, *of Kachchhapaghāta dy.*, 537
Vakaaigala - nagara, *tn.*, 58
Vākpati *s.a.* Bṛihaspati, *the preceptor of the gods*, 383
Vākpati, *Chandēlla k.*, 336, 339, 377, 383
Vākpti - Muñja, *Paramāra k.*, 4-5, 8-9, 11-12 and 12*n*, 16, 18*n*, 19-21, 196, 213, 326, 333*n*, 613*n*
Vākpatirāja, *do.*, 15, 25*n*, 29, 33, 40, 42 and *n*, 43, 46, 55-56, 62, 72, 77-78, 100, 109, 333
Valabhi, *co.*, 281, 286*n*, 560*n*
Vālabhya, *n.*, *of a caste*, 51, 289
Vālabhya kāyastha, *do.*, 281
Vālākadēva, *s.a.* Bālārkadēva, *m.*, 330
Vālaṇa, *do.*, 273
Vālaudā, *vi.*, 216
Vālha, *m.*, 258, 448
Vālhaṇa, *do.*, 426
Vālhaṇadēvī, *ch. q.*, 402
Vālhē, *m.*, 426
Valla, *fe.*, 314
Vallōṭka, *lo.*, 30
Vallōṭakīya, *br. sub-caste*, 29-30
Vālmīki, *poet*, 228, 617
Valuvā, Vāluka, Valua, Valuā, Valubā, Vāluka and Valuka, *n.*, *of a tributary*, 579
Vāmadēva, *m.*, 426, 659
Vāmana, *au.*, 111*n*, 195
Vāmana, *m.*, 40, 218, 319, 426, 644*n*
Vāmana, *te.*, 335 and *n*
Vāmanasvāmin, *m.*, 21, 401, 641
Vāmanasvāmin, *royal preceptor*, 128
Vānā, *m.*, 273
Vandhuka *s.a.* Dhandhuka, *do.*, 230*n*
Vāndiuri *s.a.* Bāndā, *tn.*, 402
Vāndiuri-pattalā, *t.d.*, 401
Vaṇikā, *vi.*, 19-20
Van Name, 172
Vanṭaka, share, 178*n*, 202
Vāpa, *l.m.*, 289, 295*n*, 444 and *n*, 445*n*
Vāpama, *m.*, 396
Vappulla, *gen.*, 379
Varāha, *m.*, 22, 426
Varāhamihira, *astronomer*, 124*n*
Varāhasvāmin, *m.*, 540
Varāhī, *vi.*, 658
Varāhī, *t.d.*, 659
Vārahin, 'an ascetic living on leaves', 285*n*
Vārāṇasī, *ci.*, 56, 102, 204*n*, 351, 378, 399, 470-71
Vārāṅgī, *t.d.*, 654
Vārāñfi - 84, *do.*, 652
Varbhavārī, *vi.*, 517-18
Vardhamānapura *s.a.* Badnāwar, *tn.*, 131-32, 217
Vardhamānapura pratijāgaraṇaka, *t.d.*, 216
Varēndra, *n.*, *of a place*, 179*n*
Vārendra Brāhmaṇas, *community*, 20*n*
Varidurga, *n.*, *of a place*, 420
Vārikas, *religious sect*, 368
Varmān, *vi.*, 225, 627
Varṇa - nāgakṛpāṇikā, 'alphabetical snake - scimitar', 84-85
Varṇikā, *l.m.*, 289, 294*n*
Varuṇēśvarī, *consort of lord Varuṇa*, 281
Vāsā, *vi.*, 267
Vāsadhara, *m.*, 181, 426
Vasaī, *vi.*, 402
Vāsaṇa, *do.*, 243-44
Vasantāchārya, *m.*, 12
Vasantadēva, *do.*, 563
Vasantagaḍh, *fort*, 226 and *n*
Vasantagaḍh stone ins., of the time of Pūrṇapāla, 76, 225, 234, 238, 260, 321, 326*n*, 328*n*
Vasanta-Vilāsa, *wk.*, 242*n*
Vāśari, *k.*, 212-13
Vasauhā, *vi.*, 401-02
Vāsavachandra, *m.*, 348, 365-66
Vāsavēndu, *do.*, 366
Vāśē, *off.*, 517, 633-34
Vāsē, *s.a.* Vāsēka, *m.*, 518
Vāsēka, *off.*, 517
Vasishṭha, *m.*, 540
Vasishṭhāśrama, *n.*, *of a hermitage*, 251 and *n*, 252
Vāstavya Kāyastha, *f.*, 634, 636
Vāstu *s.a.* Viśvakarman, *architect of gods*, 517
Vāstu, '*the site of a house or a building*', 517
Vāstuśāstrajña, *ep.*, 456
Vasū, *m.*, 426
Vāsudēva, *engr.*, 142
Vāsudēva, *m.*, 21, 218, 426, 504-05, 570, 659
Vāsudēva, *royal preceptor*, 368 and *n*, 369, 370*n*
Vasuhāṭikā, *vi.*, 457
Vasuki, *m.*, 426
Vasupāla, *do.*, 426
Vaṭa, *do.*, 659
Vaṭakhēṭaka, *vi.*, 131-32
Vaṭanagara *s.a.* Vaṭapura *s.a.* Vasantgaḍh, *tn.*, 40*n*, 229
Vaṭapadra *s.a.* Baḍōdī, *vi.*, 149
Vaṭapadraka, *do.*, 40-41
Vaṭapura, *tn.*, 40*n*, 228
Vaṭita, *m.*, 581*n*
Vatsa, *do.*, 426
Vatsa, *ch. min.*, 414
Vatsarāja, *gen.*, 116, 372, 393, 394*n*, 397
Vatsarāja, *Chālukya k.*, *of Lāṭa*, 29-30
Vatsarāja, *m.*, 426, 475
Vatsarāja, *poet*, 499

Acc. 26152

Vāṭuka, *m.*, 659
Vatva *s.a.* Vatsa, *do.*, 152
Vāū, *do.*, 426
Vāūṁ, *do.*, 218
Vāvaha *s.a.* Vāmana, *do.*, 641
Vāyī, *do.*, 426
Vāyudēva, *do.*, 180
Vēda, *m.*, 202, 426
Vēdas, *wk.*, 19, 21, 97*n*, 342, 358, 361, 407, 504, 517, 519*n*, 592, 617
Vēdas —
Ṛigvēda, 21-22, 344*n*, 470*n*
Yajurvēda, 21-22, 218*n*, 273
Sāmavēda, 21-22, 218*n*
Vēdāṅgas, *wk.*, 358, 361, 519
Vēdaśarman, *m.*, 426
Vēdē, *do.*, 564
Vēdēsaitha(nya), *province*, 522
Vēdū, *m.*, 426
Vēlluvalla, *lo.*, 43-44
Venis A., 396*n*, 448-49 and 449*n*, 450, 451*n*
Vērāval, *tn.*, 414
Verma O.P., 614*n*
Vēsaladēvī, *q.*, 500
Vētravatī *s.a.* Bētwā, *ri.*, 142-43, 149, 354, 398, 449
Vīdana, *m.*, 517
Vīdana, *off.*, 633, 636
Vidishā, *tn.*, 4*n*, 5*n*, 120, 142-43, 145*n*, 342, 354, 397, 402, 418*n*, 459, 646-47
Vidishā *s.a.* Bhilsā, *dt.*, 26*n*, 65, 71, 75, 81, 91*n*, 98, 144, 149, 185, 187, 208, 398, 611
Vidishā-Dudāhī, *reg.*, 459
Vidishā Museum, 123
Vidishā stone ins., of the time of Jayasiṁha, 188, 208
Vidishā stone ins., of Trailōkyavarman, 209
Vidyādhara *s.a.* Vidyādharadēva, *Chandēlla k.*, 357-58, 372, 378, 413-14, 530-31, 538, 652-54
Vidyādhara, *off.*, 522, 622
Vidyādhara, *m.*, 218, 414, 426
Vidyānanda, *do.*, 426
Vidyāpati, *do.*, 218
Vigraharāja IV, *k.*, *of Chāhamāna dy.*, 590*n*
Vigraharāja, *k.*, *of Vaṭapura*, 228-29, 294*n*, 326
Vīhala, *m.*, 273
Vihia, *do.*, 235
Vīhīvata (?) *do.*, 659
Vīhula, *do.*, 564
Vijā *s.a.* Vijayaśakti, *Chandēlla k.*, 336, 339, 378, 383-84 and 384*n*, 396, 440, 444, 522
Vijahaḍa, *ch. min.*, 601
Vijaulī, *vi.*, 396
Vijaya, *m.*, 289
Vijayachandra, *k.*, *of Gāhaḍavāla dy.*, 414, 471*n*, 590*n*
Vijayadēva, *m.*, 564
Vijayadēva, *Yajvapāla k.*, 588, 590*n*
Vijayadēvī, *fe.*, 563
Vijayādhirāja, *k.*, 365
Vijayāditya *s.a.* Vaijāditya, *com.*, 272-73
Vijayakīrti, *do.*, 531
Vijayapāladēva, *Chandēlla k.*, 357-58, 365-66, 368, 372, 378, 413-14, 508, 557-58
Vijayarāja, *Paramāra k.*, *of Vāgaḍa*, 301, 310, 313-14
Vijayarāja, *k.*, *of Kachchhapaghāta dy.*, 530
Vijayasiṁha, *feu.*, 138-39
Vijayasiṁha, *Kalachuri k.*, *of Tripurī*, 154, 465, 492, 493*n*
Vījayī, *m.*, 181
Vijīsīrāhi *s.a.* Vijayaśrī, *do.*, 257
Vijjāka *s.a.* Vijayaśakti, *Chandēlla k.*, 335, 339
Vijjala, *Paramāra k.*, *of Jālōr*, 333, 334*n*
Vijjaṇa, *Kalachuri k.*, 154
Vijñānin, *ep.*, 439*n*, 444
Vikaura *s.a.* Vikrauṇī, *lo.*, 422
Vīkaya, *m.*, 426
Vikhilapadra, *vi.*, 148-49
Vikrama, *m.*, 99-100
Vikramāditya, *legendary k.*, 131*n*, 228, 464 and *n*
Vikramāditya V, *Chālukya k.*, *of Kalyāṇa*, 55
Vikramāditya VI, *do.*, *Chālukya k.*, 63, 91-92, 95*n*, 109, 131, 642, 649, 651*n*
Vikramāṅkadēvacharita, *wk.*, 109*n*, 276*n*, 379*n*
Vikramasiṁha, *Paramāra k.*, *of Ābū*, 624-25, 627
Vikramasiṁha, *Paramāra k.*, *of Chandrāvatī*, 238, 260-61, 365
Vikramasiṁha, *Kachchhapaghāta k.*, 530-31, 654
Vikrauṇi, *t.d.*, 484
Vīkraura, *dt.*, 421
Vilāpadraka *s.a.* Bilāṇḍi *s.a.* Bilāndrā, *vi.*, 73-74
Vilāsapura *s.a.* Pachchār, *do.*, 440, 448, 449*n*, 452-53, 459, 496-97
Vīlha, *m.*, 563
Vīlhaṇa, *do.*, 426, 659
Vīlhē, *do.*, 444
Vīlhū, *do.*, 426
Vīlhvē, *do.*, 152
Viluhaja *s.a.* Velpur, *vi.*, 51-52
Vilvagavāsa, *do.*, 21
Vimala, *governor*, 228
Vimalāditya, *m.*, 426
Vimalaśiva, *do.*, 492
Viṁśōpaka 'coin', 142 and *n*, 295*n*, 531
Viṁśōpaka, *l.m.*, 281
Viṁvala, *m.*, 310
Vinayāditya, *Hoysaḷa k.*, 650
Vināyakapāla, *Gurjara-Pratīhāra k.*, 341-42 and 342*n*
Vincent Smith, 462, 484
Vindhya, *div.*, 335, 337, 357, 622, 631
Vindhya, *mo.*, 12*n*, 110, 154, 179*n*, 214, 216, 339
Vindhya, *reg.*, 160, 347, 381, 406, 409, 455, 483, 503, 527, 633, 651, 657
Vindhya-maṇḍala, *t.d.*, 158
Vindhyavarman, *Paramāra k.*, *of Mālava*, 159, 162*n*, 163, 177, 179*n*, 213, 215, 246, 260-61, 614, 619
Vindhya W., *do.*, 480
Vīṅkāka, *m.*, 272
Vīrā, *fe.*, 564
Vīra Ballāla, *Hoysaḷa k.*, 650
Vīradhavala, *Vāghēla k.*, 273
Vīran, *vi.*, 44
Vīrāṇaka, *do.*, 43-44
Vīra-rasa, one of the sentiments, 108
Vīrasiṁha, *m.*, 363
Vīrasiṁhadēva, *Kachchhapaghāta k.*, 553
Virāṭa Parva, *wk.*, 546*n*
Vīravarman, *Chandēlla k.*, 474 and *n*, 496-97, 499, 503-05, 508, 513, 523 and *n*, 578, 587*n*, 588, 590*n*, 632-34, 658
Vīrēndra *s.a.* Vīrachandra, *au.*, 564
Vīsala, *m.*, 119
Vīsala, *k.*, 273, 579*n*

Vīsala, *Paramāra k., of Jālōr*, 333 and *n*
Vīsaladēva, *Vāghēla k., of Gujarat*, 203
Vīsalagrāma, *vi.*, 36-37
Vīsala Udagradamaka, *m.*, 245
Vishṇu, *do.*, 22, 152, 181, 426
Vishṇu, *off.*, 3, 297
Vishṇu, *te.*, 262, 297, 342, 413, 474-75
Vishṇuka, *m.*, 459
Vishṇuśarman, do., 426
Vishṇuvardhana, *Hoysaḷa k.*, 650
Viśvakarman, *the architect of gods*, 517*n*
Vīsvala, *lo.*, 590*n*
Viśvanātha, *te.*, 381
Viśvarūpa, *m.*, 103, 426
Viśvasvāmin, *do.*, 92
Viśvēśvara, *do.*, 180, 218
Viśvēśvara, *au.*, 492
Vītarāga, *Jaina de.*, 303, 313, 456, 632
Vīṭhu, *m.*, 426
Vitta-bandha, 'mortgage of a village', 491
Viṭṭhala, *m.*, 420*n*
Vitvana, *feu.*, 653
Vivēka, *l.m.*, 470*n*
Vōdasirā, *lo.*, 158-59
V(B)rāhmaṇi, *vi.*, 526-27
Vrajī, *te.*, 321*n*
Vṛittra, *demon*, 344*n*
Vṛittraśatur *s.a.* Indra, *god.*, 344*n*
Vṛishabhanātha, *te.*, 314
Vṛshaviṁśōpaka, 'coin', 289
Vruvāsaka, *vi.*, 70-71
Vyāghradōra, *do.*, 41*n*
Vyāghradōraka *s.a.* Bāgidōrā, *province*, 290
Vyāpura-maṇḍala, *t.d.*, 108, 110 and *n*
Vyāsa, *m.*, 659, 660*n*

W

Waḍhwān plates of the time of Mahīpāla, 52*n*
Wakankar A.W., 86
Wakankar V.S., 31-32 and 32*n*, 48*n*, 49*n*, 67, 615, 643*n*
Wārdhā, *tn.*, 5*n*
Wāsā, *vi.*, 244
Wasra, *do.*, 240
West Bengal, *State*, 34
Western Chālukya, *dy.*, 131, 154, 649, 651*n*
West Nēmād, *dt.*, 79*n*, 89, 128, 217, 640
Wilkinson L., 137*n*, 152, 153, and *n*, 162 and *n*, 163*n*, 164*n*, 166
Willian Hoey, 438
Williams M., 294*n*, 295*n*, 358, 370*n*, 625*n*
William Price, 412
Wurgāon, *vi.*, 110

Y

y, form of, 32, 99, 305, 332, 338, 350, 395, 463, 537, 652, 657
ya, form of, 652
Yādava, *f.*, 76
Yādava, *dy.*, 159, 163, 179, 191, 196, 203 and *n*, 214 and *n*, 215, 246, 518*n*, 614
Yādava ins., of Śaka 1119, 215*n*
Yadu, *f.*, 196
Yajñadhara, *m.*, 158, 426
Yājñavalkya Smriti, *skt. wk.*, 97*n*
Yajvapāla *s.a.* Jajapēlla, *dy.*, 497, 561-64, 568-70, 578-79, 580*n*, 582*n*, 586, 592, 595, 597, 601, 662-63
Yamarāja, *m.*, 663
Yamunā, *ri.*, 361-62, 384, 402, 471, 473, 513, 523*n*, 601-02
Yamunadēva, *m.*, 602
Y(P)aramāḍirāja, *k.*, *of Yajvapāla dy.*, 562
Yaśaḥkarṇa, *Kalachuri k.*, 95, 110, 500
Yaśaḥpāla, *m.*, 384, 414
Yaśaḥpāla, *min.*, 505
Yaśaskara, *m.*, 540
Yaśōbhaṭa, *engr.*, 362
Yaśōdēva, *m.*, 289, 294*n*, 426, 433*n*
Yaśōdēva, *scribe*, 327
Yaśōdēva, *a Jaina sage*, 550
Yaśōdēva Digambarārka, *poet*, 539, 550*n*
Yaśōdhara, *engr.*, 327
Yaśōdhara, *Chandēlla k.*, 358*n*
Yaśōdhara, *m.*, 426, 462
Yaśōdhara Bhaṭṭa, *do.*, 350
Yaśōdharman, *k.*, 20
Yaśōdhavala, *m.*, 152
Yaśōdhavala, *Paramāra k., of Chandrāvatī*, 139, 237-38, 240, 242, 244, 246, 254, 256, 257, 258*n*, 260-61, 266*n*, 321
Yaśōdhavala, *Paramāra k., of Ābū*, 624
Yaśōmatī, *fe.*, 531
Yaśōvarman, *feu.*, 29, 57, 58*n*, 59*n*
Yaśōvarman *s.a.* Yaśōvarmadēva, *Paramāra k.*, 104, 119, 127-28, 130-31 and 131*n*, 132 and *n*, 134-35, 138, 148, 153, 158, 159*n*, 162-63, 177, 213
Yaśōvarman, *Chandēlla k.*, 335-36 and 336*n*, 339, 340 and *n*, 341 and *n*, 342-50, 354 and *n*, 358, 378, 383*n*, 384, 397, 414, 421, 459, 474 and *n*, 508, 557*n*, 653
Yaśōvarman's grant of V.S. 1192, 44*n*
Yaśōvarman's ins., 383*n*
Yāyadrā, *vi.*, 243*n*
Yazdani, 649*n*

Year reckoning —
Chaitrādi, 448, 456, 459
Kārttikādi, 653

Years cyclic —
Nandana, 90
Pramāthin, 212

Yellow-mountain, *dt.*, 517
Yeotmāl, *do.*, 89, 140, 649 and *n*

Yōga —
Parigha, 158
Śūla, 202

Yōgarāja, *ch.*, 4
Yōgarāja, *Paramāra k., of Chandrāvatī*, 260-61, 321 and *n*
Yōgarāja, *Paramāra k., of Ābū*, 624
Yōgēśvara, *m.*, 218, 539
Yōgēśvara, *k.*, 414
Yōta, *do.*, 229
Yudhishṭhira, *epic hero*, 162, 340, 357, 362, 372, 384, 388*n*, 402*n*, 417*n*, 421, 538, 553
Yuvarāja, *Kalachuri k.*, 56, 77, 340 and *n*
Yuvarāja, *Kachchhapaghāta, k.*, 530